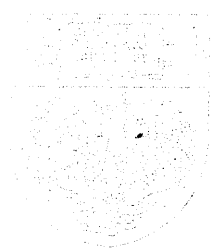


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AUTHORSHIP
OF THE
EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS

CRITICAL PROBLEM
AND USE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

BY
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PROFESSOR OF SACRED SCRIPTURE
ST. PATRICK'S SEMINARY - SYDNEY

VATICAN POLYGLOT PRESS
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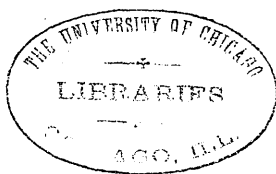
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FOREWORD

This essay is not an attempt to prove any *preconceived* view of St. Paul's plenary claim to be regarded as the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The Decree given by the Biblical Commission on the twenty-fourth of June, 1914, stands indeed at the head of the work, because it represents the mind of the Roman and universal Church with regard to an historical question which is closely connected with the dignity of one of her sacred books. It was, of course, my firm conviction from the beginning that the authoritative response of the Commission is a faithful interpretation of a genuine tradition concerning our Epistle's author and the mode of its composition. But, while adhering to the tradition of Pauline authorship, I was entirely disposed and, to a considerable extent, even predisposed to use the wide liberty allowed by the Papal Commission. I was by no means inclined to regard the Epistle as Pauline to the last jot and tittle. I had, however, to reopen the question. Strictly speaking, the study undertaken in view of this essay was not an exhaustive discussion of the problem of the authorship of *Hebrews*. My main purpose was simply to examine the peculiarities which characterize its author's use of the Old Testament. It was felt, however, that a mere statistical exposition of the facts of Old Testament citation, argument and allusion would be an incomplete task, unless it were made to enter into the critical discussion of St. Paul's claim to be regarded as the author of the Epistle. Hence it seemed necessary to make a careful examination of the critical problem as a whole. Three years ago, when the special work for this essay was begun, the writer, if asked to declare his mind on the authorship of *Hebrews*, would have answered, in substantial agreement with Origen: "The thoughts are the Apostle's but the literary expression and composition belong

to some one else." That was really the impression which I had derived from repeated readings of *Hebrews* and from an exegetical treatment of it, twice repeated, for seminarists. One is very much inclined to trust an impression which seems so strong as to demand an adequate objective cause. The reader of this sublime writing and of the Paulines is certainly faced with very palpable contrasts, such as are calculated to produce an impression, which may indeed be somewhat vague in detail and difficult to analyse but can be very deeply felt. The lucid order and calm flow of *Hebrews* are very unlike the tremendous contortions of St. Paul's dialectic and the torrents and cascades of his over-burdened sentences; the learned vocabulary is, it would seem, redolent of the schools of rhetoric rather than of the Diaspora of Tarsus in Cilicia; the balanced periods and stylistic ornaments do not bear the stamp of the great Apostle's rough strength. The perception of these facts and other similar ones easily passes into a feeling tantamount to conviction that the artist responsible for the splendidly logical arrangement and the placid elegance of this writing cannot be the man who has revealed his literary character so fully in nine letters to Churches and four to special friends.

Such was my state of mind in November 1935. I spent eight months on a comparative study of *Hebrews* and the Paulines, before the definite plan of this essay was drafted and submitted for general approval to the Biblical Institute. Those eight months considerably modified my view that the Epistle to the Hebrews was only Pauline in its inner substance. Diligent study revealed an enormous number of real contacts between this writing and the Corpus Paulinum. The theological factors of *Hebrews* showed themselves in a new relation of identity and development to the Pauline theology. The whole composition of the Epistle stood out unmistakably as the work of the same great mind to whom the theological factors and the Pauline conceptions belonged. *Hebrews* could possibly be the elaboration of St. Paul's

thoughts by a man of genius, but the tradition attributing it to St. Paul must, in view of the marvellous unity of the writing, exclude the hypothesis that we have here a work which is St. Paul's in its several *joints* but not in the *joinings* which have made it the stupendous unity which it is. In other words it is not a skilfully carpentered compilation of Pauline thoughts set in elegant language and logically joined together by a collaborator. It would seem, therefore, that the measure in which we may attribute the form of the Epistle to some one besides St. Paul must be very considerably reduced, for at least the logical arrangement of its parts cannot belong to a secondary agent. Such a view of substantially integral Pauline authorship appears to be the sane interpretation of the facts. As a matter of history, Origen's theory of a skilful "scholiographer" was for some thirteen centuries practically abandoned in the Church. Before the rise of Humanism and Protestantism the "*vetus et vulgata opinio*" was the theory of an Aramaic original elegantly written by St. Paul and well translated into Greek. This theory was, no doubt, erroneous, but it is an index of the mind of a long line of Greek and Latin writers with regard to the form of our Epistle. Theodoretus and St. John Damascene and St. Thomas Aquinas knew perfectly well that there was no other Scripture "*quae sic ordinate procederet in ordine verborum et sententiarum*;" yet they chose to explain the fact by supposing, with Clement of Alexandria, that St. Paul wrote an "ornate" letter in his own native (?) Aramaic and that the "ornate" style of the Apostle was translated into Greek by another hand. This supposition did not, in principle, go beyond the admission of a skilful amanuensis. It left no room for a "scholiographer."

Personal investigation of the facts and first-hand information on the views of others have been the programme of this little book. Only works that were actually read or consulted are listed in the Bibliography. If there are a few references to other authors in the text or notes, it is to be understood

that the information was taken second-hand from some reliable writer, whose name is generally indicated. The Bibliography is indeed comparatively small, but I was not able to pursue reading any further. The literature of the subject is very vast and the time at my disposal compelled me to dispense with very frequent visits even to the splendidly furnished Library of the Pontifical Biblical Institute. The generosity of his Grace, the Archbishop of Sydney, allowed me to acquire the most important books, and the Library of Santa Maria in Campo Santo, with its Patrologies and good collection of Reviews, as well as the Vatican Library near by, gave me easy access to many others. There is much which I regret not having had time to read. My first-hand acquaintance with Philo, for instance, was confined to a diligent reading of the "Allegories of the Holy Laws" and rapid surveys of other books. I had, therefore, mostly to content myself with a brief critical examination of the Philonic parallels cited by Carpzov and others. I had even less opportunity of investigating the parallels of rabbinical literature. Strack-Billerbeck, Bonsirven, Lagrange, Moore, Aicher and materials gathered during a few weeks' work in the Library of the Biblical Seminar at Innsbruck were my chief sources.

However, as "less books" often means "more thinking" this lack of opportunity to push investigation into wider fields may be a blessing in disguise. Truth is attained by personal study and long reflexion rather than by wide reading and the heaping up of materials for erudite footnotes. Undigested masses of erudition are calculated to bring bewilderment rather than enlightenment. Now, whatever judgment may be passed on this essay, it claims to be the fruit of many hours of studious reflexion and unending efforts to get better and better acquainted with the sacred pages that reveal not only the sublime intelligence and the almost divine heart but also the real stylistic splendours of "Paul, Apostle of Jesus Christ and Doctor of the Gentiles in faith

and truth." It was written within a hundred yards of the sarcophagus which holds the mortal remains of St. John Chrysostom, with many a prayer to him who so richly deserves to be called the heavenly Patron and unsurpassed Prince of Pauline studies.

Great trouble has been taken to secure accuracy in statistical data, but it can hardly be hoped that numbers are always right to the unit. I endeavoured to extract a full Pauline Lexicon from Moulton and Geden's Concordance, noting the relevant facts with regard to each word, but it will not cause surprise, if eyes of flesh have sometimes failed in a search for *hapaxlegomena* etc., which involved an itinerary through 2,066 dense columns of Greek. Enough trouble has been taken in each case to secure confidence that any such "lapsus oculorum vel memoriae" does not affect the value of the relative arguments. This is also true of the registers of biblical citations, references, allusions and reminiscences made in view of this work. All parallels of the Epistles and the Old Testament were personally investigated and all such important variants were noted as seemed to have any bearing on the question whether the Greek Old Testament of the Author of *Hebrews* belonged to the type of text represented by the Codex Alexandrinus or to that represented by the Codex Vaticanus.

Circumstances required that each chapter of the work should be given to the printers, as soon as it was ready. One result of this necessity has been a technical fault in the superscription of the left-hand pages throughout half of the book. My intention was to give the work a title in accordance with my main purpose, namely, the examination of Old Testament usage in the Epistle to the *Hebrews*. It happened, however, that the proportional length of the chapters was not as I had anticipated. The examination of the literary form gave far greater results in view of the critical problem than the examination of Old Testament usage. Consequently, the title had to be changed at the last moment into

one which assigns only a subordinate place to the subject of the last four chapters.

Readers will be indulgent in regard to some typographical errors which, though regrettable, are never serious enough to mislead any one who is likely to read the book. I particularly regret that, by some strange oversight, Dr. Moffatt's name is mostly spelled with a single final consonant. The accentuation and division of Greek words occasionally leaves something to be desired. Even the division of English words is sometimes faulty. These are shortcomings for which I am myself mainly responsible.

More serious are some mistakes in statements of fact to which my attention was drawn too late. In Nos. XIV and XVII of Appendix II the authority of Dittmar and Lagarde misled me into assuming two Genesiatic readings as Lucianean, which Rahlfs has shown not to be Lucianean. Again, the new Benedictine edition of Exodus shows that on page 342 the reading: *viginti tria milia* (Exodus 32. 28) should not have been attributed to the Vulgate simply, but to the Clementine Vulgate.

The essay has been accepted by the Pontifical Biblical Institute for the degree of Doctor of Sacred Scripture.

This foreword should close with a word of thanks. To the venerable Archbishop of Sydney my gratitude is particularly due; also to the Institutions whose libraries I used; to the Professors of the Pontifical Biblical Institute, past and present, particularly, to the Rector, Father Bea, to Fathers Vitti, Zerwick and Vaccari; to the Vatican Polyglot Press, and to the good friends of Campo Santo Teutonico, who helped me with proof-reading.

Collegio Teutonico, Rome.

Octave of the Immaculate Conception, 1938.

W. L.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Bb.	Biblica.
BFCT.	Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie.
BSt.	Biblische Studien.
BZ.	Biblische Zeitfragen.
DBV.	Vigouroux's Dictionnaire de la Bible.
DTC	Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique.
EBB.	Black's Encyclopedia Biblica.
Exp.	Expositor.
Exp.T.	Expository Times.
HDB.	Hasting's Dictionary of the Bible.
PG	Patrologia Graeca.
PL	Patrologia Latina.
RB.	Revue Biblique.
RBen.	Revue Bénédictine.
TWNT.	Kittel's Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament.
ZfkT.	Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie.

**AUTHORSHIP OF HEBREWS
AND CRITICAL PROBLEM**

THE PROBLEM OF THE AUTHORSHIP OF " HEBREWS "

This essay deals with several elements of the intrinsic evidence for or against the Pauline origin of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Its purpose is to examine the Epistle's theological factors, literary form, and particularly its use of the Old Testament, with a view to an appreciation of their relation to the theology, style and Scriptural usage that characterize the Paulines. Such a treatise should open with a general presentation of the critical problem as a whole. This introductory chapter is, therefore, an endeavour to present a synthesis of the principal facts bearing on the origin, character and destination of a writing which shines as a particularly brilliant star in the literary firmament of the New Testament.

Decree of Biblical Commission

The first duty of a Catholic, who seeks the truth in a biblical matter is to turn his eyes towards the divinely appointed guardian and expositor of the Scriptures, the Church, into whose hands the Holy Ghost delivered the Sacred Writings through the hands of the Apostles. The facts of the literary history of inspired books fall under the verdict of the Church in so far as these facts are connected with the canonicity of the writings in question or belong to the truths of revelation. The canonicity of *Hebrews* or any other book of the Bible is a matter in which the Church alone is finally and decisively competent. Whether she took the Epistle to the Hebrews into her canon, *because* she regarded it as a writing of St. Paul, is a question which it may not be possible to decide on the evidence of ecclesiastical documents. But the impressive fact stands before us that, through the Papal Biblical Commission, she has officially declared the arguments drawn from various phenomena in the history of the Epistle to be no sufficient justification of hesitancy with regard to its Pauline origin. It is true that doubts occasioned by heretical abuse of *Hebrews* darkened, for a time, some western minds as to its inspired and Pauline character, but the Commission has taken its stand by the perpetual and constant unanimity of the Eastern Fathers to which the full consent of the West has been given since the fourth century. Pontiffs, Councils,

and especially the Scriptural Session of Trent as well as the perpetual use of the universal Church have not only proclaimed the dogmatic truth of the Epistle's inspiration, but insisted on affixing St. Paul's name to it. (Pont. Comm. de Re Biblica, Resp. XIII, 24 Jun. 1914 *de auctore et modo compositionis epistolae ad Hebraeos*. Enchir. Bibl. 429). Moreover, the Commission has taken a decisive stand against the arrows shot at the Paulinity of the Letter in the name of higher criticism. The absence of the Apostle's name as well as the absence of the customary Pauline exordium and salutation from the beginning of the Letter, the purity of its Greek, the elegance and perfection of its diction and style, its method of citing and using the Old Testament and the other various differences which seem to separate it from the authentic Paulines—all those facts do not, in the eyes of the Commission, bear any real degree of negative weight against the really strong agreement of *Hebrews* with the Pauline writings in doctrine and language. The Pauline stamp is discernible in its sentences; its admonitions and exhortations have a Pauline sound; even the phraseology and vocabulary are like those of the Apostle of the Gentiles (ibid. 430). The Commission did not, however, exclude all discussion as to the extent in which another mind than that of St. Paul may have contributed to give *Hebrews* its peculiar beauty of form (ibid. 431).

With this decision as "a lamp to our feet," we may face the facts regarding the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Need of external testimony

There is, of course, no *certain* means of knowing who wrote our Epistle except the testimony of witnesses. Since the origin of a book is a fact of human history, history has to be our informant. Sane scholarship can never give first place in questions of literary paternity to indications gathered from the literary product itself. Even when one is perfectly sure of the objectivity of certain characteristics, it is rarely possible to say that they came and could have come *only* from the brain of such and such an author, or that they could not possibly have come from the admittedly versatile genius of another certain well-known artist. On the positive and negative side argument of this kind must necessarily be weak. And the weakness will be all the greater owing to the danger of the supposed characteristics being mere imaginary preconceptions. The rigour of scientific observation is more sadly damaged by the imagination in the higher critical field than in any other. Therefore,

the sane method is to find and discuss whatever historical testimony is available. Internal indications can then be interrogated and estimated at their proper value.

Earliest traces

With regard to *Hebrews* we know, on indubitable historical evidence, that it existed and contributed some of its thoughts to a Roman document of the nineties of the first century. That Clement, Bishop of Rome, had its phrases in his memory and actually borrowed some of its words in his Epistle to the Corinthian community, there can be no reasonable doubt. The evident borrowings from chapter 1 of *Hebrews*, which are found in chapter 36 of Clement to the Corinthians, would alone be sufficient proof of dependence, not to speak of many striking echoes of the language of *Hebrews* existing in other parts of the Clementine.¹

No such evident traces of *Hebrews* are to be found in the earliest Christian writings of the East, but St. Polycarp's designation of Christ as "The Eternal Priest"² is probably an echo of our Epistle. The title "Apostle" given to Christ by St. Justin³ is also peculiarly reminiscent of *Hebrews* (3. 1). Nevertheless, although small scraps of evidence can be found that the Letter existed and was already regarded as a sacred writing throughout East and West in the years covered by the reigns of the first three Adoptionist Emperors (98-161 A. D.), there is no voice to tell us that St. Paul wrote it. In addition to that silence, is the disconcerting fact that Rome seems at an early date, to have forgotten the Epistle. The middle second century canon of the Muratorian Fragment⁴ not only negatively excludes *Hebrews* from canonical honours but also formally excludes it from the Pauline catalogue, by declaring that Paul wrote *non nisi nominatim septem ecclesiis*, which are named in the order: Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Galatians, Thessalonians, Romans. As the second century was passing into the third, the Epistle to the Hebrews was little used in the West and apparently it did not enjoy the fame of St. Paul's great name. According to information preserved from Stephanus Gobarus, a sixth century

¹ Chapters IX-XII are apparently modelled on *Hebrews*, XI. There are unmistakable contacts in the sections dealing with Noe and Rahab. *Patres Apostolici*, ed. Funk, pp. 72-77.

² *Ad Philippenses*, 12.

³ 1 *Apol.* 12, 63.

⁴ 48-64 *Ench. Bibl.*, 4.

Tritheist, by Photius in the ninth,¹ Hippolytus of Rome and his master, Irenaeus of Lyons, said that the letter to the Hebrews was not Paul's. Photius had also read a book of Hippolytus² in which the same denial was made. Certainly our Epistle is strangely absent or almost absent from the great work of Irenaeus (*Contra Haereses*), although Eusebius attests that in a book entitled *Disputationes Variae* the disciple of Polycarp mentioned *Hebrews* and Wisdom and cited some sayings from them.³ The most we can say of these two great writers reaching from the second into the third century, is that they knew *Hebrews* but do not seem to have attached apostolic authority to it. Just at the same time, under Pope Zephyrinus (199-217) the Roman Presbyter Caius counted only Thirteen Pauline Letters to Seven Churches, not numbering *Hebrews* with the rest.⁴ Contemporaneously, also, in Latin Africa, so very much a spiritual colony of the Roman Church, Tertullian, already a bitter rigorist and enthusiastic Montanist, in that very work, in which he cries out against the peremptory edict of forgiveness given by one who styled himself Pontifex Maximus and Episcopus episcoporum, cites *Hebrews* 6. 4-8, introducing the source of his citation as "Barnabae titulus ad Hebraeos" and describing it as a document which was "utique receptor apud ecclesias... illo apocrypho Pastore moechorum."⁵ He regarded the letter as neither Pauline nor Scripture and his junior contemporary Cyprian not only never cites it but even implicitly excludes it from the Corpus Paulinum by the statement that the Apostle "wrote to seven churches."⁶

Light from the East

These representative testimonies from three great churches of the West show that *Hebrews* was enveloped in some strange obscurity. Obviously the only reason why one of the most marvellous pieces of first century Christian literature was so much in the shade throughout the Occident, for about two centuries after Clement, is to be sought in the fact that people were not clearly conscious that it was either sacred or Pauline. In the East, however, we have a different state of things. Before the end of the second century the voice

¹ PHOTIUS, *Bibliotheca*, Cod. 232. P. G., CIII, 1104.

² Ibid. Cod. 121; P. G., CIII, 404.

³ H. E., V, 26; P. G., XX, 509.

⁴ EUSEBIUS, H. E., VI, 20; P. G., XX, 572, 573; JEROME, *De viris illustribus*, 59; P. L., XXIII, 669.

⁵ *De pudicitia*, 20; P. L., II, 1021.

⁶ *De exhort. mart.*, 11; P. L., IV, 668.

that subsequently prevailed throughout the universal Church is heard at Alexandria. That voice, it will be seen, testifies to a fact, not to a literary theory founded on critical conjecture. Clement, probably a native of Athens and a convert to Christianity, came, after travels in Southern Italy, Syria and Palestine, to Alexandria about the year 180. The Sicilian Greek, Pantaenus, was then head of the Catechetical school or Didaskaleion of Alexandria. He was the most venerable of a group of Ancients or Presbyters. Clement, then in the flower of life, became his disciple and about twenty years later his successor. His writings, belonging probably to the first decade of the third century, included a sketch-commentary on the Old and New Testaments, entitled *Hypotyposes*. In that work, Eusebius tells us, Clement said that the Epistle to the Hebrews is Paul's but, being destined for Hebrews, was originally written in Hebrew. Luke translated it with devoted care and set it before the Greeks. Hence in the translation of that Epistle one finds the same literary colour as in the Acts. Eusebius narrates all this statement of Clement on *Hebrews* in oratio obliqua. He also says that Clement discussed the omission of the usual epistolary address and in this connection appealed to the statement of a "blessed presbyter." Here Eusebius cites Clement's own words as follows: "Now, as the blessed presbyter used to say: Since the Lord, being the Apostle of the Almighty, was sent to the Hebrews, through modesty, Paul, inasmuch as he had been sent to the Gentiles, does not style himself Apostle of the Hebrews, both because of the honour due to the Lord and because it was by way of supererogation that he wrote also to the Hebrews, whereas he was the herald and apostle of the Gentiles."¹

From the fact that Eusebius immediately introduces a testimony of Alexander of Jerusalem taken from a letter to Origen, in which the Bishop speaks of his intimate friendship with the "blessed" Pantaenus and the "venerable" Clement, it seems that the *μακάριος* *πρεσβύτερος*, who tackled the difficulty arising from the [absence of

¹ EUSEBIOS, *H. E.*, VI, 14 (citing from the *Hypotyposes* of Clement of Alexandria): τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους δὲ ἐπιστολὴν Παύλου μὲν εἶναι φησιν, γεγράφθαι δὲ Ἑβραίοις Ἑβραϊκῇ [φωνῇ]· Λουκᾶν δὲ φιλοτίμως αὐτὴν μεθερμηνεύσαντα ἐκδίδουσι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν. ὁθεν τὸν αὐτὸν Χρῶστα εὐρίσκεισθαι κατὰ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν ταύτης τε τῆς ἐπιστολῆς καὶ τῶν Πράξεων· μὴ προγεγράφθαι δὲ τὸ 'Παῦλος ἀπόστολος' εἰκότως· Ἑβραίοις γάρ, φησὶν, ἐπιστέλλων, πρόληψιν εὐληφῶσιν κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑποπτεύουσιν αὐτόν, συντεῶς πάνν οὐκ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἀπέστρεφεν αὐτοὺς τὸ ὄνομα Θεός. εἴτα ὑποβὰς ἐπιλέγει· «Ἦδη δὲ, ὡς ὁ μακάριος ἔλεγε πρεσβύτερος, ἐπεὶ ὁ κύριος ἀπόστολος ὢν τοῦ παντοκράτορος ἀπεστάλη πρὸς Ἑβραίους, διὰ μετριότητα ὁ Παῦλος, ὡς ἂν εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ἀπεσταλμένος, οὐκ ἔγγραφει ἑαυτὸν Ἑβραίων ἀπόστολον διὰ τε τὴν πρὸς τὸν Κύριον τιμὴν, διὰ τε τὸ ἐκ περιουσίας καὶ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐπιστέλλειν, ἔθνων κήρυκα ὄντα καὶ ἀπόστολον». (*P. G.*, XX, 549, 552).

Paul's name from a Pauline Epistle, is no other than Pantaenus himself. Clement received *Hebrews* from Pantaenus as a Epistle of Paul. Since there is no evidence that Pantaenus held a Hebrew original, we can only conclude and, in fact, Clement's own language suggests the conclusion, that Clement himself adopted the theory of a Hebrew original as an explanation of the Epistle's style. The view of a Hebrew original did not have the force of a tradition at Alexandria, for Clement's pupil Origen abandoned it and adopted another theory. All the scholars of the Alexandrian School used *Hebrews*, without any reservation or qualification, as a Pauline Epistle. Origen's testimony to its Paulinity joins that of Clement in certifying that the Letter was not "paulinized" by academic verdict but *handed down* as Pauline. The great scholar supplements Clement's evidence to the extent that he refers the belief in its Paulinity not merely to one "blessed presbyter" but to a number of ἀρχαῖοι ἄνδρες—Ancients, who "handed down" the Letter as a Letter of Paul the Apostle. It was in the strength of that "tradition" that Origen constantly cited the Epistle as Paul's and also declared, in his letter to Africanus, that he was ready to prove his conviction by arguments.¹ That this was the settled conviction of Origen, in spite of his critical judgment on the style of the Epistle, is a very solemn and impressive fact, which needs explanation and can find no adequate explanation except the prevailing force of tradition. From the lost Homilies of Origen on the Epistle to the Hebrews Eusebius (*H. E.*, VI, 25) has preserved the remarks which the Alexandrian made on this writing. The elegance of the Epistle, he says, does not harmonise with the self-confessed inelegance of St. Paul's speech (2 Cor. 11. 6: imperitus sermone), but, on the other hand, the thoughts are marvellous and second to no apostolic letter. In the face of these two facts, Origen delivers his personal judgment, namely, that the thoughts are Paul's, the phraseology and composition belong to another, who recorded the apostolic thoughts and as it were produced a scholarly reproduction of what his master said. As to the identity of that scholarly pupil and writer, only God knows the truth. According to the report that had reached him, Origen knew of two conjectures. Some said Clement of Rome was the writer, others said Luke. The capital sentence in Origen's testimony is, however, as follows: "If any church, therefore, holds this letter to be Paul's, let it have full approval on that score, for it was not without

¹ *P. G.*, XI, 65, 68. Verisimile est pressum aliquem usurum esse consilio eorum qui hanc epistolam reiiciunt, ceu a Paulo non scriptam; adversum quem aliis seorsum argumentis nobis opus est, ut illam Pauli esse demonstramus.

reason that the Ancients handed it down to us as a letter of Paul."¹ It is clear from these words that Origen's adherence to the Pauline origin of the Epistle is not determined merely by its marvellous contents, but by a tradition of the Ancients, which he knew to be well-founded. Unanimously and constantly the eastern Fathers adhere to that ancient testimony. There is no need to cite names. Such a list would be representative not only of Alexandria but also of Palestine and Cyprus, of the Syrian Church—both Greek-speaking and Syriac-speaking—and of Cappadocia in Asia Minor.

In the second half of the fourth century obscurity began to pass from the western mind also. How this happened it is difficult to say unless it be attributable to the pressure of the strong eastern tradition, which St. Augustine felt, when he wrote:² "*Ad Hebraeos quoque Epistola, quanquam nonnullis incerta sit, tamen quoniam legi quosdam huic nostrae de Baptismo parvulorum sententiae contraria sentientes eam quibusdam opinionibus suis testem adhibere voluisse, magisque me movet auctoritas Ecclesiarum orientalium, quae hanc etiam in canonicis habent, quanta pro nobis testimonia contineat advertendum est.*" What the Saint says of the Oriental authority in regard to canonicity is equally true in regard to Paulinity.

Tradition and Critical theories in the East

All that concerns us, in view of this essay, is the truth that an authoritative tradition exists declaring *Hebrews* to be a writing of

¹ Having cited Origen's testimony regarding the four Gospels, the writings of St. Paul (in general only) and the Petrine and Johannine writings, Eusebius further cites the following words from Origen's Homilies on Hebrews (*H. E.*, VI, 25): «ὁ Χαρακτήρ τῆς λέξεως τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιγεγραμμένης ἐπιστολῆς οὐκ ἔχει τὸ ἐν λόγῳ ἰδιωτικὸν τοῦ ἀποστόλου ὁμολογήσαντος ἑαυτὸν ἰδιώτην εἶναι τῷ λόγῳ, τοῦτέστι τῇ φρασεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπιστολὴ συνθέσει τῆς λέξεως ἑλληνικωτέρα, πᾶς ὁ ἐπιστάμενος κρίνειν φράσεων διαφορὰς ὁμολογήσαι ἂν, πάλιν τε αὖ ὅτι τὰ νοήματα τῆς ἐπιστολῆς θανάσιμά ἐστιν καὶ οὐ δευτέρα τῶν ἀποστολικῶν ὁμολογουμένων γραμμάτων, καὶ τοῦτο ἂν συμφέσαι εἶναι πᾶς ὁ προσέχων τῇ ἀναγνώσει τῇ ἀποστολικῇ». Τούτοις μεθ' ἕτερα ἐπιφέρει λέγων· «ἐγὼ δὲ ἀποφαινόμενος εἶποιμ' ἂν ὅτι τὰ μὲν νοήματα τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἐστὶν, ἡ δὲ φράσις καὶ ἡ σύνθεσις ἀπομνημονεύσαντός τινος τὰ ἀποστολικά καὶ ὥσπερ σχολιογραφήσαντός τινος τὰ εἰρημένου ὑπὸ τοῦ διδασκάλου. εἰ τις οὖν ἐκκλησία ἔχει ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὡς Παύλου, αὕτη εὐδοκμεῖτω καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ· οὐ γὰρ εἰκὴ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἄνδρες ὡς Παῦλον αὐτὴν παραδεδώκασι· τίς δὲ ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς Θεὸς οἶδεν. ἡ δὲ εἰς ἡμᾶς φθάσασα ἱστορία ὑπὸ τινῶν μὲν λεγόντων ὅτι Κλήμης ὁ γενόμενος ἐπίσκοπος Ῥωμαίων, ἔγραψεν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, ὑπὸ τινῶν δὲ ὅτι Λουκᾶς ὁ γράψας τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τὰς πράξεις» (*P. G.*, XX, 584, 585).

² *De peccatorum meritis*, I, 50; *P. L.*, XLIV, 137.

St. Paul. It does not seem, however, that any such authoritative tradition can be invoked in what concerns the mode of the Pauline authorship. Certainly Clement did not have historical testimony for a Hebrew original, such as we have in the case of St. Matthew's Gospel; neither was the *ιστορία*, which told Origen that some attributed the writing of the Letter to Clement, some to Luke, part of the authoritative Alexandrian tradition. It is a fact, however, that, in the case of this writing and this writing alone amongst the twenty-seven books of the New Testament, a distinction was made between the substance of the writing and its linguistic form, to the extent that the form was attributed unhesitatingly to another hand than that of Paul. We must take adequate notice of this fact. The following brief presentation of the attitude adopted by the leading commentators of East and West shows how widespread and persistent such a critico-literary distinction was.

St. Ephraem the Syrian († 373) mentions the opinion of those who attributed the "Greek" of this Epistle to Clement of Rome, but does not reveal his own mind on the question.¹

Passing from Edessa to Antioch, we find that St. John Chrysostom affirms the Pauline authorship, without any qualification.

¹ *Comm. in Epp. D. Pauli*, Armenian Version translated into Latin by Mechitarist Fathers, Venice 1893: "In ipso huius Epistolae principio fluctuatio et quaestio accedit nobis ad dignoscendum, cur nam sicut in omnibus Epistolis suis, non scripsit nomen suum Paulus in hac Epistola? Porro sunt quidam dicentes prorsus hanc Epistolam a Paulo non esse scriptam. Primum, quia in ista nomen suum minime exaravit, quemadmodum in reliquis sociis suis. Secundo, quia vel figura formae huius Epistolae nequaquam similis est sociis suis. Propter itaque formam constructionis, quae Clementinae similis est, Clementis est, aiunt, Epistola haec, non Pauli. Alii vero dicunt quod ipse Paulus scripsit, sed ob odium inimicitiae Iudaeorum, quam habebant in eum, abscondens occultavit nomen suum, ne forte nomen scriptum in Epistolae principio illos a lectione quoque arceret, illique privarentur magna utilitate, quae recondita erat in Epistola persuasionibus conferta. Hicque tales dicunt, quod hebraice scripsit eam non graece; quoniam vero eam transtulit Clemens ex hebraico in graecum (*idioma*), per typum formae sermonum constructorum Clementis esse existimata fuerit, quum eius non esset..." (p. 200).

The Syrian Doctor then explains the fact of a nameless Pauline letter to the Hebrews by a rather strange theory. The Apostles may have been still at Jerusalem and shown the same sort of timidity in regard to Jewish weakness as St. Peter had shown at Antioch (Gal. 2. 14). Paul, knowing his own superior power of persuasion, wrote directly to the community, lest the letter being addressed to the Apostles, should have the appearance of a rescript to an appeal from them. Continuing he says: "Celat autem et abscondit nomen suum, primum ob humilitatem suam, ut dixi; deinde ne seipsum Apostolum super Hebraeos nuncuparet, quoniam nec illi discipuli eius fuerant, nec ipse fuerat ad illos missus. Ne igitur eum irriderent... nomen suum praetermittit, atque ab Italia ad eos scribit." (p. 230).

In his introduction to the thirty-four Homilies, which the Antiochene Presbyter Constantine published from posthumous notes, the exegete-preacher does not say a word about the style of the Letter, being altogether taken up with the questions of motive and destination and historical circumstances.¹ He does not express any judgment on the mode of St. Paul's authorship. That the School of Antioch was not, however, indifferent to the question of the mode appears from the Introductory Preface of Theodoret's Commentary. The Bishop of Cyr remarks that certain people infected with the " morbus Arianicus " rejected the epistle as spurious. These ought, at least, to believe the Palestinian Eusebius, who held the Epistle to be Paul's. Dogmatic prejudice, especially against the Prologue, was too much for them, but they advanced the pretext of the absence of the apostolic title. Theodoret answers that the omission is due to the fact that the Apostle of the Gentiles was writing not to disciples but to Hebrews, and having summed up the arguments of the Epistle, he concludes: " Scripsit autem eam lingua Hebraica. Ferunt autem Clementem eam interpretatum esse " (*P. G.*, LXXII, 674-678).

The only other Oriental Commentator of distinction before the Photian schism is St. John Damascene. A note appended to his brief commentary mentions a Greek original and a translator, Luke or Clement: " Epistolam ad Hebraeos Clemens edisserit... ut nempe cum Apostolus eam Hebraico idiomate scripsisset, in Graecum translata sit, ut quidem nonnullis placet, a Luca evangelista; ut aliis vero ab eodem Clemente " (*P. G.*, XCV, 997).

Of the two medieval Byzantine pedisequi of Chrysostom, namely, Oecumenius and Theophylactus, the former touches the question, while the latter is silent about it. In the second of two short Introductions,² Oecumenius mentions two chief objections to Pauline authorship of the Epistle, namely absence of the Apostle's name and its style. The latter objection he meets by saying: Manifesta est causa cur stylus fuerit immutatus. Nam ad Hebraeos scripta patria ipsorum lingua, postmodum versa dicitur, ut quidam sentiunt a Luca, ut plerisque autem videtur a Clemente: huius enim characterem etiam servat.

¹ *P. G.*, LXIII, 11, 12. Cur igitur Iudaeis scribit, cum non sit eorum doctor? aut quonam ad eos epistolam mittit? Mea opinione Ierosolymam et in Palaestinam. Sed quomodo scribit? Quemadmodum et baptizabat, non iussus baptizare; ait enim se non missum ad baptizandum (1 Cor. 1. 7): nec tamen vetitus erat, sed operis auctarium (ἐκ παρέργου) fecit.

² *P. G.*, CXIX, 273.

Theophylactus like Chrysostom has nothing to say about the style of the Epistle. He is chiefly concerned with its destination: *Hebraeis ex abundanti scribit hanc Epistolam. Nam magna eorum sollicitudine tangebatur, pro quibus anathema fieri optabat. Porro iis qui in Palaestina et Hierosolymis erant, scribit.*¹

Latin Writers

Amongst westerns, all through the middle ages, while the sixth century Latin version of Chrysostom made by Mutianus was a dominant influence in the exegesis of the epistle, some of the many relative sentences of St. Jerome seem to have determined the critical judgment of the time. It is noteworthy, however, that, although St. Jerome, in the rather long passage on the subject, which he wrote in the article on St. Paul in his book *De viris illustribus*,² summed up the views of Tertullian, Origen and Clement of Alexandria, the theory of a Hebrew original was the one generally accepted by medieval writers. A few extracts from the biblical commentators of those centuries will suffice to show how persistently the theory of a translator held the field.

The first is the pseudo-Primasius, now believed to be the ninth century monk, Haymo of Auxerre. This author having recorded the various attributions of the Letter to Barnabas, Luke, Clement, continues: "*Cui ergo horum ascribenda est? Utique egregio praedicatori; quippe quae ex lucido sensu, ex genere locutionis comprobatur illius esse, quamquam subtiliori atque apertiori stylo comprehensa sit omnibus Epistolis; nam fertur Apostolus hanc Hebraeis missam Hebraeo sermone conscripsisse; in qua ipse peritissimus exitit, cum reliquas graeco sermone scripserit. Post discessum vero apostoli Lucas evangelista Graeco sermone eam comprehendit; ex quo postmodum translata est in Latinam linguam, sicut et reliqua.*"³

¹ P. G., CXXV, 185.

² Cap. V. — P. L., XXIII, 617: *Epistola autem, quae fertur ad Hebraeos, non eius creditur propter styli sermonisque dissonantiam, sed vel Barnabae iuxta Tertullianum, vel Lucae Evangelistae iuxta quosdam, vel Clementis Romanae postea Ecclesiae Episcopi, quem aiunt ipsi adiunctum sententias Pauli proprio ordinasse et ornasse sermone. Vel certe quia Paulus scribebat ad Hebraeos, et propter invidiam sui apud eos nominis titulum in principio salutationis amputaverit. Scripserat ut Hebraeus Hebraice, id est, suo eloquio disertissime ut ea quae eloquenter scripta fuerant in Hebraeo, eloquentius verterentur in Graecum, et hanc causam esse, quod a caeteris Pauli Epistolis discrepare videatur.*

³ P. L., LXVIII, 686.

In the same century Rabanus Maurus writes: " Hanc ergo Epistolam fertur Apostolus ad Hebraeos conscriptam Hebraica lingua misisse, cuius sensus et ordinem retinens Lucas evangelista post excessum Pauli apostoli, Graeco sermone composuit." ¹

The self-same words derived from St. Jerome are transcribed by Walafrid Strabo, pupil of Rabanus, in the compilation, which came to bear the name of *Glossa Ordinaria*. ²

In the tenth century, Atto of Vercelli introduces his commentary with the same view of the Epistle's authorship: " Hanc epistolam fertur Apostolus ad Hebraeos conscriptam Hebraea lingua misisse. Cuius sensus et ordinem retinens Lucas evangelista, post excessum beati Apostoli Graeco sermone composuit." ³

Similarly, a century later, Herveus of Bourg-Dieu (*Burgidolensis*) opens his Introduction or Argumentum with the words: " Paulus in Italia positus Hebraeo sermone scripsit hanc epistolam..." ⁴ The admirable lucidity with which St. Thomas deals with the question justifies the following long citation: " Sciendum est quod ante Synodum Nicaenam quidam dubitaverunt an ista epistola esset Pauli. Et quod non, probant duobus argumentis. Unum est quod non tenet hunc modum quem in aliis epistolis. Non enim praemittit hic salutationem nec nomen suum. Aliud est quod non sapit stylum aliarum, imo habet elegantiores, nec est aliqua scriptura quae sic ordinate procedat in ordine verborum et sententiis, sicut ista. Unde dicebant ipsam esse vel Lucae evangelistae, vel Barnabae, vel Clementis papae. Ipse enim scripsit Atheniensibus (!) quasi per omnia secundum stylum istum. Sed antiqui doctores, praecipue Dionysius et aliqui alii accipiunt verba huius epistolae pro testimoniis Pauli. Et Hieronymus illam inter epistolas Pauli recipit. Ad primum ergo dicendum est, quod triplex ratio fuit quare non posuit nomen suum. Una est, quia non erat Apostolus Iudaeorum, sed Gentium... Et ideo non fecit mentionem de apostolatu suo in principio huius epistolae, quia nolebat officium sui apostolatus insinuare, nisi ipsis Gentibus. Secunda, quia nomen suum Iudaeis erat odiosum, cum diceret legalia non debere servari, ut patet Act. XXII. Et ipsum tacuit, ne saluberrima doctrina huius epistolae abiiceretur. Tertia quia Iudaeus erat... et domestici non bene sustinent excellentiam suorum... Ad argumentum secundum dicendum est, quod ideo est elegantior in stylo, quia, etsi sciebat omnem linguam... tamen melius sciebat Hebraeam, tam-

¹ P. L., CXX, 711.

² P. L., CXIV, 643.

³ P. L., CXXIV, 727.

⁴ P. L., CLXXXI, 1519.

quam sibi magis connaturalem, in qua scripsit epistolam istam. Et ideo magis ornate poterat loqui in idiomate suo, quam in aliquo alio... Lucas autem qui erat optimus prolocutor, istum ornatum transtulit de Hebraeo in Graecum."¹

Modern opinion

The supposition of a Hebrew original, translated into Greek by an elegant hand, was in no sense a diminution of integral Pauline authorship. A faithful translator, however able he may be, is little more than a secretary or amanuensis. One would not speak of him as a joint author. The ancient and medieval commentators just cited regarded every sentence and every limb and every joint of *Hebrews* as the creation of the apostolic heart and brain of St. Paul. It was not quite so with the theory of Origen. The Alexandrian critic introduced a secondary author who wrote the Epistle not from dictation but as a recorder and even as a "scholiographer" of his master's thoughts. In modern books such a secondary collaborator has been given the name of concipient, redactor or extensor. Humanism marked a return to Origen's view and, where it passed into the current of the Protestant revolt, led to the denial of Pauline authorship altogether. In the Catholic camp two names must be mentioned. Cardinal Cajetan, a wonderful commentator on St. Thomas but, in some ways, a most unfortunate Scripturist, doubted not only the Paulinity but even the canonicity of *Hebrews*. Since, according to St. Jerome,—so Cajetan argued—the Letter was doubtfully Pauline, therefore, it was not clearly canonical.² He produced some internal arguments against the sacred dignity of the Epistle, which Cornely justly treats as futile, e. g. the creaturehood of the Son, which Cajetan supposes to be expressed in the Prologue, the invalidity of the Scriptural argument from 2 Samuel 7. 14 (Heb. 1. 5) as also from Psalm 8 (Heb. 2. 6-9), the denial of penance in chapters 6, 10 and 12, the placing of manna in the Ark as described in chapter 9, the argument based on the word *διαθήκη* in the same chapter. Erasmus to give him his due, was less radical. Though apparently inclined to deny Pauline authorship, he practically stopped at the position of

¹ *Comm. in S. Pauli Epp.*, Turin Ed. Vol. II, p. 288. Nicholas de Lyra († 1340) continues the same tradition in the late middle age. (Cfr. CORNELY, *Introductio*, Vol. 3, p. 527).

² *Epistolae Pauli et aliorum apostolorum ad graecam veritatem castigatae*, Venetiis, 1531. Cfr. CORNELY, *Introd.*, Vol. 3, p. 528, and VITTI, *L'ambiente vero della Lettera agli Ebrei*, "Miscellanea Biblica," Vol. 2, pp. 248, 249.

Origen, declaring himself ready to submit to the judgment of the Church in the matter. In his *Adnotationes in Novum Testamentum*¹ he wrote: "Ut a stilo Pauli, quod phrasim attinet, longe lateque discrepat, ita ad spiritum ac pectus Paulinum vehementer accedit... Restat iam argumentum illud, quo non aliud certius, stilus ipse et orationis character, qui nihil habet affinitatis cum phrasi Paulina." Not so much the absence of the Apostle's name or the doubts of St. Jerome as the characteristic style and diction of the Epistle militate against the thesis of Pauline authorship. Erasmus was not prepared to admit a translation, because he found the Letter different from the Paulines "in omnibus notis."

Luther had an early edition of the *Adnotationes* in his hand, as he lectured on *Hebrews* at Wittenberg in the very year of his revolt (1517). In the recently published Glosses and Scholiae² of that and the following year, the Wittenberg Professor quotes Erasmus several times but does not recede from the common view of plenary Pauline authorship. It was in 1522 that he seriously began to ask whether Luke or Apollos might not be the author.³ In that year he finished his translation of the New Testament and it seems as if he then made up his mind that Apollos really wrote *Hebrews*, a view which he expresses many times in his writings.⁴ Following Luther's inspiration, Melancthon, Osiander, the centuriators of Magdeburg, Calvin, Beza etc. attributed the Letter to one or other of St. Paul's disciples. The only stout defender of Paulinity in the Protestant camp in the century of the Protestant revolt was Matthias Flacius Illyricus (*Clavis Scripturae Sacrae*, 1567). On the Catholic side stand Estius (1542-1613) and St. Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621). The latter proved the Letter to be St. Paul's in his treatise *De verbo Dei*, and in answer to the objection drawn from style he mentions the views of Origen and Clement, adding: "Ex his duabus solutionibus, tametsi utraque probabilis est, tamen prior cum simplicior, tum etiam expeditior esse videtur."⁵ He adopts the view of Origen but chooses none of the old conjectures as to the identity of the secondary writer. Estius follows the same course as Bellarmine, but prefers Luke to Clement as redactor.⁶ The Louvain Doctor argues

¹ *Adnotationes in Novum Testamentum*. Fifth Edition, Basel, 1535. Text cited by Vitti, *ibidem*.

² *Luther's Vorlesung über den Hebräerbrief*, herausgegeben von IOHANNES FICKER, Leipzig, 1929.

³ FICKER, *Einleitung*, XLI, op. cit.

⁴ BLEEK, *Einleitung*, 4th ed. Berlin, 1886, p. 676.

⁵ *De Verbo Dei*, l. 1, c. 17.

⁶ *Proleg. in Ep. ad Heb.* Vivès Edition, tom. 3. Paris, 1891.

very thoroughly against the supposition of a Hebrew original. He was not unaware, however, that the view of Clement of Alexandria was the *vetus et vulgata opinio*, which, in spite of the reappearance of Origen's view continued to be held in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by scholars such as Cornelius a Lapide and Natalis Alexander. Even in the nineteenth century Reithmayer, Valroger, Bacuez and Panek advocated the Clementine hypothesis. The German Protestant Biesenthal even went so far as attempting to restore the Aramaic original.¹ The Origenian theory, however, began to prevail amongst Catholics in the second half of the nineteenth century and has prevailed up to the present day, the redaction of the epistle being attributed to Clement of Rome by Bisping, Kaulen, Cornely, Fillion; to Luke by Huyghe; to Barnabas by Jacquier and Merk; to Apollos by Rohr; to Aristion by Chapman. Integral Pauline authorship has found advocates in Heigl and Vittì.

Amongst Protestants the negation of Paulinity, begun by Luther and arrested for a century at least by Flacius, reconquered the field, so that, in the nineteenth century, the Epistle to the Hebrews was vindicated for Paul by only very few unusually conservative scholars. The vast majority have sought the author amongst the companions of Paul or ended by attributing it to a great unknown. Thus Apollos is proposed by Bleek, de Wette, Lünemann, Hilgenfeld, Pfeiderer, Alford, Farrar, Davidson, and Reuss; Silas has had the favour of Boehme, Riehm, Godet, Wohlenberg; Philip the Deacon is the choice of Sir William Ramsay; Barnabas has been favoured by Keil, Zahn, Salmon, Renan, and quite recently by Bornhäuser; the married couple Aquila and Priscilla were seriously put forward by Harnack, who discovered significant *Wir-Stücke* and a certain feminine touch in the Epistle; the hypothesis of an Alexandrian Judeo-Christian has had the patronage of Von Soden, Holtzmann, Jülicher, Westcott, Ménégos. For others the author is just an enigmatic personality skilled in Rabbinic and Hellenic learning. "Gewiss ist nur dass er mit allerlei Traditionen und Auslegungsregeln des rabbinischen wie des hellenischen Judentums bekannt war... In jedem Fall war er an Geistesschärfe, an Beredsamkeit, an heiligem Eifer für das Evangelium einem Paulus ebenbürtig; dass sein Name uns nicht überliefert ist, ist sehr zu bedauern."² "The author of *Πρὸς Ἑβραίους* cannot be identified with any figure known to us in the primitive tradition. He left great prose to some little clan of early

¹ *Das Trosts Schreiben des Apostels Paulus an die Hebräer kritisch wiederhergestellt*, Leipzig, 1878. See MECHINEAU, *L'Epistola agli Ebrei*, Rome, 1917, p. 224.

² WINDISCH H., *Der Hebräerbrief*, Tübingen, 1931, p. 135.

Christians, but who they were and who he was, τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς Θεὸς οἶδεν. To us he is a voice and no more. The theory which alone explains the conflicting traditions is that for a time the writing was circulated as an anonymous tract."¹

Summing up this meagre outline of a long history, attention may be drawn to four points:

1) A tradition asserts the Pauline authorship of *Hebrews* without any qualifications.

2) Critical study of the singular characteristics of the Epistle resulted in Alexandria in two hypotheses.

3) The hypothesis of an Aramaic original became the *critical* tradition of East and West down to the rise of Humanism, probably because it represented integral Pauline authorship.

4) Since the beginning of the sixteenth century the second Alexandrian hypothesis of a redactor has tended to prevail amongst Catholics, while amongst liberal critics it has become the fashion to separate *Hebrews* entirely from the Corpus Paulinum.

Case against Pauline Authorship

Of course, those who reject St. Paul as author attach no historical value whatever to the voice, which Clement and Origen knew to be current amongst the Ancients of Alexandria in the second half of the second century. "I am more convinced than ever," writes Moffatt in the Preface to his Commentary, "that the criticism of this writing cannot hope to make any positive advance except from two negative conclusions. One is that the identity of the author and of his readers must be left in the mist where they already lay at the beginning of the second century when the guess-work, which is honoured as 'tradition' began. The second is, that the situation which called forth this remarkable piece of primitive Christian thought had nothing to do with any movement in contemporary Judaism." In other words, the Epistle is an absolutely anonymous writing and it was not written to Hebrews at all.

"Paulus kann der Verfasser nicht gewesen sein." This sentence of Hans Windisch is the general voice of liberal criticism. The voice comes, the critics say, from the Letter itself, which proclaims to anyone who can understand: "I am not of Paul." The alleged internal protest of the Epistle against the supposed paternity of the

¹ MOFFATT J., *Epistle to the Hebrews*. ("International Critical Commentary"), Edinburgh, 1924. Introduction, XX.

Apostle of the Gentiles, may be classified as historical, literary and doctrinal. A generic exposition of the arguments may be given in a few words.

1. Not only is Paul's name absent from the head of the Letter but in the first piece of exhortation which the Letter contains, the author reveals himself as belonging to the sub-apostolic generation, numbering himself, by the use of the first plural personal pronoun, with those to whom the immediate *hearers* of the Lord had delivered the Gospel.

2. The language of the Epistle is altogether above the Pauline standard, the vocabulary being fuller and distinguished by an enormous number of *hapaxlegomena* and choice words, while the sentence-building is characterized by calm, artistic regularity. Periods are beautifully balanced and rounded; rhetorical flowers are scattered profusely over the pages; the transitions are skilfully managed; the arrangement is that of a rhetorical treatise-homily; exhortation is not confined, in Pauline fashion, to the end of the writing but is intercalated in the doctrinal exposition. The imagery also is different. A ship missing the harbour, an anchor holding the soul fast, a two-edged sword that penetrates and divides the inmost faculties and operations of the soul, the earth watered by rain and producing useful or rank growth, the body as a veil—these images are all foreign to Pauline usage. The affective movement is that of a calm thinker, not of a fiery apostle. The absence of abruptness, sentence-smashing, interrogative transitions like: "Know you not," "What, therefore, shall we say?" is strangely conspicuous. The rhythm has a Hellenic and rhetorical perfection such as sets *Hebrews* apart as a thing of special beauty. The colour of the whole is Levitical and, therefore, alien to the spirit of Paul.

3. The doctrine also, though it has palpable contacts with that of St. Paul, has a different view-point. *Τελέωσις* not *δικαιοσύνη* is the ideal of the author. It consists in access to God. Christ is the Saviour not so much by His death and resurrection as by His entry, through the blood of His sacrifice, into the Sanctuary of heaven. He is not so much the Redeemer and Reconciler as the sympathetic High-Priest. The characteristically Pauline mystical Body does not enter into the Theology of *Hebrews*. For St. Paul Mosaism is a moral Code, which multiplied sin because of the weakness of human flesh, while for the author of *Hebrews* Mosaism is a sacerdotal Code, the weakness of which is inherent in its ritual institutions. In the Epistles the Law is regarded as a "pedagogue unto Christ," in *Hebrews* it is a type or figure of the perfect things to come. Neither has

faith, in *Hebrews*, the same connotation as in the Paulines. It is not the antithesis of the Law and it stands in a more intellectual category than Pauline faith, which includes not only the note of intellectual conviction but also of voluntary surrender to the Gospel. Sacred Scripture enjoys, in the conception of the author, such plenary inspiration that it is regarded simply and solely as the word of God. Not so with St. Paul. Moreover, in *Hebrews* Scripture is treated, above all, as a rich arsenal of types and in this point, it is alleged, the author's mentality betrays his kinship with Philo, for his *Weltanschauung* is dualistic, the sensible world being for him only an image of a super-sensible, spiritual, heavenly world. Even the moral code of the author seems different from that of Paul, inasmuch as the ideas of eschatological reward and punishment, expressed by Old Testament types, are dominant, and life is governed by the yearning for "the lasting city, the immovable kingdom and the vision of God" whom no one can see without holiness.

Examination of Epistle

These are some of the chief elements in the protest which *Hebrews* is supposed to make against its attribution to St. Paul. They must receive detailed consideration later. For the present, we shall content ourselves with an examination of the Epistle as a whole, with the sole intention of getting a true view of its characteristics. Much of the critical scholarship of the time ends in false views, because the critics see an amazing number of trees or, more often, of tiny plants and do not see the forest at all. The man who has counted all the hapaxlegomena, catalogued all the prepositions, marked all the trochees and iambs and anapaests, noted all the little patches that show Alexandrian colour, has really seen very little of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Hence the need of viewing the letter in the great sections that constitute the marvellous whole, and not merely in tiny detached particles — quodlibets which might be used to prove quidlibet.

Place of Epistle

Opening our modern edition of the New Testament, we find that *Hebrews* occupies the leaves between Philemon and James, that is between the thirteenth Pauline and the first Catholic Epistle. Does this collocation separate it from the Corpus Paulinum? Manuscript evidence shows that it does not. In the oldest uncials (S A B C) it follows second Thessalonians and precedes the Pastorals. This is

also the position which it occupies in most MSS of the Bohairic Version and in the commentary of St. Ephraem already mentioned. In the archetype or predecessors of Codex B, it stood between Galatians and Ephesians, as the series of sectional numbers on the margin of that Codex shows. In the Sahidic Version, it even preceded Galatians. The Syriac Versions, the later Greek MSS and the Latin MSS. assign *Hebrews* the order to which we are accustomed, namely, fourteenth place at the end of the Paulines.¹ That it earlier found a place tenth after the nine Letters to the Seven Churches, or after the four great Epistles, or within these in the fourth place is a strong testimony of its ascription to St. Paul. Still more eloquent is the order of the Chester-Beatty papyrus Codex of the early third century. Here *Hebrews* comes immediately after Romans.

Title

While the position of the Letter, considered in its historical antecedents, speaks in favour of Paulinity, the title *Πρὸς Ἑβραίους* gives us the traditional view of its destination. This title can scarcely be regarded as a superscription affixed to the Letter by the author himself, but it is not likely that the Letter circulated in other communities than that to which it was addressed, without bearing some indication of its original destination. As the Letter was in circulation before the end of the first century, it is probable that *Πρὸς Ἑβραίους* stood at the head of it even then. The historically ascertained facts are that it figures in all the codices since the middle of the fourth century; it was the recognised title of the Letter at Alexandria shortly after the year 150; and the early third century papyrus copy of the Chester-Beatty collection has it. We can thus trace it back to within fifty years from Clement of Rome and, as the Letter was familiar to him, the presumption is that he knew it as *Epistola ad Hebraeos*.

The sense of the word *Hebrews* can be conceived as linguistic or ethnic or local. The first of these amounts to *Palestinian*, for Aramaic was not spoken as a common language outside of Palestine. In contradistinction to such *Hebrews* those who came from the *Diaspora* and spoke Greek were called Hellenists.² In the ethnic sense all who belonged to the *δωδεκάφυλον* (Acts 26, 7) were Hebrews, wherever they lived. Although St. Paul, a native of Tarsus, spoke

¹ Cfr. WESTCOTT, Introduction, XXX.

² Acts, 6, 1.

Aramaic as well as Greek, it is not on account of language but because he belonged to "the seed of Abraham and the tribe of Benjamin" (Rom. 11, 1) that he asserted his Hebrew quality against the Hebrew doctors at Corinth, as also in the boast that he made against similar Judaizers in the Letter to the Philippians.¹ In the local sense a Hebrew community in any centre, or the dispersed Hebrews of any region, or even of the whole Roman world could be called by this name. It applied, however, most naturally to the centre of Judaism, that is, to Jerusalem. It is thus coterminous and, in fact, narrower than the linguistic acceptance. That the Letter was directed to a definite community and that the community was at Jerusalem, is the traditional view because it is the obvious view and the one borne out by the text itself. This is not the place to sum up the proofs given so exhaustively by Heigl² and, in briefer form, by Catholic Introductory Manuals³ and by Westcott,⁴ but our analysis will show why the first readers of the Epistle should be sought at Jerusalem rather than at Alexandria or Rome.⁵

The author has, in the course of the Letter itself, given his writing a descriptive title which it is of the utmost importance to keep well in mind. In the brief personal section which concludes the Letter, he writes: Παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, ἀνέχεσθε τοῦ λόγου τῆς παρακλήσεως· καὶ γὰρ διὰ βραχέων ἐπέστειλα ὑμῖν "I exhort you brethren to suffer the word of exhortation: for I have written a letter to you in a few words." *Hebrews* is, therefore, in the mind of the writer, a "Letter of Exhortation," the exhortation being, according to the full force of the Greek word, filled with helpful warning, encouragement and comfort. Now the noun παράκλησις is, in the New Testament, confined to St. Luke and St. Paul and this Letter. Twice we read it in the third Gospel and four times in the Acts, one of the four examples being the etymological interpretation of the second element in the name of Barnabas.⁶ The third of the four is not without special interest. Paul and Barnabas entered the synagogue of Pisidian Antioch together. The invitation given them to speak was conveyed in the words: ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, εἰ τις ἐστὶν ἐν ὑμῖν λόγος παρακλήσεως πρὸς τὸν λαόν, λέγετε..⁷ It was Paul and not Barnabas

¹ 2 Cor., 11. 22; Philipp., 3. 5.

² HEIGL, *Verfasser und Adresse* u. s. w., pp. 157-230.

³ CORNELI, *Introductio*, III, 539-542.

⁴ WESTCOTT, *Introduction*.

⁵ BORNHÄUSER (*Empfänger und Verfasser* u. s. w.) argues well for Jerusalem but limits the circle of addressees to convert priests.

⁶ Acts, 4. 36.

⁷ Acts, 13. 15.

that delivered a "word of exhortation," which, with the Pentecostal discourse of St. Peter and the defence of St. Stephen, shows some of the most striking New Testament parallels with *Hebrews*. In eight out of the thirteen Paulines the word *παρακλήσις* occurs twenty times altogether, of which more than half belong to second Corinthians and almost a third to the exordium of that Epistle alone. In Romans it is found three times (same as *Hebrews*), and in each of six other epistles once (1 Thess., 2 Thess., 1 Cor., Philipp., Philemon, 1 Tim.). The statistics of the verb are almost equally impressive. If we set apart the Synoptic Gospels, and three sentences of 1 Peter and one of Jude, the verb *παρακαλέω* is characteristic of St. Luke and St. Paul. After the Acts, where the verb figures four times in the Petrine section (1-12) and nineteen times in the Pauline (13-28), Paul himself being the subject in about a half-dozen instances, the epistolary, in which the verb is used over fifty times, marks the Apostle of the Gentiles as a specialist in the *λόγος παρακλήσεως*. That is all that statistics can prove. They furnish some tiny indication that a Letter, which is professedly a word of exhortation and uses the extremely Pauline noun *παρακλήσις* and the corresponding verb three and four times respectively, is not alien to the spirit of St. Paul.

With regard to the distribution of exhortation throughout the Letter, it may be observed, in the first place, that the purpose of the writing made the maintenance of an exhortative thread necessary. Secondly, the method is not foreign to St. Paul. In the Paulines as well as in *Hebrews*, paraenetic sections find a place within the dogmatic body of the Letters. There is a word of exhortation in Romans 5, 1, and the section 6, 12-14 is openly exhortatory. First and second Corinthians are, in a sense, all exhortation, but special notice should be given to the fact that a charity sermon figures just in the middle of the latter epistle. Galatians, which is more of the dogmatic type of Romans and *Hebrews*, has an exhortation intercalated in chapter 4. 12-20, before the paraenetic section proper begins with chapter five.

Neither the paraenetic purpose nor the paraenetic-dogmatic plan of *Hebrews* can, therefore, be declared un-Pauline. The indications rather point the other way. But, perhaps, the whole writing and all its parts clamour against ascription to St. Paul? Let us examine it and see.

Analysis of Letter

The Letter opens with a magnificent prologue which forecasts the whole argument and introduces the first section (1. 1-4); then comes the well-planned treatment of a great dogmatic theme in the function not of intellectual instruction only but of the encouragement which the theme is calculated to inspire in the face of a crisis (1. 5-10, 18). The purely paraenetic section extends from 10. 19 to 13. 17 and the Letter ends in a short personal epilogue (13. 18-25). Within what may be called the dogmatic part exhortation occupies the field in the sections 2. 1-4, 3. 7-4. 16, 5. 11-6. 20. The transitions from exposition to paraenesis and vice versa and even the remote preparation of these transitions are admirably managed. " Non est aliqua scriptura quae sic ordinate procedat in ordine verborum et sententiis, sicut ista." ¹ No greater contrast to the manner of Romans and Galatians and even of some other Paulines could well be imagined. It is, perhaps, in the matter of knitting arguments together logically and artistically rather than in vocabulary, or sentence-building that *Hebrews* is felt to be so different from the Paulines. Even when the Pauline waters flowed softly as they did to a certain extent in the epistles of the Captivity, they tended to become impetuous at a moment's notice and to change their movement from that of a placid stream into the rush of a mountain torrent. Notice, for instance, the sudden burst against " the dogs and the evil workers and the concision " in the paternal letter to the Philip-pians, where the emotion does not subside till the end of the chapter. This is, however, only a small sample compared to the abrupt transitions of the early chapters of Romans and the epistle to the Galatians. The attention, which it undoubtedly deserves, will be given to this question of the " joinings " of *Hebrews*, under the heading of style, but it must be noted here that very startling contrasts can occur within the field of a great man's literary modes. Reading St. John's Gospel one would think that this author could not possibly write two successive pages without using *οὖν* as a connecting link; yet in St. John's first epistle the particle does not appear even once. The same sort of thing is found within the series of the thirteen Pauline epistles. The question *τί οὖν ἐποῦμεν* which so frequently occurs, as an argumentative transition, in the dogmatic portion of Romans—a half dozen times in six chapters—is not once again found in

¹ ST. THOMAS, *Prologus*, op. cit.

the epistolary, not even in Galatians, where the argumentative manner is so similar. Arguments from formal dissimilarity must be treated with the greatest caution. They are mostly of a purely negative kind and are very frequently used on the false supposition that an author, who has written a dozen works has thereby revealed the whole measure of his mind and the full potentiality of his style.

Prologue and opening chapter

The Prologue is a case in point. We recognise in it the finest period in the New Testament. It is a long sentence knit together and balanced, such as no other sentence in any other book, not even excepting the Prologue of the third Gospel. It would seem possible to assert with unlimited confidence that St. Paul never produced so symmetrical a piece. If we compare the neat participial construction of this little composition of seventy-two words with the tremendous series of relative clauses that help the exordium-sentence of Ephesians to attain the stupendous length of 202 words, the difference of style will be very evident. Besides, four of the seventy-two words and one phrase are not found in the epistolary or elsewhere in the New Testament.

It is probably true that the exquisite symmetry of this Prologue finds nothing to rival it in the writings of St. Paul, but we must not forget that the Apostle of the Gentiles has left gems of elegant expression as well as of majestic power. The eulogy of charity in 1 Cor. 13. is justly cited as a masterpiece of well-ordered composition and fine rhythm. On the whole, the calmer writing of St. Paul shows a marked tendency towards Hellenic symmetry. Greek was, after all, his mother tongue and his immense sympathy with the world of his apostolate must have had an influence on his style. St. Paul, in fact, had no one style. The manner of his expression not only followed the development of his marvellous apostolic genius but was very much determined by the category of ideas that he dealt with at the time and the state of calm or emotion in which he put his thoughts into words. There is, for instance, scarcely a single irregularity in the Letter to Philemon, and Philippians, written almost entirely in a tone of paternal calm, is almost equally regular. In the latter Epistle the Apostle has pieces of singular elegance as, for instance, the exordium and the beautiful Christological passage. Especially in the Christological text three great ideas have determined the fine literary structure of the piece. Similarly in the Prologue of *Hebrews* the richness of the thoughts, which were combined apparently in a process

of calm reflexion, would have determined the choice of form. Certainly, the ideas are all found equivalently or at least basically in the earlier epistles, especially in those of the Captivity.¹ Another important point is that St. Paul was accustomed to sum up his whole theme in an exordium and this has been admirably done in the Prologue of *Hebrews*.

In the section which sets forth, in Scriptural texts, the superiority of Christ over the Angels (1. 5-14), five of the seven passages are not cited by St. Paul, but it is significant that the first and the last are cited, the other five being also Psalm texts. In the Acts and Epistles St. Paul is found quoting no less than two dozen Psalms. *Hebrews* cites ten Psalms, three of which are also laid under contribution in the Paulines. The author therefore is associated with St. Paul in a generous use of the Psalter and in the use of three identical Psalms. It may be added that the superiority of Christ over the Angels is set forth in a passage of Ephesians, where there is a very clear allusion to Psalm 109, the chief Scripture of the section we are considering and even of *Hebrews* as a whole.

First Exhortation

The first exhortation of our Epistle is introduced by *διὰ τοῦτο*. So common a connection would call for no notice but for the fact that it reminds one very specially of the Pauline epistles, where it is more frequent than in any other writings of the New Testament. It occurs some eighteen times, and stands in the two Thessalonians, Romans, Colossians, Ephesians and 1 Timothy, as here, near the beginning of the epistle. This fact is mentioned especially, because the modes of connection in *Hebrews* are rather different from those of St. Paul.

The exhortation here given to pay more attention to the word spoken by the Lord than to the word spoken by Angels approaches the structure of the Prologue, and its phraseology (*προσέχειν τοῖς ἀκουσθεῖσιν; ἀρχὴν λαβοῦσα λαλεῖσθαι*) is even said to be reminiscent of Alexandria; but the reference to Angels as promulgators of the Law and the reference to charismatic signs find striking parallels in Galatians 3 and 1 Corinthians 12.

The great difficulty which this paragraph is supposed to raise against Pauline authorship is that the writer says that the word, "which at first began to be spoken by the Lord, was confirmed unto

¹ Colossians, 1. 15-20.

us by them that heard him" (2. 3). St. Paul, it is argued, could not have classed himself with those who heard the Gospel mediately and not immediately from the Lord. It must therefore be a disciple of the Apostles and not an Apostle that wrote these words. But the obvious answer is that the writer is speaking of Christ's public preaching during the days of His earthly ministry. That preaching St. Paul had not heard. It was Christ's personal mission to Israel, so that the Apostle of the Gentiles writing to Hebrews could very well put himself amongst those to whom it was confirmed by those disciples, who had been in the school of Christ from the beginning. It would be all the more natural for him to do so, since he adopts the first plural of exhortation all through the epistle, unless he has reason for directly addressing his readers. Moreover, as this initial word of warning stands where a "captatio gratiae" is usually found in the epistles, the avoidance of a second plural, as seeming to embody a reproach, would be particularly advisable. On the contrary, the first plural seems to convey the impression of a Hebrew writing to Hebrews. The term *σωτηρία*, also, though not exclusively Pauline, is very characteristic of St. Paul. In speech and epistle he is known to have used the word twenty times whereas it is seldom found elsewhere except in St. Peter, who has it six times, and in the *Benedictus* three times. It will be remembered that in the Pisidian sermon the Gospel was called *ὁ λόγος τῆς σωτηρίας*.

Incarnation and Passion

That the Incarnation and the Passion do not detract from but rather prove the superiority of the Lord over Angels is shown in an eminently Pauline way and in a way specially adapted to Hebrew readers (2. 5-18). The eighth Psalm, already become a *locus Paulinus* for the universal Lordship of Christ (1 Cor. 15. 27), is adduced and the now glorified sufferer of Calvary is pointed out "crowned with glory and honour" in a way that recalls the "superexaltation" of Philippians (2. 8-11). The becomingness of a suffering Saviour of mankind is traced to the association of the Sanctifier and the sanctified in the sonship of God, the solidarity of the Messiah's brotherhood with humanity being made to rest on a Psalm-verse (21. 23) and a double citation from a part of Isaias, in which St. Paul had already found some words of a composite text.¹

¹ Isaias, 8. 17. Some words of 8, 14 being found combined with 28. 16 in Rom., 9. 33.

If we exclude our Lord's congratulation to Simon Peter (Matt. 16. 17), the expression " flesh and blood " as an equivalent of " human nature " is found in St. Paul's epistles only.¹ It occurs here (2, 14) not in the more usual order of 1 Cor. 15. 50 and Gal. 1. 16, but in the order *αἷμα καὶ σὰρξ* found in the later epistle to the Ephesians (6. 12). Two other expressions are indicative of Jewish addressees, namely, the " seed of Abraham " and the " sins of the people." There seems to be no reason why Christ's race should be mentioned here. Consequently, it can only be on account of the exclusively Jewish character of his readers that the writer says: *οὐ γὰρ δήπου ἀγγέλον ἐπιλαμβάνεται, ἀλλὰ σπέρματος Ἀβραὰμ ἐπιλαμβάνεται*. Lower down the mission of Christ is described as being *eis τὸ ἰλάσκεσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ λαοῦ*. The term *λαός* consecrated by Septuagint usage denotes the Jewish people. Here then as in the words of the Angel to St. Joseph (Matt. 1. 21) the sins of the Jewish race are regarded as the privileged object of Christ's propitiation. Clearly the writer would not, almost against the trend of his exposition, allow his thoughts to be turned to the primary connection of the Incarnation and the Passion with the seed of Abraham and the Jewish people, if he did not have a purely Hebrew circle before his eyes.

Comparison of Christ with Moses and the exhortation which follows

It is also apparently in view of Jewish destinataires that in the next section (3. 1-6) Jesus is presented not only as a High-priest but as an Apostle. His apostolate to the House of Israel introduces the comparison between His dignity and that of Moses. The long exhortation from Psalm 94 is also more peculiarly adapted to Jewish than to Gentile readers nor is the warning against apostasizing from " the living God " (3, 12) in any way indicative of converts from the worship of dead idols, *Θεός ζῶν* being an old Hebrew phrase which we find at least twice in the New Testament spoken in exclusively Jewish circumstances by such purely Jewish persons as Simon Peter (Matt. 16. 16) and Joseph Caiphas (ibid. 26. 63). If the phrase proves anything, it would rather be the hand of St. Paul, since it figures four times in our Epistle and is frequently used besides by St. Paul only.²

¹ 1 Cor., 15. 50; Gal., 1. 16; Eph., 6. 12.

² Seven times: Act., 14. 15; Romans (citing Osee), 2. 26; 2 Cor., 3. 13, 6. 16; 1 Thess., 1. 9; 1 Tim., 3. 15, 4. 10. Once in St. Peter (1 Petr., 1. 23) and twice in Apoc., 1. 12, 15. 7.

The typology of the passage before us is such as would be difficult of comprehension to any but Judeo-christians. It is not to the typical punishments which are mentioned 1 Cor. 10 as befalling the generation of the exodus that this exhortation particularly draws the attention of its readers, but to exclusion from the promised *κατάπαυσις*. That rest, having its archetype in the sabbath of God, was missed by the generation that was first invited to enter upon it. Josue brought another generation into it, but the repose of Chanaan did not fulfil the divine promise. Hundreds of years later, in the days of David, a "Today" was determined in regard to the antitypal sabbath rest of eternity. This sabbatism left for the people of God (*τῷ λαῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ*) is set before the readers of our epistle in its biblical forms — archetype, type, antitype — because the writer knew that it would thus have the meaning which he wished to convey for Palestinian Hebrews. Let it also be observed that the word *ἐπαγγελία*, equated with *εὐαγγέλιον* through the phrase *καὶ γὰρ ἐσμεν εὐηγγελισμένοι*, figures here (4. 1) for the first time in this epistle and continues throughout as the special word for the Gospel promises. There is a remarkable parallel in the Pisidian discourse addressed by St. Paul to a Jewish audience. Having pointed out the fulfilment of the ancient *ἐπαγγελία* in the advent, passion and resurrection of Jesus, the Apostle there said: *Καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς εὐαγγελίζομεθα τὴν πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἐπαγγελίαν γενομένην*. (Acts 13. 32). Outside of this discourse and that delivered before Herod Agrippa (Acts 26. 6), the word occurs often in the epistles, namely, 21 times in this special sense (excluding Gal. 3. 14, Eph. 1. 13, and two doubtful passages of the Pastorals). The greatest number of examples is from the Jewish sections of Romans (8 times) and of Galatians (9 times). In *Hebrews* we read the word no less than thirteen times. That in itself is a very strong indication that the readers were Jews. The Pauline stamp is furthermore discernible in chapters three and four by a certain emphasis which the Apostle had already manifested both in the Pisidian discourse and in 1 Corinthians 10 in regard to the importance of Israel's forty years in the desert. Moreover, such phrases as *κλήσεως ἐπουρανίου μέτοχοι* (3. 1), and *λόγος τῆς ἀκοῆς* (4. 2) seem to betray St. Paul. The same may be said of the interrogative style of 3, 16-18 and the interchange of *ἀπιστία* — *ἀπειθεῖα* and correlative verbs (3. 12, 18, 19; 4. 6, 11). Finally the metaphor of a sword, denoting the word of God, is found nowhere else in the New Testament except in Ephesians 6. 17 and *Hebrews* 4. 12.

The last three verses of chapter four (14-16) constitute a link-paragraph between what follows and the formal description of the

High-priest, whom the Prologue shows enthroned on high and whom chapter 2. 17, 18 presents in the garments of sufferings and sympathy. This short passage has at least four contacts with St. Paul. Firstly, in the New Testament *ὁμολογία* is a Pauline word. Secondly *ἀσθένεια*, in the wider and moral sense, is also purely Pauline. Thirdly the son of God made like to men but without sin is reminiscent of 2 Corinthians 5. 20. Fourthly, although the verbal expression is considerably different and altogether more liturgical, the invitation to "approach with confidence the throne of grace" calls to mind the *προσαγωγήν... εἰς τὴν Χάριν ταύτην* of Romans 5. 2 and also Ephesians 2. 18, 3. 12.

Sacerdotal Centre of Epistle

With chapter five begins the sacerdotal centre of *Hebrews*. Since its subject is nowhere professedly treated in the New Testament, it is only to be expected that parallels with the Pauline epistolary will be fewer. The descriptive picture of a High-priest as a genuinely human representative of men with the authority of a divine call does not clearly echo anything which we read in St. Paul. Nevertheless, the use of the second Psalm reinforced by Psalm 109 as well as the connection between the humiliation of Christ's obedience and His glorified saviourship recall the preacher of Acts 13 and the writer of Philippians 2. 7. It has also been frequently remarked that the image of the suppliant Christ of 5. 7 has affinities with the description of the Agony in Gethsemani from the pen of St. Paul's disciple, Luke.

The exceedingly solemn exhortation (5. 11, 6. 20) which introduces Christ's Melchisedechian priesthood and its characteristic ministry, opens with a complaint, which is remarkably similar to another word of complaint found in 1 Cor. 3. 1-3. There St. Paul declared that he could not speak the sublimer wisdom of the Gospel to the Corinthians because they were imperfect (cfr. 1 Cor. 2. 6)—carnal rather than spiritual. He had to treat them as babes in Christ and give them milk, as to people incapable of (solid) food. The author of *Hebrews* finds himself in the presence of an analogous situation. Those whom he addresses should have been ready to receive the exposition of his great theme, but the expositor's task was rendered particularly difficult by the dulness of their ears. The letter which he was sending to have read aloud in their assembly (cfr. Colossians 4. 16) would, it seemed, meet a very unappreciative hearing. For, whereas the long space of time since their conversion (presumably

in Palestine) should have qualified them to be teachers, they needed once more to be taught the elements of God's message. The similarity of the two communities in backwardness calls forth almost identical language. St. Paul had complained that the Corinthians were not fit to receive the wisdom, which he was accustomed to speak among the *perfect* (1 Cor. 2. 6) and had compared them to *babes* needing to be fed on *milk*. Almost in the same words our author says: "You are become such as have need of *milk* and not of solid food. For everyone that partakes of *milk* is unskilled in the word of justice: for he is a *babe*. But solid food belongs to them that are *perfect*." The parallelism here is not merely confined to the three words: *babe*, *milk*, *perfect* but is a strikingly close parallelism of ideas, such as helps to confirm the tradition that St. Paul wrote our epistle, confirmation and not proof being all that occasional coincidences of imagery and phraseology can offer.

The force of the parallel might seem to be completely neutralized by the concluding sentence: τελείων δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ στερεὰ τροφή, τῶν διὰ τὴν ἔξιν τὰ αἰσθητήρια γεγυμνασμένα ἐχόντων πρὸς διάκρισιν καλοῦ τε καὶ κακοῦ. The philosophical term ἔξις is a *hapaxlegomenon* in the New Testament; so also is the word αἰσθητήριον — both being common to *Hebrews* and Philo — while πρὸς διάκρισιν καλοῦ τε καὶ κακοῦ is such a phrase as we should not expect from St. Paul: The objection, however, loses its force when we consider that ἔξις occurs a half-dozen times in the LXX. It generally stands in the sense of bodily stature or state or well-being, but is also used by the grandson of Ben Sirach (Prologue 10) of skill acquired by practice. The writer speaks of his grandfather as an ardent student of the sacred Books of the Hebrews καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἱκανὴν ἔξιν περιποιησάμενος.¹ Of αἰσθητήριον we may remark that, although the term does not occur in the Letters of St. Paul, the Apostle alone uses the word αἴσθησις so common in the Septuagint. In Philippians 1. 9 it has the sense of moral judgment or discretion. The usage here is nearer to *Jeremias* 4. 19 than to Stoic terminology; for the Prophet is considering the bitterness of Jerusalem's malice, when he declares the pain which afflicts τὰ αἰσθητήρια τῆς καρδίας (αὐτοῦ). Needless to say, γεγυμνασμένα speaks for St. Paul. He alone of New Testament writers has spoken of "exercising... unto piety" (1 Tim. 4. 7). The final phrase πρὸς διάκρισιν καλοῦ τε καὶ κακοῦ may easily be a reminiscence of the Old Testament, where we find such phrases as γινώσκοντες καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν (Gen. 3. 5); οὐκ οἶδεν σήμερον ἀγαθὸν καὶ κακόν (Deut. 1. 39) πρὶν

¹ Quintilian (*Inst. Or.*, 10. 1), gives the definition: Firma quaedam facilitas quae apud graecos ἔξις nominatur.

ἢ γινῶναι τὸ παιδίον ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν (Is. 7. 16). It is true that these antitheses are verbally different, but καλόν is opposed to κακόν in Rom. 7. 21. This last is the only verbal parallel in the New Testament. There are other verbal parallels which might receive notice. For instance τὰ λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ finds a better parallel in Romans 3. 2 than in 1 Peter 4. 11. The term τὰ στοιχεῖα, though found twice as a physical term in 2 Peter, is otherwise entirely Pauline.

In the following paragraph (6, 1-3) the same observation holds for τελειότης, θεμέλιος, νεκρά ἔργα, εἴνπερ ἐπιτρέπη ὁ Θεός. The first of these expressions is limited to this passage and Colossians 3. 14; the second is, in the figurative sense, peculiar to St. Luke's Gospel (twice), the Pauline epistles (7 times) and *Hebrews* (twice). As the vision of the heavenly city in the Apocalypse does not come in for consideration, the use of Θεμέλιος in *Hebrews* carries with it some suggestion of St. Paul. Likewise the idea of "dead works." The nearest parallel is certainly the "dead faith" of James 2. 26, but the three instances of persons being spoken of by St. Paul as morally dead (νεκροὺς τοῖς παραπτώμασιν, Eph. 2. 1, 5; Col. 2. 13) come close to the expression by which *Hebrews* twice (6. 1, 9. 14) designates sinful deeds. The fourth expression admits verbal comparison only with 1 Cor. 16. 7: ἐλπίζω γὰρ χρόνον τίνα ἐπιμεῖναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, εἰ ὁ Κύριος ἐπιτρέψῃ.

In the vocabulary and imagery of the few lines on the impossibility of renewing apostates to penance (6. 4-8) we are also forced to recognise Pauline affinities. Outside of the Johannine writings and one passage of Luke, the verb φωτίζω figures four times in St. Paul and twice in *Hebrews*. Of the four Pauline passages, Ephesians 1. 18 comes close to the special sense of the verb in *Hebrews* 6. 4 and 10. 32. The same is true of the idea conveyed by φωτισμός in 2 Cor. 4. 4, 6. Though the noun μέτοχος is absent from the Paulines, the corresponding verb is entirely peculiar to 1 Corinthians (5 times) and our epistle (3 times). Again ἀνακαινίζω is peculiar to this passage alone, but ἀνακαινίσω (2 Cor. 4. 16; Col. 3. 10), ἀνακάνωσις (Rom. 12. 2; Tit. 3. 5), as well as the sister word ἀνανεόομαι (Eph. 4. 23) are exclusively Pauline. Neither is it true to say that the agricultural image (6. 7, 8) is foreign to St. Paul. It rests on the combined thought of Genesis 1. 11 and 3. 17, and may well have come from St. Paul who wrote to the Corinthians: "Ego plantavi, Apollo rigavit, Deus autem incrementum dedit... Dei agricultura estis" (2 Cor. 3. 6, 9). The verb γεωργέω and the nouns γεώργιον, γεωργός, all three in use in the Septuagint, are found respectively in *Hebrews* 6. 7; 1 Cor. 3. 9 and 2 Tim. 2. 6. Only the last of the three is found

elsewhere in the New Testament and once only (James 5. 7) outside of the Gospels.

The consolation communicated in verses 9-12 has much that is in the manner of St. Paul. Prescinding from the first plural, which is invariably kept throughout the epistle, till the singular number appears four times only, at the end (13. 19, 22*a-b*, 23), the particular form of *πίθω* (*πεπείσμεθα*) stands only here and in four passages of St. Paul.¹ Secondly the triad charity, hope, faith is recognised to be peculiarly St. Paul's.² The word *μυμητής* is also peculiarly his.³

In the example of Abraham (13. 2) there is, it is true, hardly anything that is reminiscent of the heroism of the Patriarch as depicted in Romans 4. On the whole these eight verses seem to offer very few contacts with the epistolary. Nevertheless, the series of relatives which bind the long sentence 16-20 remind one of the exordium of Ephesians; the impossibility of God lying finds expression not only in Romans 3. 4 but also in the noteworthy phrase *ὁ ἀψευδὴς Θεός* (Tit. 1. 2); finally the use of *βεβίωσις* and *βέβαιος* has a Pauline ring.⁴

The heart of the Epistle to the Hebrews lies in the three and a half chapters, which run from 7. 1 to 10. 18. The subject is so unique that parallels are necessarily few. Nowhere else in the epistolary are the supereminent dignity of the Melchisedechian Priest (7. 1-28), the decisively new character of his office (8. 1-13), the distinctive greatness of his ministry (9. 1-28), the all-sufficient efficacy of his one sacrifice (10. 1-18) made the object of a specifically sacerdotal treatise, in which every consideration is directed to a comparative estimate of the priestly mediators of the two covenants. It is possible, however, to detect that the author's views are not remote from the fund of ideas contained in the Pauline epistles. The "weakness and inutility" of the law (7. 18) is a thought familiar to St. Paul (Rom. 8. 3), and the Christ "always living to make intercession" figures also in his epistles (Rom. 8. 34). The tabernacle-worship is for our author "a *shadow* of the heavenly things" (9. 5) as the food-laws and festive legislation are for the Apostle (Col. 2. 17). He also joins St. Paul (8-13) in the express distinction of the Old and New Testament (2 Cor. 3. 6-14). Again, the death of Christ "for the

¹ Rom., 8. 38, 15. 14; 2 Tim. 1. 5, 12.

² 1 Cor., 13. 13; Col., 1. 4, 5; Eph., 1. 15, 18; 1 Thess., 1. 3. The triad figures again Heb., 10. 19-25.

³ 1 Cor., 4. 6, 11. 1; Eph., 5. 1; 1 Thess., 1. 6, 2. 1.

⁴ Cfr. Philipp., 1. 7; Rom., 4. 6; 2 Cor., 1. 6.

redemption of the transgressions which were under the former testament" (9. 5) is the same thought as that found in Romans³ 3. 25. Moreover, in 10. 1 the law as "having a shadow of the good things to come" (Col. 2. 17) falls short of the *εἰκὼν*, a word which in such a context suggests a writer possessed of the Pauline vocabulary (Rom. 8. 29; 1 Cor. 11. 7, 15. 49; 2 Cor. 3. 18, 4. 14; Col. 1. 15, 3. 10). Finally, it is worth while noting that St. Paul is the only New Testament writer who unites with the author of *Hebrews* (9. 26, 10. 10, 12) in calling Christ's voluntary death a *θυσία* and a *προσφορά*. (Ephesians, 5. 2).

Great Paraenetic Section

The great paraenetic section of our Epistle which follows (10. 19, 13. 17) is *firstly* an exhortation to constancy in the faith (10. 19, 12. 13), namely, that faith which by the priestly mediation of Christ gains access to God (10. 19-25), the rejection of which entails perdition (10. 26-31), and whose beginnings in the community addressed were so promising (10. 32-39). Faith's grand roll of glorious witnesses (11. 1-40) and the vision of Christ, Who inaugurated it and became its goal by suffering (12. 1-2), furnish abundant motive to persevere under every discipline (12. 3-13). Then, *secondly*, the virtues demanded by the new citizenship and by the great final expectation are insisted upon, especially peace and holiness (12. 14-29). To these injunctions are added some final admonitions regarding social virtues, loyalty to superiors and to the new dispensation, obedience to whose leaders is a solemn duty (13. 1-17).

* * *

In the first section (10. 19-25) the Pauline triad¹ of theological virtues occurs for the second time in this epistle (*ἐν πληροφορίᾳ πίστεως... κατέχωμεν τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀκλινῇ... κατανοῶμεν ἀλλήλους εἰς παροξυσμὸν ἀγάπης*). There is also a certain presumption of Paulinity in the phrase *ἀπὸ συνειδήσεως πονηρᾶς*. This is the fourth time out of five that the word *συνείδησις* meets us in this letter. Elsewhere, in the New Testament, if we except three instances in 1 Peter, the word seems to be the property of St. Paul (not excepting Acts 23. 1, 24. 16). This fact will have to be noted

¹ Cfr. 1 Thess., 1. 3, 5. 8; 1 Cor., 13. 13; Rom., 15. 1-13 (implicit); Col., 1. 4, 5; Eph., 1. 15-18; Heb., 6. 10-12, 10. 19-25.

again later, for the most characteristic example occurs in the conclusion of the letter.

At the end of the second part of this section (10. 26-31) there is another revealing sentence. Deuteronomy 32. 35 is cited here and in Romans in identical form and it is remarkable that the citation reproduces neither the words of the Hebrew text nor of the Septuagint.

Next comes an appeal to the fervour of the early days (10. 32-39), which begins and ends in Pauline fashion. The sufferings of those days made the converts a gazing-stock. On account of the reproach and tribulation which fell upon them they were *θεατριζόμενοι* (10. 33). The image recalls 1 Cor. 4. 9. There the Apostle, holding up to view the sufferings, which were the lot of the apostolic ministers, said of himself and his companions *ὅτι θέατρον ἐγενήθημεν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις*. The Hebrews must persevere in that early bravery of faith and do the will of God patiently till they carry off the reward.

Adhuc enim modicum aliquantulum
qui venturus est veniet et non tardabit
Iustus autem meus ex fide vivit (ζήσεται);
Quod si subtraxerit se, non placebit animae meae.

This sentence of Habacuc (2. 4) had already served the author of the great faith epistles (Rom. 1. 17, Gal. 3. 11). We are justified in regarding it as a favourite *locus Paulinus*, whose presence here is no slight indication of the Pauline quality of our Epistle.

The great Martyrology of the heroes of faith (chapter 11) is substantially an array of names and facts entirely proper to this letter. But even here there are reminders of the Vessel of Election. The knowledge of the origin of the world, which rests on faith in the creative word of God (11. 3), is set forth in the same intellectual terminology as the rational knowledge of God's existence and nature in Romans 1. 20 (*νοούμεν* and *νοούμενα καθορᾶται*) while the use of *βλεπόμενα* and *βλεπόμενον* in verse 3 recalls Romans 8. 24, 1 Cor. 13. 12, and especially 2 Cor. 4. 18. The declaration that "without faith it is impossible to please" God (11. 6) is substantially similar to Romans 10. 14: "How shall they invoke him in whom they have not believed?" Noe is said to have become "the heir of justice which is according to faith," a form of expression which is very suggestive of St. Paul. (Cfr. Rom. 4. 13, Gal. 3. 22, 29).

The description of the faith of Abraham meets the Epistle to the Romans in at least two points. Our author refers to the innumerable progeny sprung from one heroic believer, who was virtually a

corpse, when he believed in the fatherhood promised to him (*ἀφ' ἐνὸς ἐγενήθησαν καὶ ταῦτα νεκρωμένον*). Romans 4. 19 says likewise that Abraham did not consider his own body already dead (*τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα ἥδη νεκρωμένον*). This coincidence of expression is all the more remarkable inasmuch as it is in no way derived from the Septuagint. Again, the same citation of Genesis 21. 12: *In Isaac vocabitur tibi semen* is found in *Hebrews* 11. 18, and Romans 9. 7. Add to this that the following sentence 11. 19, which based Abraham's faith on the power of God to raise from the dead, conveys the selfsame idea as Romans 4. 17.

In view of the fact that St. Paul is the only one who has turned attention to the "reproach of Christ" (Rom. 15. 3) in terms of Psalm 68. 10, the two references to this reproach in *Hebrews* 11. 26 and 13. 13 are not without significance.

The paragraph which exhort to perseverance under discipline in view of the example of Jesus (12. 1-13) employs the athletic imagery so familiar to St. Paul. The exhortation: "Let us run with patience the race set before us" suggests no other writer known to us from the early Church, as it does the Apostle of the Gentiles. Not only is the word *ἀγών* entirely his,¹ but the idea of life as a race or contest is exceedingly characteristic of the Apostle and very frequent in his discourses and letters.²

The *Pacem sequimini* which opens the next portion (12. 14-29) reproduces the idea of Romans 14. 19. Some lines further down, Mount Sion, the heavenly Jerusalem (12. 22) corresponds to the "Jerusalem above" of Galatians 4. 26. Moreover, if we prescind from our Lord's word reported in Luke 10. 20, and from the Apocalypse, the notion of a heavenly census-roll occurs only in our author's *ἐκκλησία πρωτοτόκων ἀπογεγραμμένων ἐν οὐρανοῖς* and St. Paul's reference to fellow-workers, "whose names are in the book of life" (Philipp. 4. 3). The two ideas which constitute the description of Jesus as *Mediator* of a *New Testament* also belong to the theological patrimony of St. Paul (Gal. 3. 19-20, 1 Tim. 2. 5 [Luke 22. 20], 1 Cor. 11. 25, 2 Cor. 3. 6, 14). The fact that the literal expression *διαθήκη νέα* does not occur in the Epistles is no objection to this parallel, because the interchange of *καινός* and *νέος* is quite in the manner of the Apostle, as appears from a comparison of Eph. 4. 24, and Col. 3. 10.

¹ Philipp., 1. 30; Col., 2. 1; 1 Thess., 2. 2; 1 Tim., 6. 12; 2 Tim., 4. 7.

² Acts, 13. 24, 20. 24; Rom., 15. 30; 1 Cor., 9. 24-27; Gal., 2. 2, 5. 7; Philipp., 2. 16, 3. 12-14; Col., 1. 29; 1 Tim., 4. 10; 2 Tim., 2. 5, 4. 7.

The body proper of our Epistle ends here (12. 25-29) with a characteristic warning not to turn an ear of refusal to Him that speaks. The paragraph is dominated by a borrowing from the prophet Aggeus, but it ends in one of those short sentences or dicta into which St. Paul was accustomed to crystallize the solemn conclusion of an admonition or some telling point in an argument. Heigl cites a few examples (o. c., p. 79), but scarcely any Pauline epistle is without those dicta. The following selection will show that the string on which these pearls hang binds Hebrews in the literary circle of the Paulines: οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν προσωποληψία παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ (Rom. 2. 11); ὦν τὸ κρίμα ἐνδοκον ἐστὶν (Rom. 3. 8); τὸ γὰρ τέλος ἐκείνων Θάνατος (Rom. 6. 21); ὁ γὰρ ναὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἅγιός ἐστιν, οἵτινες ἐστε ὑμεῖς (1 Cor. 3. 17); παράγει γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου (1 Cor. 3. 17); (1 Cor. 7. 31); ὦν τὸ τέλος ἐστὶ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν (2 Cor. 11. 15); οὐ γὰρ πάντων ἡ πίστις (2 Thess. 3. 2); ἥς τὸ τέλος εἰς καύσιν (Heb. 6. 8); Φοβερὸν τὸ ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς Χεῖρας θεοῦ ζώντος. The paragraph we are just considering ends in another such dictum, a word of particularly solemn and terrifying brevity: καὶ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν πῦρ καταναλίσκων (12. 29). If the ten parallels here noted (seven from the epistolary and three from *Hebrews*) are read in their contexts, the force of this stylistic peculiarity as an indication of one and the same author will be found very strong.

Appendix

There is perhaps no part of our Epistle, which confirms the traditional data as to who wrote it and to whom it was written, as does the appendix-chapter 13 with its epilogue (13. 18-25).

The writer first recommends the five virtues of brotherly love, hospitality, corporal mercy, sexual purity and worldly detachment. The exhortations are delivered in short snappy sentences which are eminently reminiscent of Romans, 12, 9-21. The contents also are reminiscent of St. Paul. He shares the word *Φιλαδελφία* with St. Peter only amongst N. T. writers,¹ but he is the only N. T. writer who puts it side by side with *Φιλοξενία*.² Although the use of "do not forget" with regard to a virtue is characteristic of Hebrews only (13. 2, 13. 16), the expression: "Let brotherly love remain" seems to echo St. Paul (1 Cor. 13. 13, 2 Cor. 9. 9). The special recommendation of hospitality motivated by the example of those who entertained angels unawares (Abraham, Lot), although

¹ Rom., 12. 10; 1 Thess., 4. 9; Heb., 13. 1; 1 Petr., 1, 22; 2 Petr., 1. 7.

² Rom., 12. 13; Heb., 13. 2.

it may be conceived as suiting any church, is nevertheless, more eminently in place, if the Church of Jerusalem is addressed.

Thought for prisoners and a sympathy which makes the sympathizer feel that he himself is a fellow-prisoner is, of course, a general Christian sentiment, but it cannot be denied that St. Paul would be a most likely man to speak of it here for the second time (Heb. 10. 34, 13. 3). Writing to the Ephesians and to Philemon he gave himself the title of "prisoner" as often as four times and outside of the Gospels and *Hebrews* the word *δέσμιος* describes only St. Paul. He had once brought Christians into Jerusalem prisons. Consequently, the words: "Remember them that are in bonds as bound with them" would come very naturally as a word of Paul ex-persecutor and recent "prisoner of Jesus Christ" to the community at Jerusalem. Perhaps the Apostle also reveals himself in the little anarthrous phrase *ἐν σώματι* which only occurs here (Heb. 13. 3b) and 2 Corinthians 12. 2, 3.

It is sufficiently clear from the text that the admonition regarding marriage was not occasioned by the presence of any false ascetic principles such as existed in the Corinthian community in the year 56. It is not the honourableness of the marriage state for all but the maintenance of the honour of its purity that the writer had in view. The admonition therefore neither points to any particularly licentious city nor does it exclude Jerusalem. The next sentence is somewhat more positively indicative of the author. The close association of the two vices of impurity and avarice seems a characteristic of St. Paul. At least four times in his Letters¹ the Apostle places these vices side by side. Added to this real parallelism is the further fact of word-coincidence. The adjective *ἀφιλάργυρος* occurs only here and in 1 Timothy 3. 3. While the adjective *Φιλάργυρος* is proper to Luke and Paul,² the noun *Φιλαργυρία* is a hapax-legomenon of 1 Timothy 6. 10. In the last-mentioned passage and in Philippians 4. 11, 12, the same doctrine of *autarkeia* is conveyed as in the text before us: *ἀΦιλάργυρος ὁ τρόπος ἀρκοῦμενοι τοῖς παροῦσιν*. Moreover, in the next sentence the verb *θαρρέω* reminds us of three passages in 2 Corinthians, where it occurs five times, not being found elsewhere in the New Testament.

The introductory sentence of the next paragraph has a singularly Pauline sound. The *Mementote* at the head of it would of itself suffice to call up the discourse to the presbyters at Miletus (Acts

¹ 1 Thess., 4. 3-6; 1 Cor., 6. 9-10; Eph., 4. 19; Col., 3. 5.

² Luke, 16. 14; 2 Tim., 3. 2.

20. 31, 35) as well as a particularly impressive sentence of Galatians (2. 10) and such appeals from the earliest and latest epistles of St. Paul as the following: *Remember*, brethren our labour... (1 Thess. 2. 9). Do you not *remember* that... I told you these things... (2 Thess. 2. 5). Therefore *remember* that once you the Gentiles... were without Christ... (Ephes. 2. 11). *Remember* my bonds (Col. 4. 18). *Remember* that Jesus Christ of the seed of David was raised from the dead (2 Tim. 2. 8). Elsewhere such appeals to memory rarely occur except on the lips of our Lord and in the apocalyptic letters to the Churches of Ephesus and Sardes.¹ The noun *μνεία*, remembrance, which however does not occur in *Hebrews*, St. Paul has made peculiarly his own. We meet it seven times at the head of six Epistles.

Reference has already been made to the Paulinity of the idea of *imitation*. The Hebrews are here exhorted to "remember their leaders and, contemplating the end of their life's course, *imitate* their faith." This would be the third time that St. Paul wrote the verb *imitate*, while the noun *imitator*,² which we have already seen in *Hebrews* 6. 12, figures five times in the Epistles, occurring nowhere else. The verb *μμεῖσθαι* belongs to the vocabulary of the Paulines and 3 John only. The glorious "exit" attributed to the models of imitation further reminds us not only that 1 Corinthians 10. 13 offers the only verbal parallel but also that we must seek the readers of our epistle in Jerusalem. We know of no such "exits" as seem to be indicated here in the earliest annals of any other Church. Stephen the Deacon, James the son of Zebedee and James the son of Alphaeus could certainly be cited amongst *ἡγούμενοι* whose "exits" were models of faith. Those who confessed Jesus Christ "yesterday" unto blood would be splendidly appropriate examples for wavering Christians who needed to remember that Christ is also "today and the same for ever" (13. 8).

Although the following nine verses (9-18) follow a line of thought which, on account of the nature of the subject, is considerably different from anything in the Pauline Epistles, many points of similarity may be observed in ideas, vocabulary and diction. No less than six passages, namely, Romans 14. 21; 1 Corinthians 7. 1, 8, 26, 9. 15, and Galatians 4. 8 will show how easily St. Paul could have written that infinitival sentence beginning with *καλόν*, while the infinitive phrase itself: *βεβαιούσθαι τὴν καρδίαν* suggests the same.³ Likewise

¹ Matt., 16. 9 (Mk., 8. 18); Luke, 17. 32; John., 15. 20, 16. 4; Apoc., 2. 5, 3. 3.

² Add to these *συμμητής* (Philipp. 3. 17).

³ Cfr. Rom., 15. 8; 1 Cor., 1. 6, 8; 2 Cor., 1. 21; Col., 2. 7. Otherwise the verb is found only in this epistle (2. 13, 13. 9) and in the final verses of Mark (16. 20).

the metaphorical use of περιπατεῖν is a favourite Paulinism attested more than thirty times in the Epistles.

In the seven sentences which follow there are several phrases which can be reasonably attributed to St. Paul on the basis of favourite usage. Thus, the phrase: *Φαγεῖν οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἐξουσίαν* finds a series of three remarkable parallels in 1 Corinthians 9. 4-6.¹ The clause *ἵνα ἀγιάσῃ διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αἱματος τὸν λαόν* combines two ideas found in Ephesians 5. 7 and 1. 7—a combination which is of no mean significance, if we consider that "sanctification" and "Christ's blood" as a means of sanctification are more prominent in the Pauline writings than anywhere else. Christ's reproach (Rom. 15. 2, Heb. 11. 26) is mentioned once more in 13. 13 and the following verse directs the readers thought to the future city which is also held up as an object of contemplation in the letter to the Philippians (3. 20). To this latter writing we are furthermore indebted for a suggestion that the same Paul who called the alms of the faithful (Philipp. 4. 18) an *ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας, θυσίαν δεκτὴν ἐν ἀρεστον* τῷ Θεῷ also wrote the sentence: *τῆς δὲ ἐνποίας καὶ κοινωνίας μὴ ἐπιλανθάνεσθε· τοιαύταις γὰρ θυσίαις εὐαρεστεῖται ὁ θεός*.

Epilogue

The Epilogue (13. 18-25) alone remains. Its first word is: "Pray for us," which, without the addition of a *καὶ*, is an identical reproduction of 1 Thessalonians 5. 25 and 2 Thessalonians 3. 1. Elsewhere St. Paul recommends himself more than once to the prayers of those to whom he writes.²

Attention has already been drawn to the fact that the testimony of a good conscience had its chief preacher in the Apostle of the Gentiles. Appeal to his own good conscience is so characteristic of him that we might almost regard the sentence: "We trust we have a good conscience, in all things wishing to live well" as equivalent to a signature. With the exception of 1 Peter, as has been said, the word *συνείδησις* is St. Paul's, the toll in the Acts and the Epistles being twenty-two, Hebrews adding another five. Appeal to his conscience was habitual with the Apostle as may be seen especially from Acts 23. 1, 24. 6, Romans 9. 1, 2 Cor. 1. 12, 2 Tim. 1. 3. A prosperous journey or a quick arrival as an object of prayer is moreover a sign of the great traveller-Apostle.³

¹ See also 2 Thess., 3. 9.

² Rom., 15. 30-32; Eph., 6. 18-20; Coloss., 4. 3.

³ 1 Thess., 3. 11; Rom., 1. 10, 15. 32; 1 Cor., 16. 7; Philipp., 1. 26; Philemon, 22.

The Apostolic Blessing, ending in a doxology, which is contained in 13. 20-21 is best dealt with in the form of a table:

ὁ Θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης	Rom. 15. 33, 16. 20; 1 Cor. 14. 33, 16. 11. Philipp. 4. 9; 1 Thess. 5. 23; 2 Thess. 3. 16.
ὁ ἀναγαγὼν ἐκ νεκρῶν τὸν ποιμένα τῶν προβάτων ... ἐν αἵματι διαθήκης αἰωνίου τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν	Rom. 10. 7. Borrowing from Is. 63. 11 (LXX). Zach. 9. 11 + Is. 55. 3 (αἰώνιον). Actual combination only Paul, seven times.
καταρτίσαι ὑμᾶς	Only Paul ¹ Luke 6. 40 and 1 Peter 5. 10.
ἐν παντὶ ἀγαθῷ	No exact parallel but the phrase suggests Paul.
εἰς τὸ ποιῆσαι τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ	} See Eph. 6. 6 and for combination, of θέλημα ἀγαθόν ἐνάρκτον Rom. 12. 2. The last of these three words only in Paul eight times.
ποιῶν ἐν ἡμῖν τὸ εὐάρεστον ...	
διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ	

The doxology, with which this paragraph concludes, is much closer to the form of the eight Pauline doxologies than to any of the other seven doxologies of the New Testament. It is verbally the same as Gal. 1. 5 and, in combining *δόξα* alone (without *κράτος* or any other word) with the phrase *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων*, it stands with two other of the Pauline doxologies (Rom. 11. 36, 2 Tim. 4. 8).³

Something has already been said of the sentence: "Rogo autem vos, fratres, ut sufferatis verbum solacii; etenim perpaucis vobis scripsi." At least two thirds of it bear the seal of St. Paul. Παρκαλῶ δὲ (οὖν) ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί simple as the phrase is, stands, with the force of six examples,⁴ for nothing but Pauline authorship, not to mention a half-dozen more sentences in the epistolary which show

¹ Cfr. 1 Cor., 1. 10; 2 Cor., 13. 11; Gal., 6. 11; 1 Thess., 3. 10.

² Thessalonians 3 times, Galatians once, Corinthians 5 times, Romans 8, Ephesians, Philippians, Titus once each, the total being twenty. Elsewhere in N. T. only 4 examples.

³ Rom., 12. 1, 15. 30; 1 Cor., 1. 10, 16. 15; 1 Thess., 4. 10. Cfr. 1 Cor., 4. 16; 2 Cor., 6. 1, 10. 1; Eph., 4. 1; Philipp., 4. 2; Philemon. 10.

⁴ Rom., 16. 17; Philipp., 1. 27, 2. 26; 1 Thess., 2. 17, 3. 6, 10; 2 Tim., 1. 4.

substantial identity. Moreover, a word of apology, here couched in the form of a plea for indulgent reception, is familiar to us from Romans 15. 15 and 2 Corinthians 11. 1. Although the reference to the length of the letter finds its closest parallel in 1 Peter 5. 12, nevertheless, Paul alludes to his epistolographic manner not only in Romans 15. 15 but also in Galatians 6. 11 and 2 Thessalonians 3. 14. The verb *ἐπιστέλλειν* is not found in any of the Pauline Epistles but it occurs twice in the Acts of the Apostles (15. 20, 21. 25) with reference to the letter sent to the Syrian and Cilician communities by the Council of Jerusalem. It shows that *Hebrews* is a letter and not a homily.

The mention of Timothy's release from captivity or departure on a journey (*ἀπολευμένον*) has no more likely author than St. Paul. The beloved disciple has the honour not only of having had two letters addressed to him but also of having been mentioned in every other letter which the Apostle wrote except Galatians, Ephesians and Titus. Since the year 58 he must have been well known to the members of the Church at Jerusalem. The use of the comparative adverb *τάχιον* by St. Paul (1 Timothy 3. 14) is not, perhaps, worthy of any very particular note, but the phrase "videbo vos" is reminiscent not only of Romans 1. 11 (*ἐπιποθῶ γὰρ ἰδεῖν ὑμᾶς*) but of seven other passages in the Epistles.¹

The double concluding salutation is very characteristic of the Pauline letters. *Ἀσπάσασθε... Ἀσπάζονται* occurs as here in Romans 16. 16, 2 Corinthians 13. 12, Philippians 4. 21, and with variation of order or number (singular, plural) in 1 Corinthians 16. 19, 16. 20, Colossians 4. 10-14, 2 Timothy 4. 19, 21, Titus 3. 15. Seven instances of such combination of imperative and indicative do not lose their impressiveness, even in view of the fact that the same thing occurs once each in the first of Peter and the third of John. For another reason the two sentences are worthy of special notice. "Salutate omnes praepositos vestros et omnes sanctos" seems to indicate that the letter was not written to the whole community. Theodoretus remarks the fact and comments thus: "Innuat his verbis, eos qui his praesunt huiusmodi non egere doctrina. Quamobrem non ad ipsos scripsit, sed ad eorum discipulos."² Likewise St. Thomas takes "all the rulers" to be the surviving Apostles and "all the saints" to be the other disciples "Istis non scribit quia non intendebat scribere, nisi contra observantes legalia."³ Born-

¹ Cor., 16. 7; Philipp., 1. 27, 2. 26; 1 Thess., 2. 17, 3. 6, 10; 2 Tim., 1. 4.

² Interpretatio Ep. ad Heb., P. G., LXXXII, 786.

³ O. c., p. 452.

häuser's theory that the addressees of the Epistle were the convert priests mentioned in Acts 6. 7 has plausible arguments to recommend it.¹ Certainly there are several passages which show that a particular section of formerly fervent and now wavering members are principally addressed (5. 12, 6. 10, 10. 25, 10. 33-34, 12. 4, 13. 9) The words *Ἀσπάσασθε πάντας τοὺς ἡγουμένους ὑμῶν καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους*, would well suit such a section. Nevertheless, this kind of special destination due to particular circumstances does not exclude a general destination of the letter as a whole to the community at Jerusalem. The first to the Thessalonians was certainly addressed to a Church (1. 1); yet the Apostle writes: "Rogamus autem vos, fratres, ut noveritis eos qui laborant inter vos et praesunt vobis in Domino, et monent vos, ut habeatis illos abundantius in charitate propter opus eorum... Rogamus autem vos, fratres, corripite inquietos... patientes estote ad omnes" (1 Thess. 5. 12-14). A request to salute "all the saints" (Rom. 16. 15) "every saint" (Philipp. 4. 2) "all the brethren" (1 Thess. 6. 26) appears at the end of three letters undoubtedly addressed to communities. The letter to the Hebrews would naturally have been destined for reading in the Hebrew community, even though it was intended primarily for a section of that community.

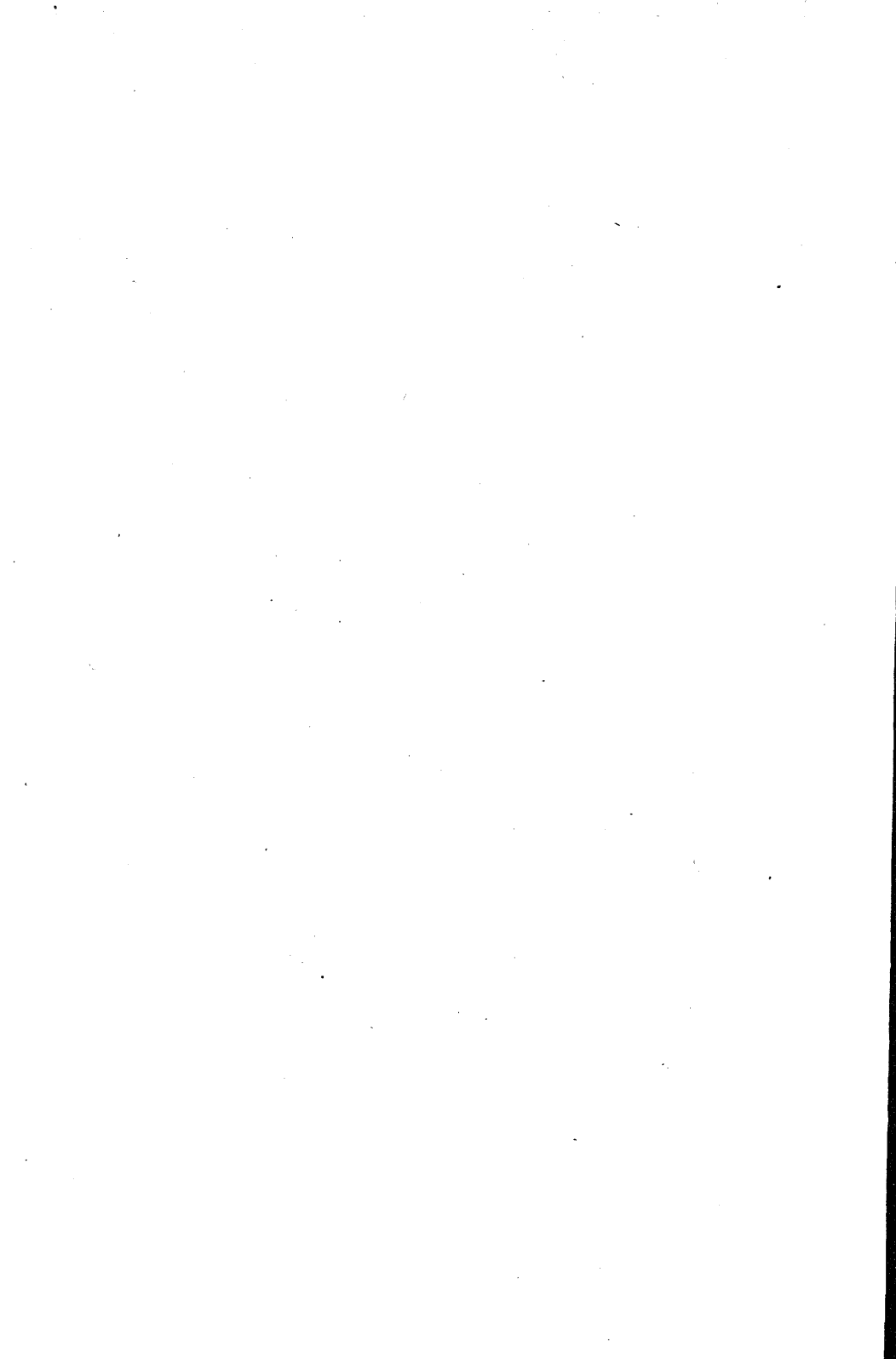
Οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας can scarcely be a group of Italians living outside of Italy. Its natural meaning is that "those who are in Italy send greeting from Italy." As parallels we may cite *τὰ ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ* (Matt. 24. 17), *ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ* (Luke 11. 13) and *τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικείας* (Col. 4. 16). The things to be brought out are *in* the house, the Father is *in* heaven, the Laodicean letter is *in* Laodicea. A perfect parallel is found in the Pseudo-Ignatian letter ad Heronem.² *Ἀσπάζονται σε ... καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀπὸ Φιλίππων ἐν Χριστῷ, ὅθεν καὶ ἐπέστειλα σοι*. Our Epistle was, therefore, written from Italy and most probably from Italy's chief place, namely, Rome. This determination of the place of origin does not support any decisive verdict in favour of Pauline authorship but at least it is in harmony with what we know of St. Paul's whereabouts between the years 63 and 65, within which triennium our Epistle must be dated. Its last words: *ἡ Χάρις μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν* are something like thirty-fold Pauline.

¹ Empfänger und Verfasser des B. an die H., pp. 24 ff.

² P. G., V, 917; Ep. ad Heron. n. 8. Deissmann (Licht vom Osten, 3rd. ed., p. 136) says of a phrase *ἀπὸ Φμαῦ* in the description of a man named Plenis found on a Theban Ostrakon: Das ist dasselbe *ἀπὸ* das Heb. 13. 24 oft missverstanden worden ist; vgl. meine kleine Notiz im Hermes 33 (1898) S. 344. Wie auf dem Ostrakon die Leute in Phmau gemeint sind, so sind auch die *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας* der Hebräerepistel wohl die Leute in Italien.

Conclusion

This rather tedious and often mathematical, but by no means microscopic, examination of *Hebrews* as a whole, reveals a cumulative series of internal indications which support the tradition of its Paulinity. They are presented not as independent but as confirmatory proof that Paul the Apostle wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews, as a letter, in the ordinary sense of the word, to the Judeo-Christian community of Jerusalem. Our contention is that there is solid external historical evidence and strong positive internal evidence for the Pauline origin of the Epistle. Whether other considerations tend to weaken the traditional position or at least militate against the assumption of integral Pauline authorship will appear, as far as the limits of this essay permit, in the sequel. The examination of the Epistle as a whole, which has been here attempted, makes no pretence to be complete. In order to supplement its purely analytical view of the cumulative contacts between *Hebrews* and the Paulines, it will be necessary to offer a synthetic summary of the Epistles theological contents and systematic discussion of its literary form.



II

THEOLOGY OF "HEBREWS"

The Epistle to the Hebrews and the thirteen Pauline Epistles, with which it is doctrinally compared in this chapter, were all occasional writings. Into any one of them the author could not put more than a fraction of his theological thought. The particular scope of the moment not only excluded a host of doctrinal matters but also limited, according to the view-point imposed upon the writer, the development of the things which he decided to write. Thus the Eucharist did not find any place in Romans or Galatians because the concrete determination of the themes of these letters excluded it. Similarly the Eucharistic sacrifice of bread and wine, which Melchisedech's sacrifice might well have brought before the mind of the author of *Hebrews*, is logically omitted as not belonging to the subject in hand. It is only an unskilful writer that will bring in things which do not belong to the present theme. Even when a certain idea does find its fitting place in two or more occasional writings, one aspect of it is likely to be emphasised here and another there. It is of the very essence of an occasional writing that the ideas should be adapted to the situation which called them forth.

Remembrance of these two points, namely, the reasonable absence of a doctrine from a certain writing and the special aspect, proportion or colour which an idea is compelled to take in a particular context, is most essential to a comparative estimate of the Theology of *Hebrews* and the Paulines. In the Epistle to the Hebrews it is the Mediatorship of Christ on its objective side which is the theme under consideration, a theme which the author treats in view of the adhesion of faith which the Hebrews should continue to give to Christ. Naturally this kind of theme will not allow such a development of the subjective side of redemption as we find, for instance, in the Epistle to the Romans, which from the very beginning centres on the justifying efficacy of faith. With this divergence of view-point it is not surprising that such an important idea as that of faith itself, will appear in a different light, its voluntaristic side being naturally more in evidence when it stands in the scheme of human justification rather than in its relation to its proper object. *Hebrews* is really a unique Epistle because its central theme sets it apart from the thirteen letters which St. Paul wrote to seven Churches and to three individuals. St. Tho-

mas Aquinas saw this difference and described it well, when he wrote: "*Christi excellentia... est materia huius epistolae ad Hebraeos, quae ab aliis distinguitur, quia in quibusdam epistolis agitur de gratia novi testamenti quantum ad totum corpus mysticum Ecclesiae, et hoc in omnibus epistolis quas mittit Ecclesiis, in ea scilicet quae est ad Romanos, ad Corinthios ad Galatas, et usque ad primam ad Timotheum. In quibusdam vero quantum ad membra principalia, sicut in his quas mittit singularibus personis, scilicet ad Timotheum, ad Titum, et ad Philemonem. In ista vero commendat ipsam gratiam quantum ad caput, scilicet Christum.*"¹ We must keep that fact clearly in mind as we proceed to institute a comparison between the theological content of this epistle and that of the Paulines.

The theology of *Hebrews* may be summarized and compared with the Paulines under nine representative headings, namely: 1) God and the Angels, 2) Man, 3) the Preparation of Salvation, 4) the Person of the Saviour, 5) his Salvific work, 6) Subjective Salvation, 7) Faith, 8) the Holy Spirit and the Church, 9) Eschatology. The exposition is based entirely on the relative texts, references to views of authors being mostly relegated to footnotes.

God and the Angels

God is the creator and end of all things (2. 10). He is the father of spirits (12. 9) who wished His own sabbath rest to be the eternal rest of His people (4. 3-10). For that purpose He decreed the adoption of many sons, whom He wished to bring into glory (2. 10). The Father, the first person of the Blessed Trinity holds this proper title only in one passage of our Epistle,² but there can be no doubt that the teaching of the Epistle is trinitarian. In fact this mystery is implicitly stated not only in the frequent mention of the Son and the Holy Ghost but especially in the passage where *God* is said to have borne witness to the message first spoken by the *Lord*, vouchsafing signs and wonders and gifts of the *Holy Spirit* according to His own will (2. 3, 4). The paternity of God towards a family of adoptive sons finds not only implicit expression in passages which describe the fact of adoption, but it is also explicitly affirmed when our author speaks of the discipline, to which the Father of spirits subjects us in order than we may partake of His holiness (12. 5-10).

¹ O. c. Prologus, p. 288.

² According to the citation from 2 Sam. 7.14: "Ego ero illi in patrem et ipse erit mihi in filium." God through the typical person of Salomon declares Himself the Father of the Messias. See WESTCOTT, p. 21.

Apart from these points there is nothing in the Epistle's teaching on God which is in any way peculiar to it. The severity of God is, indeed, strongly emphasised: "Our God is a consuming fire" (12. 29); but God is also the "God of peace" (13. 20), not "unjust so as to forget the work and charity" shown in the past (6. 10). Neither the comparative silence on the divine paternity nor the appellation "father of spirits" separates our Epistle from the Paulines. The ordinary place for an express mention of God the Father in the Paulines is the opening address. It is missing in that place in none of the thirteen letters; but *Hebrews* has no address. There is no rule of frequency observable in the bodies of the letters. In such a long letter as Romans the natural paternity of God as Father of our Lord Jesus Christ appears in express terms only twice and His paternity of charity towards men only once. In the body of the Pastorals and Philemon the appellation is not found even once in either sense. Even in the way the Fatherhood of God towards Christians is represented there are differences within the Paulines. In the severe letter to the Galatians there is no such sweetness in the conception of God's paternal relation to the redeemed as there is in Ephesians, which deserves to be called *par excellence* the Epistle of God's Paternity. The Epistle to the Hebrews is not, indeed, a severe letter of reprimand but it is a word of warning full of the fear of the Lord. Therefore, it is not surprising that, while the "grace of God" is not hidden, the "Father of mercies" does not come prominently to the front.¹

The description of God as "father of spirits" does really seem somewhat surprising and remote from Pauline usage, but we must remember that it is a Septuagintal expression.² Here the use of the phrase is suggested by the contrast between the body subject to parental discipline and the soul which receives the divine discipline,

¹ With substantial truth, but perhaps with a slight suggestion of falsehood, MOFFATT writes: "While the author knows the primitive Christian idea of God's fatherhood, it is not in such terms that he expresses his own conception of God... The author of *πρὸς Ἑβραίους* lays no stress upon the Fatherhood of God for men; except in connexion with the discipline of suffering, he never alludes to the goodness of God as paternal even for Christians." (Introduction, XXXV). Elsewhere, commenting on 2. 10, we find a better statement of the truth: "For the first time the writer calls Christians God's sons. His confidence towards the Father is in sharp contrast to Philo's touch of hesitation." (*Op. cit.*, p. 30).

² On the occasion of the rebellion of Core, Moses and Aaron fell on their faces before the Lord and prayed: Θεὸς Θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός κ. τ. λ. (Num. 16. 22). The same Moses uses this form of address once more, when told by the Lord to ascend Mount Nebo and meet his death (27. 16). A similar but not identical expression: ὁ τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης ἐξουσίας δυνάστης occurs in 2 Macc. 3. 24.

for "pater spirituum" undoubtedly means, as St. Thomas briefly says: "(pater) animarum nostrarum quae dicuntur spiritus." ¹

The Angelology of *Hebrews* may be stated in a few words. Angels are spiritual beings, by nature superior to men. Made to the likeness of winds and flames of fire, they serve God as messengers and ministers (1. 7). There is no mention of hierarchies amongst them. The author evidently did not wish to combat any objectionable cult of angels as in Colossians but to fix their place in the economy of human salvation. ² From the day that angels proclaimed the legislation of Sinai (2. 2), they exercised a dominant mediation in the Israelite Theocracy (2. 5) and always continue to be sent as ministering spirits to help those members of the human race who are to attain the inheritance of salvation (1. 14). They are, however, entirely inferior to the Son, whom they are called upon to adore (1. 6). The Messianic Kingdom is not under their control, since the Son Incarnate—the ideal Man of Psalm 8—is its sovereign Lord and administrator (2. 5-8). Angels do not stand amongst the creatures whom the Son became man to succour (2. 16). Nevertheless, they belong to the city of the redeemed. The heavenly Jerusalem counts myriads of Angels, with whom the spirits of the just made perfect and the elect, whose names are written in heaven, form one great assembly (12. 22-24). Of apostate angels there is only one mention. The Prince of the empire of death, who is called *ὁ διάβολος* (2. 14), is undoubtedly a rebel angel. The name "Satan" does not occur in *Hebrews*.

The Epistles supply many more elements of a theology of Angels. St. Paul recognised at least seven hierarchies of angelic beings (1 Thess. 4. 16, Eph. 1. 21, Col. 1. 16, Rom. 8. 38 etc.). He often refers to the rebel angel, whom he generally calls Satan — *διάβολος* occurring only in the Captivity letters and Pastorals—as the tempter and the artful enemy of man. He mentions elect angels and shows them accompanying Christ at His appearance as judge. In all this there is no suggestion whatever of authors holding two different teachings regarding angels. ³ Wherever there is contact between the two

¹ O. c., p. 433.

² ROHR. o. c. *Zur Engellehre des Hebr.*, p. 17.

³ WINDISCH'S Excursus, *Der Engelglaube im Hebr.* combines tendentiousness with bad logic and bad exegesis. There is an unwarranted suggestion of unpaulinism in the statement: Offenbar kennt der Verfasser überhaupt keine andere Auffassung von den Engeln, als die, dass sie Diener und Sendlinge sind; die paulinische Vorstellung von den *Θρόνοι, κυριότητες, ἀρχαί* ist ihm sichtlich völlig fremd, daher natürlich auch die Lehre von der Besiegung der Engel durch Christus. Seine Engellehre ist die orthodox-jüdische und philonische, nicht die gnostisch-apokalyptische. o. c., p. 17).

Angelologies, there is entire agreement. In particular, the Angels' part in the promulgation of the Old Law is mentioned in Galatians 3. 19; Christ's pre-eminence over the Angels is proclaimed in Ephesians 1. 21 and Colossians 1. 16; the name *διάβολος* is quite as Pauline as *Σατανᾶς*, though it is not easy to assign a reason why the latter is always used in Thessalonians, Corinthians, Romans, the former only in Ephesians, while both are found in the Pastorals. In any case, the bad angel is only mentioned once in *Hebrews* and in calling him *διάβολος* the author stands with the later letters of St. Paul, to which group *Hebrews* chronologically belongs.

Man

The chief points of the anthropology of our Epistle are as follows. Man is represented in a fallen state, a creature of mortal flesh and blood, whom the devil held in the slavery of fear, because he held the executioner's sword over the neck of every single man all the days of his life (2. 14, 15). It is assumed that sin and death go together. Death being the black doom of sinful man, he could not but fear it. It had no bright side. There is nothing more fundamental in view of the central teachings of the Epistle than the presupposition of human sinfulness. It was because of the weakness and misery into which the sad heritage of sin brought mankind that the priestly Liberator had to clothe himself in human passibility and experience all the infirmity of sinful flesh, apart from guilty weakness (2. 17, 18; 4. 15; 5. 8, 9). It was only thus that the compassionate quality of their High-priest could stand out before the eyes of those whom He was to deliver. That the sin which Christ came to destroy was hereditary in the human race is not expressly stated in *Hebrews*. It is, however, supposed that the weaknesses which Christ had to compassionate were radicated in human nature and, as they form part and parcel of the death-penalty, they belonged to the empire over which the devil held power.

It is true that "the moral sense of *flesh* which is prominent in St. Paul, does not occur in the Epistle,"¹ but that is because the moral conflict between *σάρξ* and *πνεῦμα* does not belong to our author's treatise. Westcott, however falls short of the truth when he says that in *Hebrews*, *flesh* "represents what is characteristic of our earthly existence under the aspect of its weakness and transitoriness and

¹ WESTCOTT, o. c. Additional Note on IV. 12. *The origin and constitution of man*, p. 117.

affinity with the material world." ¹ The whole argument of the Epistle shows that the fact of sin is conceived as being at the root of the human weakness which in its guiltless form even the Son of God voluntarily assumed. Written of Christ the phrase "in the days of his flesh" certainly means nothing more than the period of His mortality, but in the context of 5. 2, the *ἀσθένεια* with which a Jewish High-priest was surrounded includes sin. In other words, it has a moral meaning. Consequently the *αἷμα καὶ σάρξ*, to which the Son of God condescended, is in its concrete, historical and universal reality a sin-infected nature. ²

Taking, therefore, not isolated sentences but the whole conceptual back-ground of our Epistle, its anthropology does not stand apart from Paulinism. The mind of the author is not at variance with the doctrine of original sin proclaimed in Romans 5. 12-14 and the sinlessness which sets the Saviour above all the children of men as "segregatus a peccatoribus" (*Hebrews* 7. 26) is the same solidarity of the sinless with the sinful that St. Paul states in 2 Corinthians 5. 21: "Eum qui non novit peccatum pro nobis peccatum fecit ut nos efficeremur iustitia Dei in illo." Christ took the sinless bodily consequences of sin and was its victim even to the death-penalty. His weakness "wherefrom he was crucified" (2 Corinthians 13. 4) was only physical but the flesh and blood or "blood and flesh" (*Ephe-sians*, *Hebrews*) which He came to save was tainted with sin and carried the infirmity of sinfulness.

One further remark must suffice on this subject of the anthropology of *Hebrews*. Of the three elements *σῶμα*, *Ψυχή* and *πνεῦμα*, which St. Paul distinguishes in man, ³ the last figures very little in the Epistle. From two phrases in which it occurs (12. 9, 23). — "God the Father of spirits" and "the spirits of the just made perfect" — one can conclude that it means the soul considered as a principle of religious life, a signification which it frequently bears in the epistolary. ⁴ The manifold signification of *Ψυχή* is in no way peculiar. In this connection it is worth while to notice the parallel between *ἐκδραπνηθῆσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν Ψυχῶν ὑμῶν* (2 Cor. 12. 15) and *αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἀγρυπνοῦσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ψυχῶν ὑμῶν* (*Heb.* 13. 17). The "soul" must

¹ Ibidem.

² These is an implicit reference to the fall of our first parents in the passage which recognises the devil as the Prince of death. Cfr. Wisdom 2. 24: "Invidia diaboli mors introivit in mundum."

³ In 1 Thess. 5. 23 all three are mentioned together.

⁴ Rom. 1. 9; 8. 16; 12. 11; 1 Cor. 5. 4; 6. 17; 7. 34; 14. 14, 15; Gal. 6. 18; Eph. 4. 23; Col. 2. 5 etc.

be gained or saved (10. 39) and hope is the anchor whereby it holds to the life behind the veil (6. 19). The term *σῶμα* needs no comment.¹

The place assigned to the *heart* as the centre of moral life is not peculiar, apart altogether from the probability that the citation from Psalm 94, near the beginning of the letter, gave the term a certain predominance in the mind of the author. The word *καρδιά* occurs in every one of the Paulines except Titus and Philemon.²

Preparation of Salvation

Windisch begins an Excursus on the "history of salvation" in *Hebrews* with the remark that "in this Epistle also the deliverance which came through Jesus Christ is the sequel of an historical preparation, but the history is not the same here and in St. Paul. Adam and his fall and its consequences seem to have no significance for *Hebrews*. The history of salvation begins with Abraham, who received the first great promise; whom the Priest-king Melchisedech, figure of the Son of God, meets; to whose seed the Son brings salvation."

Here we have an example of the abusive method of taking a purely negative fact and investing it with a positive significance, which it has not. The following statement of our author's conception of the *Heilsgeschichte* will be a sufficient answer to the fallacious opening sentences of the Kiel Professor's Excursus.³

Since the decree that there should be an adopted family of the sons of God taken from the earth (2. 10) had to be put into historical execution, salvation has a history. That history divides itself into two great stages, an earlier stage of preparation and a final stage of realization. *Hebrews* is *par excellence* the document which binds not the whole era of preparation but the Israelite period of it to the Christian present. "Of old God spoke to the Jewish Fathers in the Prophets, in these last days he has spoken to us in one who is his Son" (1. 1). No testimony of a salvific *ordinance* of God is referred

¹ See WESTCOTT, *loc. cit.*, p. 117, where, however, the phrase "gain our soul" is not very happily explained in terms of "the education of experience inspired by faith."

² No less than 16 times in Romans as against 11 in *Hebrews*.

³ Excursus: *Heilsgeschichte in Hebr.* 1. Auch in Hebr. ist die Erlösung durch Jesus Christus heilsgeschichtlich begründet, doch in anderer Weise als bei Paulus. Adam, sein Sündenfall und dessen Nachwirkung, scheint für Hebr. ohne Bedeutung (vgl. zu 2, 11 und zu 11, 3 ff.). Die Heilsgeschichte beginnt mit Abraham: er hat die erste grosse Verheissung gehabt 6, 13 ff.; ihm ist der Priesterkönig Melchisedek begegnet, das Ebenbild des Sohnes Gottes 7, 1 ff.; seinem Samen bringt der Sohn das Heil. o. c., p. 115.

to in our epistle prior to the promise made to Abraham. The plan of the Epistle necessitated this, for it was with the Jewish covenant that the Christian economy had to be compared, chiefly in terms of mediation. God's programme of salvation, as it was realized in a Liberator of the race of Abraham, on behalf of which he came (2. 16), is, as a detailed promise, only as old as Abraham. The main argument of *Hebrews*, which is the superiority of Christ over the Angels, over Moses and over the Aaronic priesthood has therefore its starting point in the Abrahamic age when the *ἐπαγγελία* of blessing was made (6. 13, 14) and the blessing was given in figure by the Priest Melchisedech to the children of Abraham (7, 6). But it is untrue to say that for our author the divine salvation-programme has its historical beginning in the Chaldean Patriarch. Abel, Enoch and Noe were brought into friendship with God by the same faith as Abraham (11. 4-7). It is because a Hebrew community were the special destinataires of his Letter that the author makes Christ the Helper of the seed of Abraham and not of the human race as a whole. The Adam-Christ typology of Romans 5. 14 and of 1 Corinthians 15. 45 purposely found no place in our Letter. As in the discourse of St. Paul at Pisidian Antioch, salvation is considered as coming to the people to whom the prophecies and the Scriptures were given. "The God of the people Israel chose the fathers." Then came the formation of the people in Egypt, their exodus, the forty years in the desert, their occupation of the land of Canaan,¹ every point of which is touched by the author of *Hebrews*. For him four moments of the prophetic preparation were of supreme importance. In the age of Abraham the typical priest Melchisedech made his appearance. Under Moses the Sinaitic legislation and its priesthood were established. With the election of David and the definite fixation of Messianic royalty in Judah new and wonderful prophetic lights began to be thrown on the future. Finally, at a time when the destruction of the metropolis of Judaism seemed to indicate that the old order was breaking up, Jeremias set before a broken and apparently rejected Israel the vision of a New Covenant. It was God that pointed out the future in the whole series of prophetic words and events and institutions (4. 7; 7. 11; 8. 5; 9. 8). In the Scriptures, especially, although it is untrue to say that the writer is entirely oblivious of their human authors, it is God or the Holy Ghost that speaks. The Scripture becomes the very impersonation of God and even two strophes of a psalm fraught with solemn warning can, as it were, be conceived as

¹ Acts, 13. 17-20.

the all-seeing Judge before whom every human thought will have to appear for judgment. Through the whole an unchangeable counsel works—τὸ ἀμετάθετον τῆς βουλῆς αὐτοῦ (6. 17). The Gospel therefore is the ἐπαγγελία given to the fathers.¹ Mosaic worship is a shadow of the heavenly things of the future. So much is the standpoint palaeo-testamentary, that Judaism is the present age, Christianity "the world to come" (2. 5). The pedagogical function of the Law is not, indeed, declared in express terms but it is clearly shown that it could not form a people to perfection. It held only fleshly statutes, till a time of emendation should come (9. 10).

This view of the divine perspectives is, of course, not at variance with Paulinism. For the Apostle of the Gentiles also, "Jesus Christ became minister of circumcision for the truth of God, to confirm the promises (made) to the fathers" (Romans 15. 9). Although the Apostle indicates the primal origin of human sin, he never once, unless we take account of a mere allusion in Romans 16. 20, refers to the primal proclamation of redemption in the proto-evangelium. It is the more definite form of the promise of blessing for the seed of Abraham that he regards as the *Magna Charta* of God's design. Abraham is certainly very prominent in *Hebrews*, but he is also very prominent in Romans and Galatians.² Furthermore, the community of spirit between Paul and our author in regard to the prophetic importance of the Davidic age is not only evident from the Pisidian discourse but also from the number of Psalm texts cited in the Epistles. That the priestly side of the Mosaic legislation is predominant in *Hebrews* and that the Jeremian oracle on the New Covenant is so solemnly and so fully cited are facts which the scope of the Epistle explains.

The Person of Christ

Even a very brief exposé of the Epistle's teaching on the person and attributes of the Son of God made man—the Christology of *Hebrews* as distinguished from its Soteriology—should not leave untouched the interesting matter of the Saviour's names and titles.³

¹ "Saint Luc, saint Paul et l'auteur de l'Épître aux Hébreux sont les seuls à parler de la promesse au sens technique. Ils entendent par là l'ensemble des perspectives gracieuses ouvertes au père des croyants, pour lui et pour sa race." *Prat. Théologie de S. Paul* ²⁰, II, p. 115.

² Hebr., 2. 16; 6. 13-20; 7. 1-10; 11. 8-19; Rom., 4. 1-25; 9. 7-9; 11. 1; Gal., 3. 6-18, 29; 4. 22-30.

³ See WESTCOTT Additional Note on 1. 4. The Divine Names in the Epistle o. c., pp. 33-35.

The human name *Jesus* is the most frequent, occurring ten times. Except in one sentence (13. 12), which embodies a simple historical statement, this name always occupies an emphatic position at the end of a clause. *Jesus* is the one who, though made little less than the Angels, is crowned with glory and honour (2. 9). He is the Apostle and High-priest of our confession (3. 1),¹ the forerunner who has gone behind the veil on our behalf (6. 20), the sponsor of a better covenant (7. 22). It is in the blood of *Jesus* that we have confidence as to the entrance opened for us into the Holy of holies (10. 19). *Jesus* is the author and finisher of our faith (12. 2), the Mediator of a New Testament (12. 14), who to sanctify his people by his blood suffered outside the gate (13. 12). Only in the last of the ten passages is *this man*, raised from the dead in the blood of an eternal testament, called *Our Lord Jesus* (13. 20).

The same Saviour figures as 'Ο Χριστός six times and as *Χριστός* three times. Of *the Christ* we are become partakers (3. 14). *The Christ* did not glorify himself to become a priest (5. 5). Elementary Christian doctrine is the word of the beginning of *the Christ* (6. 1). He is the one whose blood is more efficacious than that of bulls and goats (9. 14), who once offered himself and will appear hereafter to those who expect him unto salvation (9. 28), whose reproach Moses esteemed greater than the treasures of Egypt (11. 26). Of *Christ* it is said that he is pre-eminent over God's servant Moses as a son over his own house (3. 6). *Christ* came as a High-priest of the good things to come (9. 11) and did not enter a sanctuary made with hands (9. 24).

The anarthrous *υἱός*, apart from three scriptural citations² denotes in four instances the quality of the Divine Mediator as *Son*. God spoke to us *ἐν υἱῷ* (1. 2). Christ is great as a *son* over his house (3. 6). Although he was a *son* he learned obedience (5. 8). The sworn oracle of God established as High-priest a *son* perfected for ever (7. 28).³

It is remarkable that *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ*, the name which is the most outright affirmation of Christ's Godhead stands twice in relation to His priesthood and twice in relation to the sin of apostasy. We have a great High-priest who has passed into the heavens, *Jesus*

¹ The third occurrence of the name *Jesus* (4. 14) is detached from this list because of the remarkable combination of the name with the divine title *Son of God*.

² Psalm 2. 7; Hebr., 1. 5 and 5. 5; 2 Sam., 7. 14; Heb., 1. 5.

³ The single occurrence of *ὁ υἱός* alone (1. 8) introduces a text from Psalm 44, as addressed to or spoken of the Son.

the Son of God (4. 14).¹ Melchisedech, being assimilated to the *Son of God* by the negative signs of immortality noticeable in the narrative of Genesis, remains a priest perpetually (7. 3). It is *the Son of God* that apostates crucify (6. 6) and trample under foot (10. 29).

Besides the title *our Lord* prefixed once to the name of Jesus (13. 20), as already mentioned, *ὁ κύριος* appears only twice as an epithet of the Saviour.² The (word of) salvation began to be spoken *διὰ τοῦ κυρίου* (2. 3) and out of Judah *our Lord* is sprung (7. 14).

The compound name *Jesus Christ* we read only in three very solemn places. The abolition of the old sacrifices by the obedience of the Messias to the will of God, as proclaimed in Psalm 39, is rounded off by the statement: "in that will we have been sanctified by the offering of the body of *Jesus Christ* once for all" (10. 10). Similar solemnity accompanies the phrase: "*Jesus Christ* yesterday and today" (13. 8), and also the prayer that God may "do in you what is pleasing in his eyes through *Jesus Christ*, to whom be glory for ever and ever" (13. 21).

The descriptive titles of the Saviour, in the order in which they occur are: *ἀρχηγὸς τῆς σωτηρίας* (2. 10), *ἀπόστολος καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς ὁμολογίας ἡμῶν* (3. 1), *ιερεὺς μέγας* (10. 21), *ὁ τῆς πίστεως ἀρχηγὸς καὶ τελειωτὴς* (12. 2) and *ὁ ποιμὴν τῶν προβάτων ὁ μέγας* (13. 20). Not a single one of them appears in the Pauline Epistles.

A comparison of the Messianic nomenclature in *Hebrews* and the Paulines certainly reveals some remarkable differences. Our author never uses the combination *Christ Jesus* which is so frequent with St. Paul that over a dozen examples can be cited from Romans alone. Also noteworthy is the relative infrequency of the name *Jesus Christ* (three examples as against seventeen in Romans).³ But, however interesting these and other similar facts may be, they prove nothing with regard to authorship. St. Paul varied his use of the holy names. Thus, although the Saviour is named thirteen times in 2 Thessalonians,

¹ This phrase, of which note has been taken above, occurs only here; but finds a parallel in 2 Cor. 1. 19: *ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ ... υἱὸς Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦς*. As Westcott remarks (l. c.), the phrase is "a complete affirmation of the divine and human natures of our High-priest."

² The word *Κύριος* occurs thirteen times besides but only as a general divine name.

³ Westcott counts even thirty for Romans (l. c.), but no codex nor critical edition justifies so high a total. A cursory but, I think, accurate totalisation has given me the following statistics for Codex B and the critical text represented by Moulton-Geden's concordance. In codex B: *Jesus* 8, *Christus* 34, *Jesus Christus* 7, *Christus Jesus* 18. The respective numbers for the critical edition WH. are 4. 33, 17, 14. As Romans 16. 24 is missing in B, the totals differ by a unit.

he is never once styled "Christ Jesus." In Romans 1-5 "Jesus Christ" predominates in the proportion of 11 to 3, while in the rest of the Epistle it is "Christ Jesus" that predominates in the proportion of 11 to 7. In nearly all his Epistles St. Paul is very lavish in his use of the sacred name *Jesus* but Colossians and Titus are an exception. Both read it a lesser number of times than the little note to Philemon. The difference in this respect between Colossians and the very slightly longer Letter to the Philippians is the very noticeable difference between five and twenty-two. Evidently the application of purely quantitative measures to things which, under certain logical and psychological conditions, largely depend on human freedom, is likely to lead nowhere.

Passing from names to doctrine, it may be confidently said that there is no writing of the New Testament, outside of the Johannine cycle, that combines so firmly the truth of the godhead and manhood of Jesus the Christ, as the Epistle to the Hebrews does. It stands with Ephesians, Colossians and Philippians to form a sublime christological tetralogy, which was in circulation in the Christian Church before the decisive event of the destruction of Jerusalem.¹

For our author Christ is the Son of God not by adoption but by nature. Formerly God spoke in human prophets, latterly He spoke in one who is His own Son. That Son is a distinct divine Person, through Whom God (the Father) created the ages of time. The Son's eternal relation to the Father is expressed in terms of light and image. The glory of the godhead is His as an effulgence of the eternal Light, namely of the godhead itself (*lumen de lumine*). He is the express image of the divine substance. These two metaphors taken together express likeness and consubstantiality. The Son is equal to God in the conservation of the world which was made by Him, for He "carries everything by the word of His power." (Prologue). It is the divine nature of the Son which essentially raises Him above the Angels, for, although it is the man Christ that the Epistle represents as superior to those spiritual beings, this is because the manhood inherits by unity of person all that belongs to the name of Son. There can be no other explanation of the language of *Hebrews*. The series of texts therefore, which scripturally state the supereminence of the Son, all proclaim His godhead. The "begetting" which

¹ Father Vincent McNabb O. P. traces the progressive development of the Pauline Christology through the four Epistles in a very suggestive article of the *Revue Biblique: Essai sur la Christologie de s. Paul*. Année 42^e, n. 3. (Juillet 1933), pp. 320-327. A few very slight material errors in no way detract from the value of this article.

establishes the sonship proclaimed by the oracle of Psalm 2 must ultimately be eternal generation, whether "today" be the interminable present of eternity or some day in the fulness of time. By the law of its parallelism with Psalm 2 in our Epistle, the typological paternity and filiation which through the shadow of Salomon rests on Christ is also a homocousiac not an adoptive relation. The *prototokos* of Psalm 96 has, no doubt, a temporal birth wherein he is graced with primogeniture in regard to a line of many brothers, but that primogeniture rests on a dignity which entitles him to the adoration of the Angels. The royal lordship of the Son, which is contrasted with the creature-service of the Angels, is the sovereign lordship of God. Even on the supposition that the text cited from Psalm 44 does not contain a vocative by which the Messiah is addressed as God—an improbable and perhaps impossible supposition—nevertheless the Messianic lordship is shown to rest on the right of creation by the identification of the Messiah with Yahveh, whose name, Yahveh-*Kύριος*, belongs equally to the Son (Ps. 101). It is true that Psalm 109 is used only to show the exaltation of the Messiah to the right hand of God, but that exaltation, being such as no Angel could pretend to, is evidently a divine glory such as the first unquoted phrase of the Psalm indicates.¹

The Son is also the Maker of the house in which Moses was a servant, because he is one with God Who created everything (3. 4). As Son he is not in the house as a servant but over it as Lord (3. 6). The term *Son*, therefore, spoken of Jesus, must be taken in its full physical and metaphysical sense, even when it is joined to predicates which are only human, such as priesthood (4. 14), the learning of obedience (5. 8), being crucified at the hands of apostates (6. 6) and trodden under foot by them (10. 29). In a word, the glory which the man Christ possesses at the right hand of the throne of Majesty, is, to use a Johannine phrase, a glory which he had before the world was (Jn. 17. 5, 24).²

¹ Cfr. Matt., 22. 41-46; Mk., 12. 35-37; Lk. 20. 41-44.

² The "pneumatic Christology" which is the central thesis of Friedrich Büchsel's *Christologie des Hebräerbriefs* (Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie, XXVII, 2) is downright Nestorianism and, in so far as it coalesces with the so-called Hypostasenchristologie, downright Arianism, if not Pantheism. The following extract contains the kernel of the whole book: "Es wird vielleicht befremden, dass hier das Verständnis von Heb. 1. 3 mit Hilfe des Geistgedankens gesucht wird. Man wird einwenden: hier hege keine pneumatische Christologie sondern eine Mittelwesen-Hypostasenchristologie vor, hier sei nicht der Inspirationsgedanke, sondern der Inkarnationsgedanke massgebend. Dem gegenüber ist zu bemerken, im Neuen Testament sind Inspirations- und Inkarnationsgedanke,

The manhood of Christ, being the condition of his priesthood, is no less strongly emphasized. It is only as man that God could be said to establish him heir of the universe (1. 2). As man he has come to possess a name above that of the Angels (1. 4). Even as sovereign of the Messianic kingdom he is man, his human and Messianic royalty over the world of the later age being predicted in a psalm which attributes to man an unlimited sovereignty over everything which God has made. The total actuality of that universal empire has not yet been realized but the Man who has attained the crown of glory and honour by suffering death represents the whole human race. His exaltation shows that by the grace of God he has tasted death on behalf of everyone (2. 5-9).¹

Passible human nature in all the physical weakness denoted by "blood and flesh" was a necessity of his office. Since the many sons predestined for glory had, in the divine plan, to tread the way of painful obedience, the Son sent to be the author of their salvation must enter into solidarity with them. Thus humanity defeats its own defeat, for the Sanctifier and the sanctified are of one heavenly Father and men now work out their destiny as sons in the unique Sonship of One whose sanctifying power they appropriate by a grasp of flesh. Therefore he descended to them. He cannot of course, abandon his natural Sonship and become an adopted son,

pneumatische Christologie und Hypostasenchristologie keine Gegensätze. Im Johannesevangelium ist der fleischgewordene Logos Empfänger des Geistes, und bei Paulus ist Jesus zwar der Schöpfungsmittler, doch wird der Geistgedanke Rom. 1. 3 f. auf ihn angewandt. So ist es auch im Hebräerbrieft, auch hier ist Jesus der Schöpfungsmittler, und zugleich handelt er durch ewigen Geist (9. 14). Es ist eine sehr unzulängliche Bewertung dieser Tatsachen, wenn man hier einfach das Nebeneinander zweier Betrachtungsweisen, einer älteren pneumatischen Christologie und einer jüngeren Hypostasenchristologie feststellt und den organischen Zusammenhang zwischen beiden Gedankenreihen leugnet. Das richtige Verständnis ist, dass für die neutestamentlichen Formen der Hypostasenchristologie auch der Schöpfungsmittler oder der Logos das, was er ist, nie anders als durch den Geist ist, dass seine Gottheit Gottes im Geist vermittelte Gegenwart in ihm ist... Der Sohn Gottes hat im Hebräerbrieft, keine göttliche Natur... Geistbesitz ist Wesensgemeinschaft und persönliche Gemeinschaft mit Gott zugleich (pp. 24-26).

¹ Heb., 2. 5-9: For not to angels did he subject the world to come, whereof we speak. For some one testified in a certain place saying: "What is man that thou art mindful of him: or the son of man that thou visitest him. Than didst make him little less than the angels; thou didst crown him with glory and honour; thou didst subject all things under his feet." For in that he subjected all things to him, he left nothing unsubjected to him. But now we do not yet see all things subject to him. But him who was made a little less than the angels, namely, Jesus we see crowned with glory and honour that by the grace of God he might taste death for every man.

but he can become the brother of the adopted, in a common creaturehood, sharing their flesh and blood, their attitude of filial creature-confidence towards God, all the physical debt of their sins. It was precisely through death that he was to break the empire of the Prince of death. The devil had control over this dread penalty of the sin which he primally instigated. A victorious death there could not be until One who had the right of life and the power to merit resurrection came and by the grace of God submitted to death on behalf of all mortals. With mortality the Deliverer took upon him the physical pains and even the mental anguish of a mortal frame. In this way, as a fellow-sufferer, the Saviour drew his brethren to him in the bonds of sympathy. Thus the Incarnation, or the assumption of true manhood by the Son of God gave the world the destroyer of death and a helper fitted with that experience of suffering, which goes to make a sympathetic and faithful priest. Without sin, he knew the painful experiences of sinful flesh. He sinlessly tasted all the trials of our poor humanity.

This is substantially the extraordinarily rich view of the Incarnation presented in 2. 5-18. The rest of the Epistle adds little to it. The statement that "he is capable of fellow-feeling with our weaknesses, having been in all respects tempted like us, exclusive of sin" (4. 15)¹ is practically a repetition of what has been said. His humanity and his power to compassionate are further emphasised when we are told that "in the days of his flesh he offered up prayers and supplications with a strong cry and tears to him who was able to save him from death and was heard for his reverence. Son though he was, he learned obedience from the things which he suffered, and being made perfect, he became the cause of eternal salvation to all them that obey him" (5. 7-8). The pain and shame of the Cross are mentioned as well as the contradictions Christ bore from sinners (12. 2). Opprobrium was his lot (13. 13 coll. 11. 26). He suffered (13. 12), shed his blood (9, 12) and was numbered amongst the dead (13. 20). Thence God raised him up in the blood of the New Testament (*ibid.*). He passed through the heavens (4. 14; 6. 20; 7. 26; 9. 24) and sat down at the right hand of God (1. 3, 13; 8. 1; 10. 13).

We learn further from the Epistle that Christ was of the seed of

¹ The Verb *συμπαθεῖν* (4. 15) should be noticed. Although the adjective *συμπαθής* occurs in 1 Peter 3. 8, the verb is entirely proper to Hebrews. It is used once of the fellow-feeling which Christ gained by suffering and once (10. 34) of the compassion which the Christians of Jerusalem had shown to members of their community who were prisoners.

Abraham (2. 16) and of the tribe of Judah (7. 14). He preached not more than a generation before the Epistle was written (2. 3). His crucifixion was a public spectacle (6, 6) which took place outside the gate of Jerusalem (13. 12). There is possibly also a reference to his excommunication by the Synagogue (13. 13).

It will be noticed from this sketch that *Hebrews* has some historical details about Christ, which are nowhere mentioned in the Pauline epistolary or discourses. They are few and are easily accounted for. As in other instances, when unexpected things from the earthly life of Jesus came into the ambit of St. Paul's message as it is partially transmitted to us, so here also there is in every case a sufficient explanation. The moving tale of his own generous disinterestedness during the Ephesian mission brought to Paul's mind at Miletus the words of the Lord Jesus: "It is better to give than to receive" (Acts 20. 35). As he was beginning the polemic part of his second Epistle to the Corinthians, "the meekness and gentleness of the Christ" (10. 1) presented itself before his mind. Similarly in *Hebrews* the prominence assumed by the priestly character of Christ also brought into special prominence the facts that he was tried in every human fashion (κατὰ πάντα καθ' ὁμοιότητα 4. 15), that he *learned* obedience in the school of painful experience (5. 8), that he *became* merciful (2. 17) and compassionate (4. 15).¹ These facts all belong to the sphere of "blood and flesh" in which Jesus communicated as sacerdotal Helper of his brethren. In the proper and scientific sense of the words, they involved no ethical development in Jesus. His will did not have to be trained to obedience, but his passible nature and through it his rational nature experienced all the difficulty of obedience.² There is question of experimental knowledge, not of increase of promptitude in the rational will of Christ. Advance to higher moral perfection is nowhere in our Epistle predicated of the Saviour.

¹ Of the facts of Christ's life which are specially emphasised in *Hebrews* Büchsel says rightly: "Vergleicht man diese Tatsachen mit dersonstigen Ueberlieferung vom Leben Jesu, so fallen drei Stücke sehr auf: dass Jesus in allem versucht ist ähnlich wie die anderen Menschen, dass er den Gehorsam durch Leiden gelernt hat, dass er mitleidig und barmherzige worden ist." The language of the Epistle does not, however, endorse the proposition: Auf die "ethische Entwicklung" Jesu richtet der Hebräerbrief stark die Aufmerksamkeit (o. c., pp. 32, 33).

² In a matter of such delicacy it is best to let St. Thomas Aquinas speak. Commenting on the words: "Didicit ex iis quae passus est obedientiam" (5. 8), he raises the objection: "Addiscere est ignorantis," and answers: "Dicendum est, quod duplex est scientia, sc. simplicis notitiae... et experientiae et secundum istam didicit obedientiam. Unde dicit: *Didicit ex iis quae passus est*, id est, expertus est. Et

That the teaching of *Hebrews* regarding the Person and two natures of Jesus is thoroughly consonant with Paulinism and the homogeneous complement of the teaching of the Epistles may be shown even in a limited space. According to our author, Christ is the Son of God and very God; he is also truly man and as man spoke as a prophet, showed himself a priest and was exalted to the glory of divine kingship. He was a Judahite, the object of contradiction, was holy and sinless, was obedient to death, was crucified, suffered outside the gate, was raised from the dead, took his place at the right hand of God, where he lives for ever to plead for those who approach God through him and whence he shall come to give salvation to them that await him. This summary designed at once to be sufficiently comprehensive and to eliminate repetitions, can be richly paralleled from the Pauline epistolary.

St. Paul calls Christ the Son of God in seven of the thirteen Epistles. The expression is absent only from 2 Thessalonians, Philippians, Philemon and the three Pastorals. In this respect as in so many others, Romans comes nearest to *Hebrews*, although in Christological doctrine as a whole the letters of the captivity are much nearer to our Epistle, and contain passages, which are rightly described as impregnated with the doctrine of the divine filiation of Christ.¹ That the Son of God was very God for St. Paul, there can be no doubt whatever. It is not necessary to discuss texts from the earlier Epistles.² The harmony of the Paulines with *Hebrews* on this point and the palpable steps of progress in richness of doctrinal expression appear best from a comparison of the captivity letters with our Epistle. Christ had already been called *εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ* in 2 Cor. 4. 4. The thought is taken up once more in Colossians 1. 15, where he is described as *εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου*. In Philippians, which was probably written later than Colossians, the preexistent Saviour is conceived as *ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων*, a state which implied entire equality with God (Philipp. 2. 6). In *Hebrews* neither the term

loquitur Apostolus sic: Quia qui didicit aliquid, voluntarie accessit ad illud sciendum. Christus autem voluntarie accepit infirmitatem nostram. Et ideo dicit quod didicit obedientiam, id est quam grave sit obedire" (op. cit. in h. l.). There is no question therefore of Christ acquiring the virtue of obedience but of learning its difficulty experimentally.

¹ McNABB, l. c., p. 326. The author's statistics are slightly at fault in the case of Galatians and Hebrews. The actual numbers for the eight letters are 1 Thess. 1; Gal. 4; 1 Cor., 2; 2 Cor. 1; Romans 7; Ephes. 1; Col. 1; Hebrews 12, of which three occur in Scriptural citations (1, 5 a, b, 5, 5).

² The godhead of Christ is affirmed expressly in Rom. 9. 5.

eikón, which in 2 Cor. 4. 4 had been associated with the *dóξα* of Christ, nor the term *μορφή*, which in the Greek language of St. Paul's time was closely akin to *οὐσία* *ον ὑπόστασις*,¹ occur, but a formula is found which covers and surpasses both, namely, *ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ Χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως (τοῦ Θεοῦ)*. This is the fullest metaphorical description of the consubstantial person of the Son in the Apostolic Epistles. Furthermore the creative role of the Son, as expressed in *Hebrews* 1. 2: "per quem fecit et saecula," has its Pauline antecedents. In 1 Cor. 8. 6 the Apostle confesses "one Lord Jesus Christ through whom are all things and we through him." Colossians richly enlarges this formula by affirming that the *πρωτότοκος*² *πάσης κτίσεως* (1. 15) — the same to whom the adoration of the Angels is rendered in *Hebrews* 1. 6 — is of such, dignity *ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τὰ ὁρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα, εἴτε θρόνοι εἴτε κυριότητες εἴτε ἀρχαὶ εἴτε ἐξουσίαι· τὰ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἔκτισται. καὶ αὐτός ἐστιν πρὸ πάντων καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκεν* (Col. 11. 6-17). As creator he is, of course, better than the Angels, a dignity which is acknowledged as his in the elevation "above every principality and power and virtue and domination" spoken of in Ephesians 1. 21. Here also, as in Philippians 2. 9, 10, the supereminence of the *name* won by the Saviour is very emphatically expressed — (supra) omne nomen quod nominatur non solum in hoc saeculo sed etiam in futuro. We are already in the region of the Incarnation.³ This mystery is expressed by the author of *Hebrews* as a participation in "blood and flesh." Similarly St. Paul tells the Romans that "God sent his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh" (8. 3). *Hebrews* certainly regards the Incarnation as a descent

¹ See Nisius, *Zur Erklärung von Phil.* 2. 5-11, Z. f. k. Th. 21 (1897), p. 302 and 23 (1899), p. 81. Lightfoot discusses the lexical question in *St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians* in h. l. London, 1927, pp. 127 ff.

² Cfr. Rom., 8. 29.

³ It is scarcely necessary to say that the Christology of *Hebrews* is no stereoscopic blend of theological and humanistic elements — Judeo-Alexandrian theosophy and Greek idealism. It is only one who does not believe in the revelation of the mystery of the Incarnation that could write such a page of phantastic pseudo-science as Windisch's note on the Christology of *Hebrews*: Sie beruht auf der Zusammenschau zweier Wesen: (1) des himmlischen Gottessohnes... und (2) eines Menschen der (etwa wie Herakles) auf Erden ein Werk verrichtet hat und zum Lohn dafür über die Engel erhoben worden ist. Die Zusammenschau bedeutet also das Zusammenfließen zweier Christologien, der Hypostasen- und der sog. Adoptions- oder Erhöhungschristologie (o. c., pp. 12, 13). The author cites a parallel from the dreamland of late rabbinico-apocalyptic literature. The (mythical Patriarch Henoch blends into one figure with the super-angelic being called Metatron.

to human misery in order that he who descended might become a merciful and faithful High priest (2. 14-18). The sacerdotal scope of the descent is dominant but it is the same descent which is set as a lesson of humility before the Philippians: " he emptied himself taking the form of a servant being made in the likeness of men." The phrase changes according to the context but the basic idea is the same. In Romans God made good the weakness of sinful flesh by sending His son *in the likeness of sinful flesh* on a mission concerning sin and passed the death-sentence on sin in the flesh (8. 3); in Philippians the model of humble condescension is a divine Person having the nature of God and divine equality by natural right, who, nevertheless, emptied himself of his glory, and took the nature of a servant being made *in the likeness of men*; in *Hebrews* the phrase *ἐν ὁμοιώματι* is not used to express the point of condescension, but, if we seek ideas and not mere words, we find essentially the same thought: " Inasmuch, then, as the children communicated in blood and flesh, so he likewise partook of the same... (and as) he took on him the seed of Abraham..." ὥφειλεν κατὰ πάντα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὁμοιωθῆναι. The idea of assimilation is in all three texts, being expressed in the first two by an adverbial phrase *ἐν ὁμοιώματι* and in the third by the verb *ὁμοιωθῆναι*.

Another point that is well worth noting is that the redemptive purpose of the physical " body of Christ " is common to the Paulines and to *Hebrews*. The Romans are told: " You have met death as regards the law through the body of Christ " (7. 4); in Colossians, which is the epistle that represents the whole fulness of the godhead as dwelling in Christ *σωματικῶς* (2. 9), St. Paul tells the faithful that God " reconciled them in the body of (Christ's) flesh through death " (1. 22). The *Hebrews* too have been sanctified " by the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all " (10. 10).

According to the flesh Christ is a Judahite in *Hebrews*, that is from a non-priestly tribe, while St. Paul, interested only in the Messianic pedigree of the Saviour, recalls three times over that he was of the seed of David.¹ The Christ of St. Paul also met contradiction,² was holy and sinless³ and became obedient unto death.⁴ The cross and the crucifixion of Jesus were undeniably at the very centre of the Christology of the Apostle, who told the Galatians

¹ Acts, 13. 23; Rom., 1. 3; 2 Tim., 2. 8.

² 1 Thess., 2. 15; Rom., 15. 3.

³ Rom., 1. 4; 2 Cor. 5. 21.

⁴ Rom., 5. 19; 15. 3; Philipp., 2. 8.

that he would not glory save in the cross¹ and decided to know nothing amongst the Corinthians except Jesus Christ and him crucified.² The circumstance that Jesus suffered outside the gate belongs to *Hebrews* alone on account of its antitypal significance (13. 12). In connection with this verse it has been remarked that St. Paul never once joined the verb *ἐπαθεν* to the name of Christ,³ but the Epistles speak of the *παθήματα* of Christ (2 Cor. 1. 5, 7; Philipp. 3. 10) and *συμπάσχειν* is the duty of Christians in union with their Saviour (Rom. 8. 17).

The point with regard to the resurrection of Christ is that it is so much in St. Paul and so little in *Hebrews*. But the surprising thing really is that the resurrection of Christ figures as a separate fact in our Epistle at all. It appears, as it were, superabundantly, in the Epilogue, with much less reason, apparently, than there was for its mention once for all in the address of Galatians. The entrance of Christ into the Holy of holies was the fact of Christ's glorification that mattered for the author of *Hebrews*. It supposed the resurrection just as the doctrine of the second coming supposed the resurrection in 2 Thessalonians, where there is complete silence about this great fact, as there also is in 1 Timothy and Titus. On account of its soteriological significance, the resurrection was undoubtedly a supreme fact for St. Paul, but the living Christ can be the substratum of the Apostle's theology without any express reference to the resurrection. Thus, notwithstanding its mention in the address, the resurrection does not enter at all into the argument of Galatians and it is almost strangely absent from the praise of " the mystery of piety " in Timothy 3. 16.

Christ's session at the right hand of the Father is quite as vital a reality for St. Paul as for our author. If, indeed, it is the supreme assurance of the value of Christ's priesthood in our letter, it is also, together with the death and resurrection, the supreme guarantee of the hope of the elect in Romans 8. 33, 34: " Quis accusabit adversus electos Dei? Deus qui iustificat. Quis est qui condemnet? Christus Iesus qui mortuus est, immo qui et resurrexit, qui est ad dexteram

¹ 1 Cor., 1. 17, 18; Gal., 5. 11; 6. 12, 14; Eph., 2. 16; Philipp., 2. 8; 3. 18; Col., 1. 20; 2. 14.

² 1 Cor., 1. 13, 23; 2. 2, 8; 2 Cor., 13. 4; Gal., 3. 1 (5. 24; 6. 14).

³ WESTCOTT, o. c. p. 443: The use of the verb *πάσχειν* of Christ is characteristic of this Epistle of 1 Peter and of the Acts. It is found again in 2, 18; 5. 8; 9. 26; in 1 Peter, 2. 21, 23 (3. 18); 4. 1; and in Acts, 1. 3; 3. 18; 17. 3. It does not occur in this connexion in the Epistles of St. Paul, though he speaks of the *παθήματα* of Christ: 2 Cor., 1. 5, 7; Philipp., 3. 10.

Dei, qui etiam interpellat pro nobis." Under another aspect, it is the guarantee of supernatural life for the faithful in Ephesians and Colossians. Here, the risen Christ exalted to heaven has the place which belongs to his headship in regard to the ecclesiastical body.¹ With their Saviour enthroned as a distributor of life in heaven, the members of his body know " what is the exceeding greatness of God's power towards us who believe, according to the working of the power of his might, which he wrought in Christ, when he raised him from the dead and set him at his own right hand in the heavenly places... and gave him to be head over all things to the church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all " (Eph. 1. 19-23). Our fellowship in his life is a resurrection accomplished and a sitting (by hope) in heaven (ibid. 2. 5-6). He is the head of the body, the church (Col. 1. 18) and, therefore, all the faithful, already become spiritual partners in his resurrection and endowed with a life hidden with Christ in God, aspire upwards and " seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God (ibid. 3. 1-3).

Christ, therefore, seated at the right hand of the Father appears in the vesture of a forensic advocate to defend the elect against all accusations (Romans), as a distributor of life by capital influence (Ephesians, Colossians), as a priestly intercessor (Hebrews). The fact is one and one only, different aspects of it coming into consideration in the justification context of Romans, in the mystico-social context of the Epistles of " the great mystery, " and in the sacerdotal context of *Hebrews*.

The reality of the second coming of Christ is vouched for with equal directness, though not with equal wealth of detail in *Hebrews* and in all groups of the Paulines. Its presentation as a *παρουσία* belongs to the two letters to Thessalonica and the resurrection chapter of Corinthians only.² In six of the seven passages in question the *παρουσία* is the appearance of Christ not as a judge to punish but as a Saviour to gather his own to himself, the only exception being 2 Thess. 2. 8, where the appearance of Christ marks the destruction of Antichrist. The same salvific character of the second coming is to be seen in Romans 13, 11 (cfr. 8. 18-25), in Philippians 3, 20, and in 2 Timothy 4. 8. In all these places an identical idea is conveyed as

¹ While considering headship, in reference to the three aspects noted by St. Thomas (S. T. 3, 8, 2), namely position above, superior endowment, and distribution of power (ordinem, perfectionem et virtutem) we should note that the third is the chief one for St. Paul. " Christ is the head of the church; and he is the saviour of the body " (Eph. 5, 23).

² 1 Thess., 2. 19; 3. 13; 4. 15; 5. 23; 2 Thess., 2. 1, 8; 1 Cor., 15. 23.

in *Hebrews* 9. 28, namely: "Unto them that look for him (Christ) shall appear the second time unto salvation."¹

Finally, our author's views of Christ's prophetic office, of his priesthood and of his kingship do not fix a chasm between our Epistle and the Paulines. St. Paul's references to the words of the Lord and his precepts² would alone be sufficient to show how well he knew that Christ delivered an authoritative message. In regard to priesthood, although it is true that St. Paul never gives Christ the title of priest, he shows him offering himself in sacrifice through the shedding of expiatory blood, an act which only a priest was capable of: "Tradidit semetipsum pro nobis oblationem et hostiam Deo in odorem suavitatis" (Eph. 5. 2).³ The conception of the royal lordship of Christ in our Epistle is singularly Pauline. This appears best perhaps in the fact that the Apostle and the author of *Hebrews* found the fullest expression of the absolutely universal lordship of Christ in the eminence which Psalm 8 attributes to man.⁴ The verse: "Thou hast placed all things under his feet," is the prophetic voucher for Christ's final triumph over death (1 Cor. 15. 27) for the most absolute exaltation of his name (Eph. 1. 22) and for his sovereign control of the Messianic world (Heb. 2. 8-9). The place of Christ's royalty "at the right hand of God" figures nearly as often in the epistolary as in *Hebrews*.⁵

Soteriology

The Saviourship and salvific work of Christ are concentrated in the sacerdotal theme of our epistle. The essential redemptive work of offering sacrifice is here surrounded with a wealth of sacerdotal detail which is only very slightly paralleled in the Pauline epistles. It will be found, however, that the two soteriologies are not mutually exclusive, but rather fit into one system of thought. It is important

¹ It is difficult, therefore, to see what Moffatt means when he writes: "(We have here) a parenthesis of central importance for the primitive religious eschatology which formed part of the writer's inheritance, however inconsistent with his deeper views of faith and fellowship." (o. c., p. 133).

² 1 Thess., 4. 15; 1 Cor., 7. 10; 9. 14; 11. 23; 14. 37.

³ Cfr. Acts, 20. 28; Gal., 1. 4; 2. 20, 21; 1 Cor., 1., 13; 5. 7; 8. 11; 10. 15-21; 11. 23-27; 15. 3; 2 Cor., 5. 14, 15. 21; Rom., 3. 24. 25; 4. 25; 5. 6-11; 8. 34; Eph., 1. 7; 5. 25; Col., 1. 22; 1 Tim., 2. 5, 6; Tit., 2. 14.

⁴ 1 Cor. 15. 27; Eph., 1. 22, Heb., 2. 6-9.

⁵ Rom., 8. 34: qui est ad dexteram Dei. Eph., 1. 20: constituens ad dexteram suam in caelestibus. Col., 3. 15: Christus est in dextera Dei sedens. Heb., 1. 3, 13; 8. 1; 10. 12; 12. 2.

not to lose sight of the tree by looking only at the branches. "Christ was delivered up to death for our offences and rose again for our justification" (Rom. 4. 25). This sentence of the Apostle is a comprehensive statement of the soteriological facts, which may be further condensed into the two terms of reconciliation and salvation. The moment that Christ died he had finished his earthly work as saviour. The act of reconciliation was performed by the divine representative of humanity. God had now to make the merits of his Christ the appropriable treasure of the race. The sacred manhood of the Saviour which God raised up and set as a living fountain of grace on high was the boon which the passion won for us. By the obedience of his death Jesus deserved to be the living head of all obedient mortals gathered in corporate unity as members fitted to him. The grace of exaltation, comprising resurrection and ascension, made him what he now is. Glorification was his reward and also his effective installation, if we may use the term, as operative head and saviour of a body. He won grace on Calvary, he distributes it by way of vital communication from his throne in heaven. When there is question of two facts of such rich significance, it is not surprising that they admit of multiple explanation. Both the work of grace-winning and the modes and effects of its distribution may be considered under manifold aspects. Thus one soteriology may spread out into many branches.¹

The word *σωτήρ* is not found in *Hebrews*, but it is likewise absent from the four great Pauline Epistles. In Ephesians and Philippians Christ receives this title, which in the Pastorals, in five examples out of nine, belongs to God. The *σωτηρία* which the Saviour brought, however, is so frequent both in the Paulines and in our Epistle as to claim recognition as a common characteristic notion.² The way

¹ As an illustration of such ramifications one might refer to the two questions of the Summa Theologica on the effect of the Passion of Christ (3, 48 and 49). Saint Thomas asks 1) *utrum passio Christi causaverit nostram salutem per modum meriti*; 2) *utrum per modum satisfactionis*; 3) *utrum per modum sacrificii*; 4) *utrum per modum redemptionis*; 5) *utrum esse Redemptorem sit proprium Christi*; 6) *utrum causaverit effectum nostrae salutis per modum efficientiae*. Having treated these five aspects of the Passion's efficiency, he next considers the effects: 1) *utrum per passionem Christi simus liberati a peccato*; 2) *utrum per eam simus liberati a potestate diaboli*; 3) *utrum per eam simus liberati a reatu poenae*; 4) *utrum per eam simus Deo reconciliati*; 5) *utrum per eam sit nobis aperta ianua caeli*; 6) *utrum per eam Christus adeptus sit exaltationem*.

² 1 Thess., 5. 8, 9; 2 Thess., 2. 13; Rom., 1. 16; 10. 1, 10; 11. 11; 13. 11; 2 Cor., 1. 6; 6. 2 *b, d*; 7. 10; Eph., 1. 13; Philipp., 1. 19, 28; 2. 12; Tim., 2. 10; 3. 15; Heb., 1. 14; 2. 3, 10; 5. 9; 6. 9; 9. 28. Cfr. *ὁ λόγος τῆς σωτηρίας ταύτης* and the citation from Isaiah 49. 8 in the Pisidian discourse (Acts, 13. 26, 47).

in which that salvation is wrought, namely, the salvific work of Christ and its effects may be viewed in general or in the special modal characteristics of their sacerdotal side. Christ came to save the people from their sins. That was essentially the σωτηρία (2. 9; 5. 9) of which he is the author, but it also includes a final salvation at his second coming (9. 28). He made a purgation of sins (1, 3) and established a covenant whose special fruit is the remission of sin in the interior domain of conscience (8. 12; 9. 14; 10. 18). Since Christ's mission is chiefly concerned with sin,¹ it strikes a destructive blow at the empire of him who has power over death (2. 14). Consequently it also delivers the slaves of the devil's tyranny (2. 15). That the remission of sin is no mere negative thing is apparent from the fact that the Saviour is also the sanctifier (2. 11). In regard to the causal mode of salvation, *Hebrews* is almost silent on some points which the Pauline Epistles bring into relief. The meritorious aspect of Christ's work is merely insinuated in the presentation of his sacrifice as an act of obedience (5. 8; 10. 9). The idea of satisfaction does not seem to be present to the mind of the writer. Redemption, however, though somewhat in the background is explicitly affirmed in at least two places. Christ is said to have entered the holy place once for all having found an eternal λύτρωσις (9. 12); and again, he is said to have died for the redemption (εις ἀπολύτρωσιν) of those transgressions which were under the first covenant (9. 15). It is the sacrificial character of the Saviour's death which is professedly treated and that on the side of the priestly act rather than on the side of the victim's suffering. Salvation is in the blood of Christ not merely shed but sprinkled by a Priest. It is not expressly asserted that the Priest merited his own exaltation. He is, nevertheless, represented as entering heaven in the power of his own blood (9. 12). The inference is that the blood of his sacrifice was the title by which the Priest took up the living ministry of a celestial sanctuary, as the Mediator of a new testament. His priesthood being in the power of an unbreakable life (7. 16), it is in the glorified life of Christ that his blood has its value. It is an eternal ἀπολύτρωσις. The resurrection, indeed, seems to have no particular significance in the soteriology of *Hebrews*, but that is because of the emphasis laid on the final goal of Christ's priestly τελέωσις. The last moment rather than the first moment of the Priest's " perfection " is the one on which the gaze of the writer is fixed, but it is absurd to conceive him as regarding

¹ Heb., 9. 26: Nunc autem semel in consummatione saeculorum, ad destitutionem peccati (εις ἀθέτησιν τῆς ἁμαρτίας) per hostiam suam apparuit.

Christ's ascension into heaven as excluding the triumph over the tomb.¹ It is nowhere suggested that Christ passed from the cross to the heavenly sanctuary.² The writer has actually let us see that he did not conceive the resurrection as extraneous to the final consecration of the Mediator of the New Testament. In the epilogue he writes: "May the God of peace who brought back from the dead the great shepherd of the sheep, our Lord Jesus Christ, perfect you in every good work to do his will, working in you that which is well-pleasing in his sight through Jesus Christ; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen" (13. 20, 21).³ This is a passage of our Epistle where the idea of resurrection comes to the front, because, it seems, the idea of reconciliation is insinuated. It is the God of peace who crowns the sacrifice of His Son with life, which he as shepherd must undoubtedly impart to his sheep. For our author, then, Christ rose from the dead in the blood of an eternal testament (13. 20) and he entered the heavenly sanctuary through his own blood (9. 12). These are only two moments—the first and the last—wherein Christ took possession of the dispensation of grace.

In all this there is no positive and essential difference between our author and St. Paul. Both see the instrument of the restoration of friendship between God and man in the blood of Christ. For St. Paul Christ's blood is an instrument of expiation, the blood of a *ἱλαστήριον* (Rom. 3. 25),⁴ and *Hebrews* likewise tells us that the work

¹ Moffat misconceives the author's mind altogether when he writes: "The idea of Jesus passing like the highpriest at once from the sacrifice into the inner sanctuary... has prevented him from making use of the resurrection... The heavenly sphere of Jesus is so closely linked with his previous existence on earth, under the category of the sacrifice, that the author could not suggest an experience like the resurrection, which would not have tallied with this idea" (Commentary, XXXVIII f.).

² WINDISCH, o. c., p. 79. Hebr. lehrt eine Himmelfahrt vom Kreuze aus. "Kaum berechtigt" is the over-mild criticism of J. Schrenk in T. W. N. T., p. 274, note 48.

³ A remark in connexion with this sentence suggests itself here, although, perhaps, it is slightly out of place. The phrase "eternal testament" is found in the form of consecration of the chalice in the Roman and Ambrosian Liturgies. The adjective "eternal" seems to have come from the Epistle to the *Hebrews*. If, then, it were possible to determine the date of fixation of the Roman form, it might be possible to say that the Epistle to the *Hebrews* was then in honour at Rome. The same may be said with regard to the date at which the beginning of *Hebrews* came to be read in the Roman Liturgy of Christmas. See Daniel, *Codex Liturgicus*, I, p. 88; *Liturgia Mozarabica*, P. L., LXXXV, 551.

⁴ Rom., 3. 25, *ἱλαστήριον* ... ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ; 5. 1, *δικαιωθέντες οὖν ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ*.

of Jesus was τὸ ἰλάσκεσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ λαοῦ and to purge away with his blood the sins of men (2. 17; 1. 3; 9. 14). For St. Paul the blood of Christ is also an instrument of reconciliation¹ and *Hebrews* likewise attributes to it the freedom of access by which we serve the living God (9. 14) and set out faces confidently on the heavenly Holy of holies (10. 19). For St. Paul the blood of Christ is the price of redemption² and *Hebrews* likewise associates an eternal redemption (9. 12) and the redemption of Old Testament transgressions (9. 15) with the blood and death of Christ. St. Paul knows Christ's blood to be the blood of a new covenant³ and our author likewise calls it the blood of an eternal covenant (13. 20, coll. 10-29). If St. Paul does not verbally connect sanctification with Christ's blood, he nevertheless, connects it with his death, for he says that "Christ lav'd the church and delivered himself for it that he might sanctify and cleanse it" (Eph. 5. 25, 26). This list of coincidences of thought in a most central part of Christian soteriology is surely impressive.

At the same time the soteriology of *Hebrews* is a signal addition to the contents of the Pauline epistolary. Its teaching on the priesthood and priestly ministry of Christ is most characteristic, although this teaching is not built on another foundation than that laid by St. Paul. A very brief presentation of the subject is all that can find place here.

The Incarnation set up Christ as the High-priest of a new era. His two natures supply everything that is required for such a dignity. To represent men he must be a man and to be an inspirer of confidence he must be a fellow-sufferer with his people (2. 14-18). God must call him to the dignity of priesthood. His divine sonship was itself such a call. Who could be such a representative of God as His son? Hence the oracle: "Thou art my son; this day have I begotten thee,"⁴ was a sacerdotal anointing; the type of sacerdotium being marked in the call delivered through another oracle: "Thou art a priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedech" (5. 4-6).

¹ Eph., 2. 13, ἐγενήθετε ἐγγὺς ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Col., 1. 20, εἰρηνοποιήσας διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ σταυροῦ αὐτοῦ.

² Eph., 1. 7, ἐν ᾧ ἔχομεν ἀπολύτρωσιν διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ.

³ 1 Cor., 11. 25 τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι.

⁴ Bien que le Fils soit Fils dès l'éternité, ces paroles ne lui sont adressées selon le Psalmiste, qu'au moment où il prend la nature humaine. En se faisant homme, il est *ipso facto* consacré prêtre, c'est-à-dire mediateur attitré du genre humain auprès de Dieu. Son Père va lui confirmer par serment cette dignité: Le Seigneur l'a juré et il ne s'en repentira point: Tu es prêtre pour l'éternité selon l'ordre de Melchisédec (PRAT, T. S. P., II, p. 449).

The characteristics of the Melchisedechian priesthood need not be dwelt upon here, for they offer no points of comparison with the doctrine of the Pauline epistolary. They may all be summed up in the royalty of justice and peace signified by the name of Melchisedech, the non-fleshly and timeless character of his personality denoted by the absence of birth and death notices from his description, and, lastly, his superiority as tither and blessing over Abraham and Levi. In a word, his Melchisedechian character marks Christ as a supreme and eternal High-priest. His qualities were such that he needed nothing but a priestly *τελείωσις*, which was to consist in the crowning of his laborious work on behalf of humanity. Being holy, innocent, undefiled and separated from sinners he had to be made by God higher than the heavens, a son perfected for ever (7. 1-28).

The representation of the sacerdotal work of Christ in terms of the liturgy of Expiation Day is entirely proper to *Hebrews*. The essential act was, however, a sacrifice which brought him to the perfection of a supreme minister of salvation on the right hand of God in heaven.¹ The kernel of the matter is, therefore, that he was a priest who offered a sacrifice (8. 4-5) whereby he once for all opened the eternal sanctuary of God's glory for himself and for those on whose behalf he entered, "having found eternal redemption" (9. 12). His blood is efficacious to cleanse consciences (9, 14) to redeem the sins of an old covenant and to give access to an eternal inheritance which is the hope held out by a new alliance sealed as a testamentary transaction in the life-blood of its testator (9. 15-17).² According to the prophetic programme of Psalm 39, Christ has offered a homage of obedience to the will of God which has ousted the whole sacrificial system of the old dispensation (10. 4-10). "Having offered one sacrifice for sins for ever he sat down on the right hand of God, henceforth awaiting the day when his enemies shall be set as the footstool of his feet (10. 12, 13). Since in this perfective oblation there is remission of sin, "there is no more offering for sin" (10. 18).

Hence it appears that the *τελείωσις* of Christ is his attainment, by way of conquest, through his sacrifice, of the glory which was his by the natural right of sonship. He passed to the full possession of his glory through the broken veil of his flesh (10. 20). Death

¹ Que l'immolation du Calvaire soit un sacrifice, où Jésus-Christ est à la fois prêtre et victime, il suffit pour s'en convaincre de lire les quatre textes suivants, dont le premier énonce le fait, le second le mode, le troisième l'efficacité, le quatrième la valeur infinie de ce sacrifice. (Heb. 7. 27; 9. 14; 9. 28; 10. 12-14). PRAT, o. c. I, p. 453.

² On the meaning of *διαθήκη* in 9. 16-17, see FONSECA, *Διαθήκη* — Foedus an Testamentum 4, *Biblica* 9 (1928). pp. 149-157.

opened the way of life everlasting for Christ's mortal body and he became the living way to that same life for all those who obey him (5. 9) and seek access to the throne of God by faith, hope and charity (10. 19-25). It was through his blood that he entered (13. 20). Those who attach themselves to him draw near to him as the Mediator of a New Testament (12. 24); they approach a blood of sprinkling which speaks better than Abel (*ibid.*); and in that blood they have confidence regarding the efficacy of the entrance-way provided for them into the heavenly sanctuary (10. 19). From all this it is evident that capital importance belongs to the death of Christ and to his sacrificial blood, the liturgical description of the efficacy of his sacrifice in the imagery of the Expiation service being really entirely subordinate to the mystery of the Cross. It is no exaggeration to say that the author of *Hebrews* "knows nothing but Jesus Christ and him crucified" (1 Cor. 2. 2). It is by enduring the Cross that Jesus Christ became the author and finisher of our faith (12. 2). To sanctify his people by his own blood he suffered outside the gate (13. 12).

St. Paul says the same thing for Gentile Christians in a less Jewish way.¹ But, perhaps, it may be said, St. Paul and our author are irreconcilable in their respective manner of conceiving the heavenly ministry of Christ. According to the Apostle the glorified Christ is the head of the church, the ἀρχή or originating power whence all supernatural life flows, πρωτότοκος from the dead, holder of primacy in the whole order of creation, which God has intended to be subservient to the economy of redemption (Col. 1. 18). He ascended on high to give gifts to men and activate the organic life of the church so that it builds itself up in charity and grows to the full stature of Christliness (Eph. 4. 8-16). He sits at the right hand of God and pleads as an advocate against every condemnation which might threaten his elect (Rom. 8. 34). For *Hebrews*, on the contrary, Christ's ministry in heaven is liturgical. It seems to consist in the continuation of his sacrifice, which belongs to a heavenly not an earthly sphere. "If he was on earth he should not be a priest, since there are priests that offer gifts according to the law, who serve the example and shadow of heavenly things" (8. 4, 5). It seems to follow from this text that Christ is in heaven as a sacrificing priest² and that the pleading

¹ 1 Thess., 4. 14; Gal., 1. 14; 1 Cor., 15. 3; 2 Cor., 5. 15, 21; Rom., 3. 24, 25; 4. 25; 5. 6-10; Eph., 1. 7; 2. 12-18; 5. 2; Col., 1. 22; 2. 13, 14. In all these passages the salvific value of the death of Christ is supposed or asserted.

² H. J. HOLTZMANN (*Lehrbuch der deutlichen Theologie* II, p. 343), understands our Epistle as teaching that Christ appeared before God with his own blood shed on the Cross "um daselbst sein hl. Selbstopfer immer wieder zugunsten der

which is attributed to him in 7. 25 is sacrificial activity. Hence the Christian life is a continual *προσέρχασθαι* in a liturgical sense, this word occurring seven times in our Epistle¹ and not once in the same sense in any of the Pauline letters.

This seems very specious but in reality the idea that Christ officiates before the throne of God, by any sort of liturgical action or by any active pleading of his passion is nowhere to be found in the Epistle to the Hebrews. We are simply told that he has gone into heaven itself now to appear before the face of God on our behalf (9. 24) and that, because he remains for ever, he has an unchangeable (or 'untransferable') priesthood, whence he is able to save in perpetuity all who come through him to God, always living to make intercession for them (7. 24, 25). Christ, then, as Priest is Saviour for ever. He saves those who use his mediation sanctifying them sacerdotally; for his priesthood has wrought the work of salvation and he as priest now stands with the whole power of his blood in the presence of God. The blood of Calvary speaks for ever with a more powerful cry than the blood of Abel. But how does the blood speak in heaven and after what manner is it sprinkled? In regard to the first question, one might say that the blood speaks through the principal cicatrized wounds, from which it issued, but *Hebrews* nowhere insinuates such a thought. In regard to the second it is clear that any local sprinkling of blood within the heavenly tabernacle, is, even in a metaphorical sense, unthinkable. When our author says that "it is necessary... that the *ἐπουράνια* themselves be cleansed with better victims than these" (namely, animal offerings), he does not suggest that the material rites of Expiation Day found some sort of counterpart in a ritual cleansing of heaven. The imagery of Christ's passing behind the veil is only partly local. The veil through which he passed was not the blue expanse of the firmament but his own flesh (10. 20). That into which he passed through the broken veil of his mortality was the temple of his own immortality. The sacred body of Christ is "the tabernacle not made by hands, that is, not of this creation"²

Seinigen geltend zu machen, worin eben sein himmlischer Priesterdienst 8, 26 besteht." He cites in a note the words of Sabatier (*La doctrine de l'expiation*, p. 27): "C'est une sorte de messe idéale et divine, si nous osons ainsi parler, que le grand-prêtre selon l'ordre de Melchisédek accomplit pour les hommes devant Dieu."

¹ Heb., 4. 16; 7. 25; 10. 1; 10. 22; 11. 6; 12. 18, 22.

² Here *Hebrews* seems to join St. John who alone has transmitted our Lord's reference to his body as a *ναός*: Solvite templum hoc et in tribus diebus excitabo illud... dicebat de templo corporis sui (In. 2. 20, 21). In the Apocalypse, XXI, the new Jerusalem is the Bride of the Lamb. It has no temple for the Lord God Almighty is its temple and the Lamb.

(9. 11). That same body resurrected and seated on the throne of God in the place that belongs to it, is likewise "the sanctuary and the perfect tabernacle which the Lord pitched and not man" (8. 2).¹ But Christ is not an isolated individual who attained the goal of divine glory for himself. He is a Mediator and a Representative. If then, his body is a holy tent, it is such inasmuch as its tent-covers extend and cover the whole sanctified humanity for whom he mediates an eternal covenant. Into that tent of glory finally localized in heaven our High-priest entered. Considering him as a priest, therefore, his blood must speak through the life which he has won on behalf of his brethren; and it must be sprinkled by the application of the cleansing waters of the same life to those who "become partners of Christ." The imagery, then, is partly local, for Christ is undoubtedly said "to have penetrated the heavens" (4. 14); "he sat down at the right hand of the throne of majesty in heaven" (8. 1); it was not into a sanctuary made with hands like the pattern of the true sanctuary that Christ entered but into heaven itself" (9. 24). Notwithstanding this, the ideas of a holy place and a priest's local motion to that holy place do not explain the language of *Hebrews*. The key to the whole wider meaning of this great liturgy, seems to be offered in 10. 19 where the *καταπέτασμα* is interpreted as *ἡ σάρξ αὐτοῦ*. By the sacrificial offering of his body once for all (10. 10) Jesus passed through the veil of his flesh (10. 19) into his glory (essentially complete in the resurrection² but brought to its final goal [*τελείωσις*] in the ascension) and now appears before God on our behalf (9. 24), making intercession by the very fact that he is always living (7. 25), and desiring our salvation. "Interpellat autem pro nobis", says St. Thomas, "primo humanitatem suam quam pro nobis assumpsit, repraesentando. Item sanctissimae animae suae desiderium quod de salute nostra habuit, exprimendo."³ There is therefore no heavenly sacrifice of

¹ St. Thomas comments on 8. 2 as follows: "*Est minister tabernaculi veri, quod est vel eius ecclesia militans... vel triumphans.*" That the saint does not primarily understand a supra-atmospheric locality by the "amplius et perfectius tabernaculum" of 9. 11 appears from the following two sentences: "Non manufactum, id est, non huius creationis, quia non est manufactum sicut vetus; nec est huius creationis, id est, in bonis sensibilibus creatis. Vel per tabernaculum potest Christi corpus intelligi, in quo contra diabolum pugnavit" O. c., pp. 371, 384).

² The word of our Lord to the two disciples on the road to Emmaus reported by St. Paul's disciple, Luke, is very close to the teaching of the Apostle and of our Epistle: "Nonne haec oportuit pati Christum et ita intrare in gloriam suam" (24. 26). Note the word *παθεῖν* and compare the whole sentence with Hebrews 9. 26.

³ The Saint has some apposite remarks in art. 5 of Question 22 of the *Summa Theologica*. The Question is "de Sacerdotio Christi" and the article mentioned asks: "Utrum sacerdotium Christi permaneat in aeternum." The answer given is:

Christ, but the living priest holds all the power of his sacrifice in his living humanity and the power of his blood is sprinkled not within any local sanctuary in heaven or on earth, but over a social organism whose members thereby approach God (10. 22) and aspire after the society of the heavenly Jerusalem (12. 22-24). It seems that the *κεφαλή-σῶμα-ἐκκλησία* conception of Christ's salvific work can alone do justice to the thought which lies behind *Hebrews* and is expressed in a particularly liturgical way.

It is easy to see how near this exposition brings us to the epistles of St. Paul. For the Apostle, Christ, in his resurrection, was constituted the Son of God in power (Rom. 1. 4) and the first-born from the dead (Col. 1. 18) became *πνεῦμα ζωοποιούν* (1 Cor. 15. 45). For the author of *Hebrews* Christ perfected by sufferings and obedience (2. 10; 5. 9), became the author and the cause of eternal salvation (*ibid.*). The word of a divine oath set up as priest a son perfected for ever (7. 28). By the same sacrifice by which he attained his own *τελείωσις* he has, in virtue of a permanent power, perfected (*τετελείωκεν*) in perpetuity those who are sanctified (10. 14).¹

Thus, the soteriology of *Hebrews* has a very distinctly sacerdotal, liturgical and even Old Testament colour, but it is its imagery rather than its conceptual contents that seems to separate it from the essentially identical soteriology of the Pauline epistolary.

Subjective Redemption

Subjective soteriology, or the description of the mode in which men appropriate the fruits of Christ's sacrifice, occupies a minor place in the Epistle to the Hebrews. It is the Saviour's person and work and the excellence of the covenant which he founded that predominate.

"Dicendum quod in officio sacerdotis duo possunt considerari: primo quidem, ipsa oblatio sacrificii; secundo ipsa sacrificii consummatio, quae quidem consistit in hoc quod illi pro quibus sacrificium offertur, finem sacrificii consequuntur... Et haec quidem consummatio sacrificii Christi praefigurabatur in hoc ipso quod pontifex legalis semel in anno cum sanguine hirci et vituli intrabat in sancta sanctorum... cum tamen hircum et vitulum non immolaret in sanctis sanctorum, sed extra. Similiter Christus... in ipsum caelum intravit, et nobis viam paravit intrandi per virtutem sanguinis sui, quem pro nobis in terra effudit." To a second objection that the priesthood of Christ does not last for ever because his passion and death are not perpetual, he answers: "Licet passio et mors Christi de caetero non sint iteranda, tamen virtus illius hostiae, semel oblatae, permanet in aeternum."

¹ See VITTI, *Il Sacerdozio di Gesù Cristo* (La Redenzione, Conferenze bibliche tenute nell'anno giubilare 1933, Rome, 1934), pp. 162, 163: "Vorrei richiamare l'attenzione sul verbo *τελειούν* usato dall'apostolo, come fosse una perfezione termi-

ate. As we already heard St. Thomas say, "Christ excellentia est materia huius epistolae ad Hebraeos," and in the demonstration of the excellence of Christ it is rather the objective redemption which counts. We can, however, gather the elements of a subjective soteriology from various sentences of the Epistle. But first a word must be said about the *διαθήκη* of which Christ is the mediator and under which the salutary effects of his passion are realized.

The idea of *διαθήκη* in *Hebrews* is a correlative of the Mediatorship of Christ and therefore a most central notion in the theology of the whole Epistle. The frequency of the word indicates its importance, for it occurs seventeen times altogether, of which number, however, five belong to a passage cited and partly re-cited from *Jeremias* and one to a citation from *Exodus*.¹ Six times *διαθήκη* denotes the Sinaitic Covenant with which the New Covenant is compared, the word in this acceptation being once qualified by the ordinal adjective "first." Nine times the Christian covenant is denoted, the word *διαθήκη* being twice qualified as "better," three times as "new" (*καινή, νέα*) and once as "eternal." In three instances the context alone indicates its meaning. In the remaining two occurrences (9. 16, 17) the word *διαθήκη* is used in argument as a general term and most probably bears the meaning of "testament," which character the New Covenant seems to possess in the mind of the author.²

The superiority of the New Covenant over the Old rests on various grounds. The fact that its sacerdotal Mediator was appointed not merely by an ordinary divine oracle but by a divine oath gives it a superior solemnity (7. 22) but to that superior solemnity a superior efficacy corresponds. The Levitical priesthood and the dispensation that was based upon it were incapable of bringing men to the goal of

nale raggiunta dal Signore dopo la sua morte e con la sua risurrezione, e che non può avere altro senso, che precisamente questo: la morte gli dà la potenza di aiutarci, la risurrezione o la dimora in cielo lo rende quello che era sua meta, principio di vita soprannaturale. Il non aver potuto inquadrare siffattamente l'idea, ha portato a paralogismi e logomachie, a base di contrasti immaginari, due che hanno voluto disserire su tal soggetto." The writer refers to J. KÖGEL *Der Begriff τελειούν im Hebräerbrief u. s. w.* Leipzig, 1905 and E. RIGGENBACH, *Der Begriff der τελείωσις im Hebräerbrief*. N. k. Z. 1923.

¹ Heb., 7. 22; 8. 6; 9. 4 b, e; 9. 15 a, b; 9. 16, 17; 10. 29; 12. 24; 13. 20; *Jeremias*, 31. 31-33; Heb., 8. 8, 9 a, b, 10; 10. 16; *Exodus*, 24. 8; Heb. 9. 20.

² Westcott defends the meaning "covenant" even in these two instances. (Additional Note on 9. 16. The meaning of *διαθήκη* in 9. 15 ff.). His arguments from the context are impressive, but he is obliged to give a very far-fetched explanation of the two verses in question. For a full treatment of the question see FONSECA, art. cit., *Biblica*, 9 (1928), pp. 149-157.

God's final purpose (7. 11, 18, 19). Both were inherently weak and unavailing because the hope which God set to their efficacy was limited by the prospects of an earthly theocratic happiness, which was meant to be only an image of something better. It was not in the power of the old dispensation to cause a spiritual approach of the human soul to its Maker. That came with "the introduction of a better hope through which we draw near to God" (7. 19). The Law, of course, had a deeper prophetic meaning, but in itself it was a temporal regime and on its ceremonial side was concerned with the externals of human life only. Its moral precepts were certainly spiritual but there were no institutional means which could work of themselves on the heart of man so as to make him obedient or in case of sin to restore him to internal rectitude. In theological language there was no *opus operatum* in Mosaism.¹ *Hebrews* affirms not only the inefficacy, of the Levitical priesthood (7. 11) and of the legislation as a whole (7. 18, 19) but especially of the legal sacrifices. The whole covenant was prefigurative and its liturgy was the service of a shadow-sanctuary. The new liturgy of the Melchisedechian priest corresponds to the better covenant of which he is the Mediator, a covenant established on the basis of better promises (8. 6). When God gave the covenant of Sinai, He knew that the Israelites would not and, in a sense, could not observe it. Their violation of it was to be the occasion of introducing a better dispensation, which should reach the inmost soul of man and have within it the provision of forces necessary to secure its observance. This is what the great Jeremian oracle (31. 31-34) affirmed. There was to be a new covenant in the future, different from the post-exodic one, because this had not been kept. It was not to be the same sort of external ordinance, because the predominant element in it was to be interior light and impulse so that, in regard to the knowledge of divine things, men should all be taught by God, and in regard to His law, they should have it written on their hearts. The great characteristic of the new regime was to be the forgiveness of sins (8. 8-12). It is to be observed that our author interprets the Jeremian context rightly, when he makes the blame thrown upon Israel to fall on the law itself. In

¹ St. Thomas, *S. T.*, 1^a 2^{ae} 103, 2, says: "Ab immunditia vero mentis, quae est immunditia culpae, non habebant virtutem expiandi. Et hoc ideo, quia expiatio a peccatis nunquam fieri possit, nisi per Christum, qui tollit peccata mundi, ut dicitur Ioan. I. Et quia mysterium incarnationis et passionis Christi nondum erat realiter peractum: illae veteris legis caeremoniae non poterant in se continere realiter virtutem profluentem a Christo incarnato et passo; sicut continent sacramenta novae legis. Et ideo non poterant a peccato mundare; sicut Apostolus dicit, ad Hebr. X, quod *impossibile est sanguine taurorum aut hircorum auferri peccata.*"

another point also he knew his Bible better than some modern scholars who have accused him of perverting its sense. He did not regard the Jeremian oracle as excluding a sacrifice of expiation, for he knew, no doubt, that in the group of prophecies, to which his citation belongs, the Prophet had kept the institution of priesthood: καὶ μεθύσω τὴν Ψυχὴν τῶν ἱερέων υἱῶν Λευεί, (T. M. adds *deshen*, pinguedine).¹ The inability of the sacrifices of the Old Law to effect what God wanted, namely, the creation of a clean conscience in man, opened the way for the substitution of a really effective sacrifice. Hence the Messiah coming into the world says through the mouth of David:

"Hostiam et oblationem noluisti,
corpus autem aptasti mihi;
holocaustomata pro peccato non tibi placuerunt,
tunc dixi: Ecce venio:
in capite libri scriptum est de me,
ut faciam, Deus, voluntatem tuam."²

With this declaration of God's repudiation of the former sacrifices and the Messiah's offering of himself instead of them, we have the passing of an earlier order of things and the introduction of a new order, under which "we stand sanctified by the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all" (10. 10).

This is the covenant based on the one sacrifice offered for the remission of sins (10. 18). In the blood of this covenant the Christian has been sanctified (10. 29). It is a new (12. 24) and an eternal covenant (13. 20). In accordance with the constant use of the word in the Bible, the new διαθήκη is not a pure act of donation, an unconditional amnesty, or any such sort of unilateral transaction.³ It

¹ Jerem. 31. 14. — Moffatt shows that he is ignorant or oblivious of this context, when he writes (o. c., p. 110): "Our author, who sees the new διαθήκη fulfilled in Christianity, has his own views about how such a promise and purpose were attainable, for while the oracle ignores the sacrificial ritual altogether, he cannot conceive any pardon apart from sacrifice nor any διαθήκη apart from a basal sacrifice." Windisch has the same error (o. c., p. 74): "Während Jer. 31 die καινή διαθήκη als ein kultfreies Gottesverhältnis beschrieben wird (Gehorsam des gereinigten Herzens, freie Sündenvergebung), hat die christliche Deutung sie wieder in dem Bereich des Kultus einbezogen, indem sie Jer. 31 mit Ex. 24 zusammenschloss."

² Ps. 39. 1-9; Heb., 10. 5-7.

³ See FONSECA, *Biblica*, 9 (1928), p. 159. who rejects the definition of Behm (*Der Begriff der Διαθήκη im Hebr.*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 106 f.) in so far as it seems to hold the new διαθήκη to be an ordinance in which God does everything, making absolute promises and imposing no obligation of cooperation with His gifts. Still more objectionable is the definition of Lohmeyer (*Diatheke*, Leipzig, 1913) who makes the διαθήκη a gift which enables men to be conscious of the pardon of their sins and the possession of the Holy Spirit (p. 164).

imposes conditions, so that the salvation or inheritance which it conveys is received by the obedient (5. 9) and as a reward (10. 35).

The bilateral character of the covenant gives us a preliminary insight into the nature of subjective redemption. The salvation, of which Christ is the cause for those who obey him, is certainly an interior purification of the conscience (9. 14) and a sanctification (10. 29) in which human obedience and human effort have a part. It is not a mere external remission of sins but such internal remission as involves an infusion of spiritual light and devotion to God's law, according to the Prophet's description of the new covenant. Those who are on the way of salvation have entered into the ranks of those sons, whom God wills to bring to glory (2. 10); in other words, they have received the adoption of sonship. This means that they are not only partakers of a heavenly vocation (3. 1) but have become partakers of Christ (3. 14) and of the Holy Spirit (6. 4). Those who have tasted the heavenly gift (6. 4) have a bold confidence and even the security of a hope that boasts (4. 6). Their advance towards the possession of their inheritance is a life of faith, hope and charity (6. 9-12; 10. 19-25). This triad of theological virtues is mentioned twice over and, in general, it is clear that supernatural virtue is required of those who are reminded how good it is "that the heart be established with grace, not meats" (13. 9), and who must pursue "holiness without which no man shall see the Lord" (12. 14). The life which is contemplated is clearly the effect of grace. Those who totally fall away from it "outrage the spirit of *grace*" (10. 29); whoever neglects this salvation (2. 3) is said "to fail of the *grace* of God" (12. 15), while all are exhorted with the words: "Wherefore, we receiving a kingdom which cannot be moved, let us have *grace*, whereby we may serve God acceptably (*εὐαρέστως*) with reverence and godly fear" (12. 28). Actual grace is also mentioned where the writer says: "Let us approach with confidence to the throne of *grace* that we may receive mercy and find *grace* for seasonable aid" (4. 16).

A life whose primary factor is a gratuitous gift of God cannot owe its origin to anything short of divine power. The change of a sinner into a friend of God must be a supernatural process. This process, which the verb *δικαίωω* covers in the Pauline epistles, is only very slightly touched upon by the author of *Hebrews*.¹ The verb *δικαίωω*,

¹ See PERRELLA, *De iustificatione secundum epistolam ad Hebraeos*, = *Biblica*, 14 (1933), pp. 1-21; 150-169. The author finds the five following theses in our Epistle: 1) Lex vim non habuit ad hominem moraliter 'consummandum,' seu ad eius conscientiam mundandam a peccatis; 2) fides, e contra efficit ut quis Deo placeat, ad eum accedat iustitiamque acquirat; 3) huius 'consummatio-

does not occur, neither does δικαίωσις. The noun δικαιοσύνη occurs six times and the adjective δίκαιος three times. Friendship with God is expressed in two other ways, namely, by the verbs προσέρχεσθαι and εὐαριστεῖν. Under these four words we may group the texts which tell us something of the way in which a person passes into the state of friendship with his Creator.

Of the six δικαιοσύνη texts only one can be referred to inchoative justice. In chapter XI we read that "By faith (πίστει) Noe having received a divine oracle as to things not yet seen feared and prepared an ark for the saving of his house; by which (faith) he condemned the world and became the heir of justice which is according to faith" (11. 7). Even though it be said that Noe was a just man before he received the order to build the ark, nevertheless, the text shows that his justice began in faith. It was through his faith that he condemned by a judgment of simple example the sinful and faithless world and became possessor of the justice of faith.¹ The example of Noe is here used in the same way as that of Abraham in Romans 4. 3.² As the text there quoted referred to the whole faith of Abraham, so also here, because Noe's faith was the foundation of his justice and it was not so much by one act of faith as by a life based on faith that he condemned the world.

Under the word δίκαιος we have a text which completely establishes the identity of view existing between *Hebrews* on the one hand and Galatians and Romans on the other with regard to the basis of justice. St. Paul shows the Galatians that "in the law no one is justified before God" by appealing to the sentence of Habacuc: "Justus ex fide vivit" (Gal. 3. 11; Heb. 2. 4). The same text is the foundation-stone of the thesis propounded in Romans 1. 17. In our

nis' causa meritoria fuit mors piacularis Christi cuius fructus efficax, universalis, perpetuus. In baptismo confertur; consummationis denique sequela duplex est: in terra vita christiane acta usque ad extremum, in caelo gloria aeterna" (p. 169).

¹ St. Thomas Aquinas says: "Ex hoc quod propter fidem praedictam fecit, *damnavit mundum*, id est, mundanos damnabiles ostendit. Revelatio autem sibi de fabricanda arca, responsum fuit desiderio eius et iustitiae, quae est per fidem." (Comm. in h. l.).

² On St. Paul's use of the words of Genesis 15, 6: "Credidit Abraham Deo et reputatum est illi ad iustitiam," Cornely observes: "Non de solo fidei actu, qui Gen. 15. 5-6 commemoratur, sed de tota fide, qua inde a prima sua vocatione (Gen. 12. 1) patriarcha semper intellectum voluntatemque auctoritati Dei revelantis, promittentis, praecipientis se subiiciebat, Paulum cogitasse censemus, ut eam initium et fundamentum et radicem totius iustitiae Abrahae fuisse insinuet" (Comm. in Ep. ad Rom., p. 214).

Epistle the text figures in an exhortative context. Habacuc is employed to convey a solemn warning against withdrawal from a relation to God, in which faith means life and the final salvation of the soul (10. 38):

"Iustus autem meus ex fide vivit (vivet);
quod si subtraxerit se,
non placebit animae meae."

To these words of the Prophet the writer adds: "Nos autem non sumus subtractionis filii in perditionem, sed fidei in acquisitionem animae." Obviously, if faith is that without which the whole edifice of salvation will collapse, it must be the foundation of the whole Christian life. If its renunciation involves perdition, surely the whole advance *eis περιπόνησιν Ψυχῆς* was founded on faith from the beginning. "We (genuine Christians) are children of faith."¹ It was by faith that we became children.

One text more will suffice to show that both *προσέρχεσθαι* and *ἐναρσετεῖν* in their inchoative sense also suppose faith. In the Septuagint translation of Genesis Henoah's friendship with God was expressed in the words: *ἐνηρέστησεν δὲ Ἐνώχ τῷ Θεῷ*.² Our author quotes these words as giving the reason why he attributed the translation of Henoah to faith (11. 5). He was translated because he pleased God. "Now without faith it is impossible to please" (11. 6). Therefore, according to the author of *Hebrews*, a life which is pleasing to God cannot possibly have any other root than faith. Faith, he further shows, is the first necessity of a movement of the soul to God: *Credere enim oportet accedentem ad Deum (τὸν προσερχόμενον τῷ Θεῷ) quia est, et inquiringibus se remunerator sit*" (ibid.). *Placere* and *accedere ad Deum* (as one's supreme good or last end) are practically synonymous, but the latter notion supposes belief in God existing and remunerating those that seek Him—"ut credatur Deum esse, et providentiam habere circa hominum salutem." Therefore, friendship supposing nearness, and nearness supposing approach,

¹ An example of the shallow exegesis and bad logic that are so often employed to fix a chasm between our Epistle and the Paulines may be seen in the few words of comment which Windisch gives to this citation from Habacuc (o. c., p. 98): *Πίστις* ist hier die Glaubenszuversicht, die auch im Leiden ausharrt 6, 12; 11, 13 u. ö., also nicht wie bei Rm. 1. 17; 3. 28 als Gegensatz zu den Werken gefasst vgl. 36; von einer Beeinflussung durch Rm. kann keine Rede sein."

² Gen., 5. 22: The Hebrew text is rendered in its literal anthropomorphic form by St. Jerome: "Et ambulavit Henoah cum Deo."

there is no friendship without faith.¹ Faith must be the beginning of all amicable conversation with God.²

It seems unnecessary to parallel this exposition with a soteriological anthology from the Pauline epistles. Nothing but a mere surface view of the objective realities can lead to the denial of the profound unity of conception that exists between the two soteriologies. Before leaving the subject, however, it seems well to draw special attention to the facts that the idea of *τελείωσις* was not foreign to the mind of St. Paul, as may be seen from Philippians 3. 12;³ that the new *διαθήκη* had already sketched itself in his mind according to the sacerdotal,⁴ testamentary⁵ and interior⁶ character which it has in *Hebrews*; that, if *προσέρχεσθαι* is not one of the terms used by him to denote the rectified state of the human soul towards God, nevertheless, a very similar term occurs three times in his epistles;⁷ that the notion of pleasing God is common only to *Hebrews*, St. Paul and St. John.⁸

What has been said does not exhaust all possible comparison but it is sufficient to show that the soteriology of *Hebrews* does not stand, like Soracte, in splendid isolation.

¹ St. Thomas points out the syllogism in the argument. In its simplest form it is as follows: "Major: Henoch placuit Deo (probatur auctoritate Scripturae) — Minor: sine fide impossibile est placere Deo (probatur quia placere est accedere, sed sine fine non acceditur etc.). Ergo Henoch sine fide Deo placere non potuit. Proinde fide translatus est."

² The Council of Trent (Sess. VI, cap. 8; D. B. 801) used this text in defining the Catholic doctrine of justification: "Per fidem ideo iustificari (dicimur), quia fides est humanae salutis initium, fundamentum et radix omnis iustificationis, sine qua impossibile est placere Deo et ad filiorum eius consortium pervenire."

³ Philipp. 3, 12. Ουχ ὅτι ἤδη ἔλαβον ἢ ἤδη τετελείωμαι...

⁴ In the history of the Institution of the Holy Eucharist 1 Cor., 11. 25.

⁵ Gal. 3. 17-22, where *διαθήκη* probably means a "testament."

⁶ 2 Cor., 3, where the letter written on tablets (which are) hearts of flesh (3.3), the new covenant not of the letter but of the spirit (3. 6), and its formal distinction from the old covenant (3. 14) are thoughts which come very close to *Hebrews* 8. 7-13.

⁷ Rom. 5. 2: "Iustificati ergo ex fide pacem habeamus ad Deum per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, per quem et habemus *accessum* per fidem in gratiam istam in qua stamus." Eph. 2. 18: "quoniam per ipsum habemus *accessum* ambo in uno Spiritu ad Patrem." Ibid. 3. 12: "In quo habemus fiduciam et *accessum* in confidentia per fidem eius." In each case the Greek word for *accessus* is *προσ-αγωγή*.

⁸ *εὐαρεστέω* 11. 5, 6 (active), 13. 6 (passive);—*εὐάρεστος* (to God) Rom. 12. 2; 14. 8; 2 Cor., 5. 9; Eph., 5. 10; Philipp. 4. 8; Col. 3. 20 (*ἐν Κυρίῳ*), Heb. 12. 21; — *εὐαρεστῶς* Heb. 12.28, — *ἀρεστός* John, 8. 29; 1 John, 3. 22.

The idea of Faith

The notion of faith is one that has suffered very badly at the hands of commentators imbued with Lutheran ideas. Already holding a false conception of faith in general and of Pauline faith in particular, they easily conclude that the notion of faith in *Hebrews* is more Jewish or Philonic than Pauline.¹ The wrong impression comes, as usual, from over-emphasis of negative points and more particularly from not distinguishing the coloration which an idea may contract from a writer's point of view. It must be remembered that in the Pauline epistles faith chiefly figures as an instrument of justification, whereas in *Hebrews* it is rather the ground of hope. The constituent notes of an idea are clearly distinct from the relations which the idea may bear to other ideas. It is easy to understand, for instance, that, if the object of faith is a promise, the virtue itself or its acts will, as it were, appear in the colours of hope. If again there is question of operative faith, it will seem to be obedience, self-surrender or devotedness. Words do not stand in living speech in the same isolation as they do in a dictionary. It is with such necessary distinctions in mind that the investigation of the notion of faith in *Hebrews* should be undertaken.

In the Pauline Epistles the verb πιστεύειν in its primary sense of "believe," is construed either with the dative of the person who speaks and whose authority is the motive of belief or, secondly, with a preposition (eis or ἐπί) governing the person or agency who promises and has the power to do something for the believer, or, thirdly with an accusative clause containing the truth which is believed. Only the third of these constructions occurs in *Hebrews* (11. 6). In fact the verb πιστεύειν occurs only twice altogether, in remarkable contrast to Thessalonians, Galatians, Romans and 1 Corinthians, but the contrast is not very remarkable if we compare with 2 Corinth-

¹ Thus H. J. HOLTZMANN, *Lehrbuch*, II, pp. 345, 346, having noted the kinship (amounting to identity!) between faith as set forth in our Epistle and obedience, fidelity, hope, continues: ... "Kraft des Glaubens bewegt sich der Mensch schon auf Erden in jenem Bereiche übersinnlicher Wahrheit, in jenem zeitlichen wie örtlichen Jenseits, darin für den Autor ad Hebraeos allein wesenhaftes Sein, vor allem das ganze Christentum selbst zu finden ist. Daher die originelle Vorstellung eines Ankers, der 6. 19 von Diesseits in das Jenseits reicht. Demgemäss heisst der Glaube mehr philonisch (Migr. Abrah. 9) als paulinisch, 'eine Zuversicht auf Gehofftes, eine Ueberzeugung von Wirklichkeiten, die man nicht sieht.' Von ihrem Dasein ist der Glaube so überzeugt (eigentlich 'überführt,' daher ἐλεγχος) dass er festen Fuss darauf fassen kann."

ians and the later Pauline Epistles.¹ The noun πίστις is, therefore, a better means of comparison, for its frequency in *Hebrews* is quite up to the proportion of Romans (30 and 38 times respectively) and Galatians (22)—the two great Faith-Epistles. In the Paulines this word is construed with εἰς, ἐπὶ, πρὸς, only the second of which occurs in *Hebrews* in the catechetical article, πίστις ἐπὶ Θεόν (6. 1). It is noteworthy that the Pauline phrases πίστις Ἰησοῦ, εἰς Ἰησοῦν, ἐν Ἰησοῦ; πίστις Χριστοῦ, εἰς Χριστόν are totally absent from our Epistle.² However, with one possible exception (1 Thess. 1. 3) these phrases are equally absent from the Thessalonian Letters. Practically the only conclusion, then, which we can draw from word-statistics is that the term "faith" is quite as prominent in *Hebrews* as in the Paulines. Let us see what our author means by it.

It is preferable not to begin with the description of faith given in 11. 1. That description offers difficulties of interpretation, which we shall be better able to meet, when we know something of the author's mind. Now, if there is one thing that stands written more prominently than another in our Epistle, it is that God has spoken, and that the whole economy of salvation, as it has been preached by the Prophets and by Christ, is divine revelation. God has spoken (1. 1; 12. 25 etc.); His prophets, Christ himself, and the Apostles have brought God's word to us (1. 1, 2; 2. 3). So it has become a "word of hearing" just as the message delivered to the Israelites in the desert (ὁ λόγος τῆς ἀκοῆς 4, 2). The word of God, preached and heard, is the object of faith. This word is only profitable when believed, as we may conclude from the example of the unbelieving generation of the Exodus (3. 18 οἱ ἀπειθήσαντες). "For we have been evangelized as they were, but the word preached (ὁ λόγος τῆς ἀκοῆς) did not profit them, not being mixed with faith in them that heard it" (4. 2).³ Those who receive the message of faith do so, not because

¹ The word is not found once in Colossians, only once in Philippians and 2 Timothy (in the sense of "trust," however), only twice in Ephesians and Titus (once = entrust), and three times in 1 Timothy (once = entrust).

² Holtzmann's comment on the fact is: "Man glaubt nicht sowohl an die im Tode des Sohnes offenbar gewordene, Gnade Gottes, als vielmehr 6. 1 einfach an Gott selbst (πίστις ἐπὶ Θεόν), an seine Existenz und seine belohnende Gerechtigkeit 11. 6, vgl. 6. 10, also wie auch zuvor schon im Judentum" (o. c. II, p. 346). The comment is as superficial as the merely philological data on which it rests. The author attaches importance to the absence of certain phrases and neglects the concrete reality of the whole Epistle.

³ On the reading of 4. 2 see Westcott's note pp. 112, 113. The above translation represents the reading μὴ συγκεκρασμένος τῇ πίστει τοῖς ἀκούσασιν give by S, 104, d, vg. syp. sa. Ef. Lcf. Cyr. Alex. The reading συγκεκρασμένους is that

the object of it is evident.¹ They receive it as the word of God and as such it was rendered credible in the beginning by the witness wherewith God accompanied its preaching, namely, "signs and wonders and various powers and distributions of the Holy Spirit according to his will" (2. 4). The object of faith is, therefore, God himself, in so far as He reveals Himself, His counsels, His works. That in the Pauline Epistles it centres in Christ and is, therefore, called *πίστις Ἰησοῦ* (Rom. 3. 26, Gal. 3. 22 etc.) is undeniable, but that *fides in Christum* is absent from *Hebrews*² is as undeniably false. Apart from the fact that the whole letter builds up faith in Christ, the catechesis which the community is supposed to have received in the beginning is described as *ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγος* (6. 1). And could one possibly desire a more living watch-word of faith in Christ than the cry that bursts from the heart of the author at the end of the Epistle: "Jesus Christus heri et hodie: ipse et in saecula?" (13. 8).

So far we can observe an absolute coincidence of thought between St. Paul and our author. St. Paul praised the Thessalonians "because, when they had the word of God preached to them (*παραλαβόντες λόγον ἀκοῆς παρ' ἡμῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ*), they received it not as the word of men, but as it is in truth, the word of God" (1 Thess 2. 13). Faith from hearing, and hearing from preaching sums up a sentence of Romans (10. 14) which leads to the conclusion: "Ergo fides ex auditu, auditus autem per verbum Christi" (10. 17). The Gospel is *ὁ λόγος τῆς ἀληθείας* (Col. 1. 5) because it is *ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ* (1. 25) and the Apostle mentions his preaching of it "in the power of signs and

of A B C D Mops. Chrys. Theodt. Theophylt. Aug. It gives the sense: "because they were not united by faith with those who (truly) heard." In either reading unbelief is the reason why they did not profit.

¹ It is hard to know what Schlatter (*Der Glaube im Neuen Testament*, p. 525) means, when he writes: "Nicht als menschlicher Akt, sondern als ein vom Glaubensobject selbst begründetes Verhalten, nicht als 'sich Gewissheit verschaffen' sondern als 'Gewissheit empfangen und darum haben' ist das Glauben definiert. Ebenso beschreibt es das erste Wort als eine von den göttlichen Realitäten ausgehende Wirkung, die in das persönliche Leben des Menschen eingeht und dasselbe in Bewegung versetzt aber nicht im eigenem Wollen und Handeln des Menschen begonnen wird." He seems to suppose that the object of faith has some sort of supernatural evidence, because it is the object itself and not the authority of God revealing that produces faith. Needless to say, there is no such notion in the words of Heb. 11. 1 which Schlatter examines under the heading: "Die Merkmale des gläubigen Verhaltens" (pp. 523-526).

² HOLTZMANN, Note 1, p. 346. "E. W. Mayer S. 122 f. konstatiert völligen Ausfall der fides in Christum, und selbst Heigl G. 109 f. wagt eine solche nur 'indirekt' in Hbr. zu finden." As far as Heigl is concerned, the note is unjust.

wonders, in the power of the spirit of God " throughout a great circuit reaching from Jerusalem to Illyricum (Rom. 15. 19), such signs and wonders as enabled him to say that in Corinth he had depended " on the showing of the spirit and power, so that your faith might not be in the wisdom of men but in the power of God " (1 Cor. 2. 4, 5).

The function of faith is, however, to a certain notable extent, not the same in the earlier Epistles and in *Hebrews*, but this is merely a question of different relations giving rise to different formalities of conception.¹ As we have seen, the function of faith as an instrument of first justification scarcely obtains any place in our Epistle and consequently the great Pauline antithesis Faith-Law is absent. Faith appears instead in relation to the good things brought by the new covenant. The author, stands as it were on the hills of Israel, and looks from the typological pages, which contain the revelation of the old covenant, out on the " world to come " (2. 5; 6. 5) and the " good things to come " (9. 11; 10. 1) and " the city to come " (13. 14). The Gospel for him is, therefore, a promise (ἐπαγγελία 4. 1; 6. 12-14; 8. 6; 9. 15; 10. 36; 11. 39) and faith is defined in terms of hope. In fact, the confession (ὁμολογία) of the Christian religion which in Romans is concerned with the article " Dominus Jesus " (10. 9) is in *Hebrews* a ὁμολογία τῆς ἐλπίδος (10. 23). *Hope* and its correlative moral virtue, *patience*, loom very large in this " word of exhortation " to wavering Christians."² (Christ's) house we are, if we hold fast our confidence and the boast of our hope " (3. 6). " We desire each one of you to show the same diligence for the fulfilment (πληροφορίαν) of your hope to the end " (6. 11). God gave a sworn promise to Abraham, that we may have a doubly " strong encouragement, after having fled (from the world), to lay hold upon the hope set before us " (6. 18). Here hope is described as an anchor mooring us to the inner

¹ Heigl, after a comparison of the faith-passages of the the greater Paulines with our Epistle, concludes: " Soweit daher eine Verschiedenheit zwischen den diesbezüglichen Erörterungen obwaltet, wird sie mit Recht daraus erklärt, dass der paulinische Glaubensbegriff in unserem Brief unter einen andern Gesichtspunkt gestellt und von einer andern Seite betrachtet werde, welche Betrachtungsweise nur in der besondern Veranlassung und dem Zwecke des Briefes begründet sei. Der Unterschied zwischen dem Lehrbegriffe des Hebräerbriefts und dem des Römerbriefts ist nur ein formaler. Der Hebräerbrief stellt genau dasselbe von seiner objectiv-geschichtlichen Seite dar, wie im Römerbrief von seiner subjectiv-psychologischen Seite aus behandelt ist " (*Verfasser und Adresse* etc., p. 117).

² The close union of these two virtues is also a characteristic of St. Paul, who actually seems at times to substitute the moral virtue for the theological one. See, for instance, Rom., 8. 35; 15. 4; 1 Thess., 1. 3; 2 Thess., 1. 4; 2 Tim. 3. 10; Titus, 2. 2.

sanctuary occupied on our behalf by our highpriestly Forerunner. The typical unendingness of Melchisedech's life signifies "the introduction of a better hope by which we draw near to God" (7. 18). "Let us hold the confession of our hope immovable" (10. 23). In the final exhortatory pages patience is insisted upon again and again. The Hebrews are reminded that, in the beginning, they "endured a great struggle of afflictions" (10. 32). They are asked to look upon Jesus "who, for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross" (12. 2). "For chastening endure" (12. 7). "Patience is necessary for you, that having done the will of God you might obtain the promise" (10. 36). "With patience let us run the race set before us" (12. 1). In familiar language, the admonition to "hold on" is the undercurrent of *Hebrews*—κρατῶμεν τῆς ὁμολογίας (17. 14); in the oath-bound promise to Abraham we have a strong encouragement... κρατῆσαι τῆς προκειμένης ἐλπίδος.¹ That bold and very Pauline state of mind called *παρρησία* is repeatedly recommended—if we keep the *παρρησία* and the boast of our hope (3. 6); let us approach with *παρρησία* to the throne of grace (4. 16); having *παρρησιαν* eis τὴν εἰσοδὸν τῶν ἀγίων (10. 19); do not cast away your *παρρησία* which has a great reward (10. 35).

It is no wonder, then, that the chapter (11), which contains a definition and an epic chronicle of faith, is dyed through and through with the colours of Messianic hope. It is more Jewish and more full of the future and the unseen than any correspondingly long piece that St. Paul ever wrote, but this is a matter of quantity and, to some extent, of quality, not of substantial reality. The Apostle likewise insists that "by hope we were saved" (Rom. 8. 20) and calls it the Christian's "helmet" (1 Thess, 5. 8). The Gospel itself he says, furnishes a hope "from which we must not be moved" (Col. 1. 23) and "Christ in us (is) the hope of glory" (ibid. 1. 27).² The object of hope is unseen and is patiently looked forward to: τῇ γὰρ ἐλπίδι ἐσώθην· ἐλπίς δὲ βλεπομένη οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐλπίς· ὁ γὰρ βλέπει τις, τί καὶ ἐλπίζει; εἰ δὲ ὁ οὐ βλέπομεν ἐλπίζομεν, δι' ὑπομονῆς ἀπεκδεχόμεθα (Rom. 8. 24, 25). Writing to the Corinthians of the eternal weight of glory which is to outbalance the light and momentary tribulations of this life, he says: μὴ σκοπόντων ἡμῶν τὰ βλεπόμενα ἀλλὰ τὰ μὴ βλεπόμενα· τὰ γὰρ βλεπόμενα πρόσκαιρα, τὰ δὲ μὴ βλεπόμενα αἰώνια (2 Cor. 4. 18); and speaking in the same context of the pilgrim journey

¹ Compare also the use of *κατέχω*, Heb. 3. 6, 14; 10. 23.

² See further Rom. 4. 18; 5. 2; Gal. 5. 5; Eph., 1. 18; 2. 12; 4. 4; Colossians, 1. 5; Titus, 2. 13; 3. 7.

of life he says: διὰ πίστεως γὰρ περιπατοῦμεν, οὐ διὰ εἶδους (ibid. 5. 4).¹

We have quoted these texts in Greek, because they are like a pencil-drawing of the famous descriptive definition of faith in *Hebrews* 11. 1. Πίστις in these texts is concerned with ἐλπίζόμενα and οὐ βλεπομένα and the definition reads: ἔστιν δὲ πίστις ἐλπίζομένων ὑπόστασις, πραγμάτων ἔλεγχος οὐ βλεπομένων. Faith and hope have a common object, namely, the unseen, but faith being an intellectual virtue has the unseen for object inasmuch as it becomes knowable; hope being a virtue of the will has the unseen for object inasmuch as it becomes attainable. The word ἐλπίζόμενα is, therefore, only partially synonymous with οὐ βλεπομένα, because it connotes absence rather than invisibility.² The second is the wider of the two terms embracing not only the invisible things of the future but every mystery which God has revealed. The second part of the description seems to give us rather the intellectual view of faith, its object being regarded as an object of knowledge. The

¹ St. Thomas Aquinas answers the objection that *res speranda* being the object of hope should not figure in a definition of faith by saying (*S. T.* 2^a 2^{ae}, 4, 1 ad secundum): "Dicendum quod cum fides pertineat ad intellectum, secundum quod imperatur a voluntate: oportet quod ordinetur sicut ad finem ad objectum illarum virtutum quibus perficitur voluntas, inter quas est spes... Et ideo in definitione fidei ponitur obiectum spei."

It is well worth while comparing the clearness of this statement. of Aquinas with the confusion of thought contained in the following sentences of Schlatter (o. c. p. 524): "Der zweite Begriff 'nicht Gesehenes' umfasst auch den ersten 'Gehofftes', erweitert aber das glaubende Verhalten auf alles, was von Gott her zu uns kommt, und beschreibt die eigentümliche Lage vollständiger, in der sich der Glaubende befindet. Weil Gehofftes vor ihm steht, kann er glauben; in der Hoffnung liegt die Ermöglichung des Glaubens. Weil er nicht Sichtbares vor sich hat, muss er glauben; darin liegt die Nötigung zu einem Trauen, das mit kräftiger Anspannung des Willens den Wert und die Kraft der vorgehaltenen Dinge, obgleich sie nicht sichtbar sind, dennoch bejaht." Whatever may be the precise sense of the author, his words mean that hope comes before faith. It is an attempt to explain faith without placing its motive in the authority of the God of truth revealing.

² As the question cannot be fully discussed here, we can only refer to the commentaries and the following literature: PRAT, *Théologie de S. Paul* (20th ed.) I, 461-463, VOSTRÉ *Studia Paulina* (Rome, 1928), pp. 181-184; MATHEIS, *The Pauline πίστις-ὑπόστασις according to Hebrews*, 11. 1 (Washington, 1920); id. *Biblica*, 3 (1922): Does substantia mean realization or foundation in *Hebrews* 11, 1? (a reply to a review of Father Murillo to which a counter-reply from the same is appended); M. SCHUMPP, *Der Glaubensbegriff des Hebräerbriefes und seine Deutung durch den heiligen Thomas von Aquin, Divus Thomas*, 11 (1933), pp. 397-410; SCHLATTER, *Der Glaube im N. T.* (4th ed., Stuttgart, 1927), pp. 520-526 and Note 12, on ὑπόστασις pp. 614-617.

unseen is unknown, but faith makes it known, as an argument makes a truth known. Hence it is an *ἔλεγχος*, a force which secures the adherence of the mind to truth which is outside the sphere of experience and rational attainment. We may regard the interpretation of this member of the sentence as practically certain, because usage does not seem to admit the meaning of "subjective conviction." Faith is, therefore, the proof of things not seen. The first member presents much more difficulty but evidently it must be coordinated with the second. The object being *ἐλπίζόμενα*, that is, at once an object and an end, it would seem that this phrase touches more especially the will's part in the virtue and acts of faith. "Actus fidei est actus intellectus determinati ad unum ex imperio voluntatis" (St. Thomas, S. T. 2^a 2^{ae}, 4, 1). Of the possible meanings of *ὑπόστασις*, therefore, "substance" in the sense of *basis* or *substratum* seems to be preferable. It is the obedience of the will that supports the habit of faith and gives the intellect that first groundwork of firm assent which is the initial apprehension of the object of hope as a reality. This is the view of St. Thomas Aquinas and, we believe, in ultimate analysis, the view of St. Chrysostom, Theodoretus, Theophylactus, the leading Greek commentators of our Epistle. The preceding context (10. 32-39) with the four words *ὑπεμείνατε* (32), *ὑπομονή* (36) *ὑποστέλλεται* (38), and *ὑποστολῇ* (39) seem to prepare us to recognise faith as that which gives standing to the objects of hope.

Throughout the subsequent encomium of faith (11. 2-40) the ideas of faith as a vision of the unseen and as a force of persevering pilgrim progress towards the final hope seem to be maintained throughout, now one, now the other being in the foreground. In the great things which the heroes of the Hebrew records did and obtained and suffered faith shone out as the ground of the realities pursued and the certifier of unseen things. Belief in the providence by which God cares for those who seek Him and helps them forward to the consummation which is the reward of patient fidelity, always touches the unseen and supports the soul's movement towards the desired reward, the *ἐπαγγελία* to the attainment of which those heroes of faith in various ways turned the course of their lives.

Of this faith Jesus is "the author and finisher" (12. 2), the one who makes its beginning and its end.¹ The full final revelation of God began to be preached by him (2. 3) and the promise, which it holds out, he has fulfilled and fulfils, "being himself brought to perfection and having become for all those that obey him the cause of

¹ Heb. 12. 2, *ἀφορῶντες εἰς τὸν τῆς πίστεως ἀρχηγὸν καὶ τελειωτὴν Ἰησοῦν.*

eternal salvation" (5. 9). Such is the meaning of the phrase "author and finisher," for the writer himself equates *ἀρχηγος τῆς σωτηρίας* 2. 10 with *αἴτιος τῆς σωτηρίας* (5. 9), and he has sufficiently indicated the meaning of *τελειώτης*, by the frequent use of *τελειώω* and *τελειώσις*. Filial confidence towards God is attributed to Jesus in 2. 13 and here he is held up as a model of patient endurance (12. 2-4) but nowhere is it said or insinuated that he had faith.¹

From what has been set forth it is sufficiently clear that the notion of faith in *Hebrews* differs in nothing from the Pauline notion except in such shades of colour and emphasis of aspect as are demanded by a new theme adapted to a special occasion. As examples of nuances of conception, in which our author and the Apostle are at one, two may be cited. The attribute of God's power (*credo in Deum... omnipotentem*) is a favourite object of faith both in the Paulines and our Epistle. The Gospel is *δύναμις Θεοῦ* for St. Paul² just as Christ is.³ Especially in the resurrection the power of God is what gets prominence. "To know him and the power of his resurrection" was the constant endeavour of the Apostle.⁴ Similarly, in both Romans and *Hebrews*, Abraham believes that God is "powerful to do what he has promised," "powerful even to raise from the dead."⁵ The second nuance is the kinship or quasi-equivalence of faith and obedience. The Apostle's mission was *eis ὑπακοὴν πίστεως*⁶ and he thanks God that the Romans "obeyed from their heart that form of doctrine to which they had been delivered."⁷ For the author of *Hebrews* too *ἀπιστία* is *ἀπέθεια*,⁸ and "by faith Abraham obeyed, when called to go out into a place which he was to receive for an inheritance."⁹

¹ Moffatt is altogether wrong, when he writes (o. c. XLIV): "For faith Jesus is the inspiring example; he is the great Believer who has shown in his own life on earth the possibilities of faith. In order to understand what faith is, we must look to Jesus above all, to see how faith begins and continues and ends." Bousset (*Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1915, p. 431), whose view Moffatt criticizes as incomprehensible, happens to be right in saying: "man wird bei dem Jesus des Hebräerbriefes so wenig bei den paulinischen noch im strengen Sinne von einem subjectiven Glauben Jesu reden können."

² Rom., 1. 16; 1 Cor., 1. 18.

³ 1 Cor., 1, 24.

⁴ Philipp., 3 10.

⁵ Rom., 4. 21; Heb., 11. 19.

⁶ Rom., 1. 5 ccll. 15. 18; 16. 19.

⁷ Rom., 6. 17.

⁸ Heb., 3. 18, 19; 4. 6, 11; 11. 31.

⁹ Heb., 11. 8.

The Holy Spirit and the Church

What the Epistle to the Hebrews says about the Holy Spirit can be put in very few words. That the Spirit is the third Person of the Blessed Trinity can be lawfully inferred from 2. 3, 4, where the (Gospel of) salvation appears as first preached by the *Lord* and subsequently by the Apostles, *God* bearing witness together with them by distributions of the *Holy Spirit* according to His will. The Spirit has several descriptive epithets in the Epistle. He is above all "the Holy Spirit" (2. 4; 3. 7; 6. 4; 9. 8; 10. 15) but also the eternal Spirit (9. 14). The attribute of eternity assures us that the Spirit is not any created gift but the divine Spirit Himself. He is furthermore called the Spirit of grace as being the Giver of grace, His personality being brought into very distinct prominence by the fact that apostates are declared guilty of insulting Him—*τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς Χάριτος ἐνυβρίσας* (10. 29).

Neither in St. Paul nor in *Hebrews* is there any certain assertion of the appropriation of the Incarnation to the Holy Spirit. The article "conceptus de Spiritu Sancto" is probably not found in the Epistles. The seven pneumatological texts which we read in *Hebrews*¹ attribute only four functions to the Spirit namely: 1) the inspiration of the Scriptures, 2) the sanctification of Christ's soul, 3) the giving of charismata and 4) the sanctification of the faithful.

1) Twice words of David (Ps. 94) and of Jeremias (31. 33) are introduced with the formulae *καθὼς λέγει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον: μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον*, and a third time the law of the Israelite sanctuary, as laid down in the Pentateuch, is interpreted as manifesting the will of the Holy Spirit *τοῦτο δηλοῦντος τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου μήπω πεφανερῶσθαι τὴν τῶν ἁγίων ὁδόν*.² 2) Christ is said to have offered himself *διὰ πνεύματος αἰωνίου... ἁμωμον τῷ Θεῷ*.³ 3) The giving of charismata is the Holy Ghost's work in the external confirmation

¹ Heb., 2. 4; 3. 7; 6. 4; 9. 8; 9. 14; 10. 15; 10. 29.

² Heb., 3. 7; 10. 15; 9. 8.

³ 9. 14: *αἰωνίου* is the true reading represented by the great Codices S A B. It was later corrected in S into the more usual epithet *ἁγίου* represented by D₂ and the Vulgate. This text is cited in the Encyclical *Divinum illud munus* (May 9, 1897) as signifying not the divinity of Christ, as some moderns think, but the Holy Ghost: "Divini autem Spiritus opera non solum conceptio Christi effecta est; sed eius quoque sanctificatio animae, quae unctio in sacris libris nominatur: atque adeo omnis eius actio praesente Spiritu peragebatur, praecipueque sacrificium sui: *Per Spiritum Sanctum semetipsum obtulit immaculatum Deo*" (Heb., 9. 14).

of the preaching of the Gospel. 4) Finally, Christians, as they have become partners of Christ (3. 14), so have they also become partners of the Holy Spirit (6. 4) and those who fall away not only trample on the Son of God and reckon the blood of the covenant profane but also "outrage the Spirit of grace" (10. 29).

This brief pneumatology can be paralleled almost point by point from St. Paul. 1) The sacred Scripture is *Θεόπνευστος* (2 Tim. 3. 16). The term suggests the Spirit as inspirer but there is a better parallel in the word which St. Paul spoke to the Jews at Rome: "Bene Spiritus Sanctus locutus est per Isaiam prophetam ad patres nostros" (Acts 28. 25). 2) Christ was shown to be the Son of God in power *κατὰ πνεῦμα ἀγιοσύνης* (Rom. 1. 4). Some very authoritative interpreters of St. Paul regard the Spirit here mentioned as the Holy Spirit who sanctified the Saviour and glorified him.¹ Certainly the thought of Christ acting under the impulse of the Holy Spirit cannot have been unfamiliar to St. Paul, since it is so prominent in the Gospel of Luke and the Acts.² 3) The few words on the charismatic signs in our Epistle need only be compared with 1 Cor. 12. 4-11. 4) The pneumatic character of Christian sanctification is, of course, written over the face of the whole eighth chapter of Romans and finds expression in every epistle except the short note to Philemon. Specially significant is the admonition to the Ephesians: "Nolite contristare Spiritum Sanctum Dei," when placed side by side with the phrase: "Spiritui Sancto contumeliam facere."³

¹ See PRAT, o. c., II, Note R. pp. 512 f. For the exposition "divine nature" see CORNELI in locum. Comm. pp. 40.

² Luke, 4. 1, 14, 18; 10. 21; Acts, 1. 2; 10. 38.

³ Eph., 4. 30 and Hebr., 10. 29.

Note: The exposition of the pneumatology of *Hebrews* given by FRIEDRICH BÜCHSEL on his work: *Der Geist Gottes im Neuen Testament* (Gütersloh 1926), follows the same lines as his *Christologie des Hebräerbriefs* already mentioned, and consequently is a thorough perversion of the teachings of our author. The following resumé will show to what destructive conclusions Büchsel's pneumatic Christology leads: The basic assertion is that Christ's community of being with God means simply possession of the Spirit (p. 465). The Spirit of God, as being the Holy Spirit, sanctified his death and, as being the Eternal Spirit, brought him through death to the heavenly sanctuary (p. 466). No "göttliche Natur" or "Grundkraft seines Wesens" in Jesus survived death. His sacrifice was "ein Sterben seiner Person, in dem er ganz zugrunde ging" (p. 467). The mortal and therefore merely human person of Christ passes, however, to eternal priesthood because he died through the spirit, in an act of self-surrender to the Spirit of God and through the Spirit was eternally perfected. "Der Geist ihm Anteil an seiner Ewigkeit gibt" (p. 468) The author seems to say that Christ died as one who had in himself no immortality, neither the immortality of godhead nor the immortality of a human

* * *

At first sight it would seem that the Church is not very much in evidence in *Hebrews*. The older commentators and most moderns have given very slight attention to the ecclesiastical concept in our Epistle.¹ It is an idea which the biblical theologian rather than the exegete is called upon to excavate from the hidden veins of this singularly rich mine. When closely examined *Hebrews* reveals a very important ecclesiology. It is, perhaps, not quite just to call it the ecclesiological Epistle, as St. Matthew's Gospel has been called the ecclesiological Gospel. This honour seems to belong to Ephesians, Colossians and the Pastorals. But the Church as a body of faithful socially bound together lies very close to our Epistle's chief theme of the excellence of Christ and his covenant. This will appear from the following brief review of the relevant passages, which review will also reveal how Pauline the thoughts are.

soul. He gave his mortality to the Spirit and the spirit gave him a share in his own eternity. "Es mag sein dass der Gedanke der unsterblichen Seele oder des Geistes, der in sich ewig ist, dem Verfasser des Hebräerbriefes bekannt und bedeutsam ist. Sein Christusbild hat dieser Gedanke aber nicht gestaltet." Catholic theology, of course, holds that the Holy Spirit sanctified and actuated the immortal soul of the Son of God made man.

¹ It is, however, untrue to say that our Catholic commentators have neglected this point. They found the Church even in passages which are generally understood in a very different sense by modern heterodox interpreters. Take, for instance, the *ἐπουράνια*, which are spoken of as purified by better sacrifices in 9. 23. Estius commenting on this verse, says: "Chrysostomus et caeteri Graeci quibus adstipulantur commentarii Primasio et Anselmo adscripti, item Haimo, Caietanus et alii Latinorum nonnulli caelestia intelligunt ecclesiam Christi militantem." Estius himself does not follow them but adheres to the interpretation which St. Thomas judges the better one, taking *ἐπουράνια* to mean heaven itself. Cornelius a Lapide is, perhaps, the commentator who has brought the ecclesiology of *Hebrews* most abundantly to light. His notes on 2. 5; 8. 2; 9. 11; 9. 23; 12. 22 and even his observations on the citations in the first chapter of *Hebrews* from 2 Sam. 7, 14, Ps. 44 and Ps. 101 give very considerable attention to the Church. Of modern scholars the only ones that seem to have treated the ecclesiology of our Epistle *ex professo* are A. M. Vitti S. J. and B. F. Westcott. (VITTI, *Epistola ad Hebraeos*, Rome, 1934, pp. 193-202; WESTCOTT, o. c., Additional Note on 11, 10: on the social imagery in the epistle, pp. 386-392). Westcott writes: "In this connection the teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews is of the greatest moment. It offers a view of the organisation of the Gospel in most respects singularly comprehensive; and it is not unlikely that the imminent overthrow of the Jewish state gave occasion for dwelling upon this aspect of the Gospel. There is however one striking omission. The Epistle is almost silent as to ecclesiastical organisation" (p. 386).

From the very beginning of our Epistle the Christian dispensation is contrasted with the old theocracy, and there is not the slightest insinuation that the old ecclesiastical regime gives way to some less compact organisation. On the contrary, Christ who first announced this (great) salvation has been set over "the world to come" as its sovereign administrator (2, 5 ff.). He came as the first-born of a family of brethren, whom he was to gather around him as an assembly—"in medio *ecclesiae* laudabo te."¹ The letter to the Hebrews itself is an affirmation of this ecclesiasticism predicted by David and prefigured by Isaias standing in the midst of his two sons.² It is addressed to a community of brethren who are styled holy and are reminded that they are fellow-partners in a heavenly vocation. Their *κλήσις* has been to follow the doctrine of a divine Apostle and to adhere to a divine High-priest.³ There is no question of merely individual adhesion to Christ. The brethren profess a common *ὁμολογία*, to which they must hold under peril of salvation. At this point comes the first definite image of an ordered Society. Christ and his brethren (2.12) Christ and his people (2.17) might possibly be bound by merely internal bonds, but when we find Christ, an Apostle greater than Moses, placed over a House and are then told: "His house we are, if we keep the confidence and the boast of our hope,"⁴ we are face to face with an organic society.

As a house is a body with a head, we have here not only the building imagery so familiar to St. Paul⁵ but also the substance of that corporate notion, which the Apostle expresses through the word *σῶμα*. Consequently, we seem to hear in six verses of our Epistle (2, 1-6) no less than four echoes of the famous exhortation to ecclesiastical unity in Ephesians 4. 1-7. The house is "unum corpus," Christ placed over it is "unus Dominus" the *ὁμολογία* is "una fides," the hope and calling are "una spes vocationis vestrae." It is to be noted that Christ (the Apostle) placed as Son over his house (2. 6) becomes in 10, 21 "a great High-priest over the House of God."

The whole exhortatory web through which the dogmatic parts of *Hebrews* are woven insists on community spirit. The faithful

¹ Ps. 21-23; Heb., 2. 12.

² Isaias, 8. 18; Heb., 2. 13

³ Heb. 3. 1. Cfr. 4. 14; 10. 23.

⁴ Heb. 3. 6.

⁵ *οἶκος*, 1 Tim. 3. 15 *οἰκοδομή*, 1 Cor. 3. 9 (in passive sense); Eph., 4. 12-16 (in active sense) * *κατοικητήριον* Eph. 2. 22, *ναός*, 1 Cor. 3. 16; 2 Cor., 6. 16; Eph., 2. 21. *οἰκοδομέω*, Rom. 15. 20; 1 Thess. 5. 11, *ἐποικοδομέω* 1 Cor. 3. 10-14; Eph., 2. 20; Col., 2. 7. *συνοικοδομέω*, Eph., 2. 22.

must exhort each other every day ¹ because they have all one aspiration, namely that of entering into the divinely prepared *κατάπανσις*. They must act as a people of God for which such sabbatism is reserved. ² They should consider one another to stimulate charity and good works. ³ Apostasy from the living God and abandonment of the community are closely allied. ⁴ When our author says: "We are not (children) of withdrawal unto perdition, but of faith unto the saving of our soul," ⁵ it seems that he contemplates withdrawal from the community as much as withdrawal from God. Communion is most vital because the faithful are "sharers of Christ" (3.14), the common head and Pontiff of the House and people, and are "sharers of the Holy Spirit" (6.4); undoubtedly a community Gift, as the distribution of charismata showed (2.4; 6.4-8). Where the *σωτηρία* promulgated by Christ was, there also were the gifts of the Spirit.

As the old theocracy was a society with which God made a covenant, so also does the New Covenant suppose a Church. That is clearly indicated in the prophecy of Jeremias which our author quotes at such length. Covenant succeeds covenant, and as the former was with the House of Israel, so the latter. "I shall be their God and they shall be my people." ⁶ It seems moreover that we cannot arrive at any satisfactory understanding of the priestly ministry of Christ, as set forth in *Hebrews*, unless we understand "the true tabernacle which God fixed and not man" (8.2) in the Christo-ecclesiastical sense, as the real body of Christ and its mystic extension. It is true that the Antiochene and Byzantine commentators, Chrysostom (Hom. 14, *σκηνὴν δὲ ἐνταῦθα τὸν οὐρανὸν λέγει*), Theodoretus (in h. l.: *σκηνὴν δὲ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐκάλεσεν*), Theophylactus (in h. l.: *μείζων σκηνὴ καὶ ἀληθινὴ ὁ οὐρανός*) are unanimous in taking the tabernacle to mean heaven, but St. Cyril of Alexandria stands for the Church, ⁷ an interpretation which has the favour of St. Thomas

¹ Heb., 3. 13.

² Ibid., 4. 9.

³ Ibid., 10. 24.

⁴ Ibid., 3. 12; 10. 25.

⁵ Ibid., 10. 39.

⁶ Jer., 31. 33; Heb., 8. 10.

⁷ St. Cyril of Alexandria (*De adoratione in spiritu et veritate*, Book 9, P. G. LXVIII, 590) interprets the tabernacle of which Christ is the minister in this way. Having noted the typical significance of Old Testament worship including the unity of sanctuary and the choice of a Levitical priesthood, he adds: "In divinis Scripturis nos quoque sumus *genus electum, regale sacerdotium gens sancta, populus acquisitionis appellati*; qui etiam verius tabernaculum quod *fixit Deus et non homo*, id est, Ecclesiam ingredimur." Speaking later in the same book (col. 631) of the surrender

Aquinas in his comment on 8. 2, while in 9. 11 the Angelic Doctor understands the " *amplius et perfectius tabernaculum* " first as the " *tabernaculum caelestis gloriae* " and alternatively as the body of Christ. " *Vel per tabernaculum potest Christi corpus intelligi... Quod est peramplius, quia in eo inhabitat omnis plenitudo divinitatis corporaliter. Item perfectius, quia vidimus gloriam eius, gloriam quasi unigeniti a Patre, plenum gratiae et veritatis. Item non manu factum, quia non ex virili semine. Abscissus est lapis de monte sine manibus.* " If this interpretation is the true one, as in reality it seems to be, because of the sense given to the sanctuary veil in 10. 20, the ecclesiological exposition of our Epistle is singularly at one with the mind of St. Paul, for whom Christ was the consecrated temple in which all the fulness of the Godhead dwells bodily (Col. 2. 9) and the faithful were an extension of that temple ever growing " to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ " (Eph. 4. 13).

The Sinaitic covenant, then, consecrated a theocratic people to worship God as " a kingdom and priests and a holy nation " ¹ through the service of " a worldly sanctuary. " ² The new covenant, which occupied the mind of St. Paul ³ scarcely less than the author of *Hebrews*, created a people cleansed from sins to worship the living God ⁴ in a sanctuary where heavenly things find a better purgation than their earthly patterns, ⁵ and the shadow of the good things to come has yielded place to the image of the realities. ⁶ The Church militant with its whole efficacious system of sacramental images seems to be indicated by the last phrase.

Into the sacramental life of the Church the Epistle only allows us a passing glimpse. A knowledge of baptism ⁷ and confirmation is supposed in the reference to the elementary catechesis formerly receiv-

of their Egyptian mirrors by the Israelite women to supply the bronze for the " brazen sea " he recognises that by this event " *significabatur, veriore iam in tabernaculo manifesto, id est, Ecclesia, quod tabernaculum fixit Deus in non homo, ut beatus Paulus scribit, tempus iam esse profecto, ut, qui ad venerationem daemoniorum gregis dicati erant, in sacra vasa mutentur, quae sint ad sancti baptismatis receptionem apta...* " I am indebted for the reference to these texts to Professor Vittì (Ep. ad Hebr. p. 199).

¹ Exodus, 19. 6. Cfr. 1 Petr., 2. 9: βασιλειον ιεράτευμα, ἔθνος ἅγιον and Exodus 23. 22 (LXX).

² Heb., 9. 1, ἅγιον κοσμικόν.

³ Rom., 11. 27; 1 Cor., 11. 25; 2 Cor., 3. 6, 14; Gal., 4. 24.

⁴ Heb., 9. 14.

⁵ Ibid., 9. 2.

⁶ Ibid., 10. 1.

⁷ On Christian baptism and its distinction from Jewish baptism and the baptism of John see FERRELLA, art. cit. *Biblica*, 14 (1933), pp. 157-162.

ed by the Hebrews (6. 1, 2) and the "washing of the body with clean water" can, in its context of faith and sprinkling of conscience, mean nothing but baptismal ablution (10. 22). Whether the Holy Eucharist receives any mention in our Epistle is a very controverted point. For St. Thomas, Estius and many others the *θυσιαστήριον*, from which those who serve the tabernacle have no power to eat, is the altar of the cross erected outside the gate, in the place where victims for sin were totally burned, so that no part of their flesh was eaten in a sacrificial meal (13. 10). The opposition, however, between eating from the Christian altar and the eating of *βρώματα* which, apparently, because they were sacrificial meats, could be regarded as rivals of grace for the strengthening of the heart (13. 9), seems to furnish a stronger argument in favour of the Eucharist. Hence an ever-growing army of scholars take the *Θυσιαστήριον* to be the Eucharistic Altar. It is sufficient to mention the names of A. Lapide, Calmet, Maier, Bisping, Beelen, Huyghe, Panek, Zill, Schäfer, Thalhöfer and Murillo.¹

There is a reference to marriage in *Hebrews* but no indication of its sacramentality (13. 4). It is certainly noteworthy that three and probably four of the five sacraments mentioned by St. Paul should find their place also in our Epistle.

The Church figures not only under the image of a house but also of a *city*. It is not insignificant that the Septuagint rendering of *rē'ēhū* as *πολίτην αὐτοῦ* adopted by our author in the long citation from Jeremias 31 (Heb. 8. 8-13) brought out the idea that the children of the New Covenant were members of a *πόλις*. The term *πόλις* itself is applied to the consummation of the Messianic promise no less than four times. Abraham knew that the land of Canaan was only to be a place of sojourn for him. "He looked for a *city* that hath foundations whose builder and maker is God" (11. 10). The patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob recognised that they had no *πατρίς* here, being only strangers and pilgrims upon the earth. They desired a better country, that is, a heavenly one. "Wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God: for he hath prepared for them a *city*." (11. 16). The Christian generation has come not to

¹ Among more ancient authorities, who also advocate the same Eucharistic interpretation, stand Theophylactus, Primasius, Atto of Vercelli (as an alternative opinion), Sedulius Scotus, Herveius Burgidolensis, and the *Glossa ordinaria*. The names of Theodoretus and Oecumenius are also mentioned by Schäfer, but Oecumenius is at least doubtful and Theodoretus certainly does not support this view in his commentary. Cfr. VINCENT PADOLSKIS, *L'idée du sacrifice de la Croix dans l'Épître aux Hébreux*, Vilkauskis, 1935, pp. 192-197.

Mount Sinai but " to Mount Sion and to the *city* of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem " (12. 22). Lastly, those that are exhorted to go forth to Jesus outside the camp are also reminded that " we have here no abiding *city* but seek that which is to come " (13. 14). From these texts it appears that the city is mainly eschatological, but the Mount Sion and the heavenly Jerusalem of 12. 22 also includes the church militant because there are gathered to it " an assembly of the first-born who are enrolled in heaven " (12. 23). These first-born do not appear to be the same as " the spirits of the just made perfect " mentioned further on and they cannot be the angels. Therefore they are the church on earth or some élite portion of it.¹

The heavenly Jerusalem here mentioned is no other than the " Jerusalem above " of St. Paul (Gal. 4. 26) and the city is the same which held the *πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς* of the Philippians (3. 20) and according to whose evangelical law the Apostle declared he had lived (*πεπολίτευμαι*, Acts 23. 1) and exhorted the Philippians to live (*πολιτένεσθε*).

Finally, the new salvation is realized in " an unshakable kingdom " (12. 28). The voice of God shook the earth at Sinai, but Aggeus prophesied a second shaking of the earth and the heavens to bring the desired of the nations. In that shaking everything changeable passes, that the unchangeable may remain. Such is the kingdom which Christians receive, the same which St. Paul in at least six places equates with the Church of the present time² and eight times with the society of the blessed.³

Eschatology

The mind of the author of *Hebrews* is very definitively turned towards the things to come. For him as for St. Paul the Messianic Age is the last age of the world.⁴ It is the better age, prepared by

¹ Amongst the commentators, Chrysostom reckons the first-born as πάντας τοὺς Χόρους τῶν πιστῶν, Theodoretus: τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς κέκληκεν .; Theophylactus: τοὺς πιστοὺς ... τοὺς ἡγιασμένους; Oecumenius: τοὺς πιστοὺς ... τοὺς ἁγίους; Cyrillus Alex. (o. c. 5 (P. G. LXVIII, 406) τοὺς ἐν πίστει δεικναιωμένους; Primasius: ecclesiam primitivorum debemus accipere in Apostolis: S. Thomas: primitivi sancti sunt Apostoli; Estius: omnes boni fideles sunt primogeniti in genere humano... Tota igitur ecclesia Christi est ecclesia primogenitorum, videlicet, eorum quibus debentur primogenita quae vendidit Esau. (Cfr. 12. 16).

² 1 Thess., 2. 12; Rom., 14. 17; 1 Cor., 4. 20; 15. 24 (?); Col., 1. 13; 4. 11.

³ 2 Thess., 1. 5; 1 Cor., 6. 9, 10; 15. 50; Gal., 5. 21; Eph., 5. 5; 2 Tim., 4. 1, 18.

⁴ Heb. 1. 2 *Novissime diebus istis* (Deus) locutus est nobis in Filio (9. 26). Nunc autem semel *in consummatione saeculorum... apparuit*. Cfr. 1 Cor., 10. 11: scripta sunt ad correptionem nostram, in quos *finis saeculorum* devenerunt.

God, to which the ancient heroes of faith looked forward and which they had to await, in order to attain their goal together with us (11.40). Every day of the new era is a "Today," which the Christian must employ in hastening towards his rest (4.11). This rest is the end of man and it consists in that same vision of God, which the Apostle held up so vividly before the Corinthians."¹ Without holiness no one shall see God" (9.28). Consequently, holiness is the business of life.² Salvation is, in some sense, possessed (6.4, 5) but it is also expected (9.28).³ The presentation of eternal bliss under the image of a sabbatic land or state (4.9) is peculiar to our Epistle. The same idea, however, is set forth in the second (or third) beatitude and, with still closer approximation to the language of *Hebrews*, it is found in the fourteenth chapter of the Apocalypse.⁴ It is a contribution from the typological stores of the Old Testament, and is absent from the Paulines.

The notion of the good tidings as an *εὐαγγελία* introduced a strong pilgrim conception into *Hebrews*. The writer goes back to the old tabernacle of Israel's wanderings. To his conception of life as a pilgrimage the idea of the end as a "city" corresponds. Membership in the Christian community is already an approach to "the city of the living God" (12.22). Towards that city "whose architect and builder is God" (11.10) the Patriarchs walked. The Christian generations also, who have left the camp of Judaism, are likewise conscious that they "have not here an abiding city but seek the one to come" (13.14).⁵ Hence Christian life is summed up in the sentence: "Wherefore we, receiving a kingdom which cannot be moved, let us have grace, whereby we may serve God acceptably with reverence and godly fear" (12.28).

The pilgrimage of faith ends with death (11.13). Death is followed by judgment, but the context, in which this statement appears (9.27), does not allow us to determine whether the writer was thinking precisely of a particular judgment to follow immediately on departure hence. Judgment made by the searching light of God's word (4.12.13) is a verdict which is eternally decisive (6.2). This *κρίμα αἰώνιον* is the last of the six elementary articles of faith (ibid.).

¹ 1 Cor., 13. 12; 2 Cor., 5. 7.

² 1 Thess., 4. 3, 7; 2 Thess., 2. 13; Rom., 6. 22.

³ Cfr. 1 Cor. 1. 7; Rom., 8. 23; Philipp. 3. 20.

⁴ Apoc. 14. 13. The nearest approach to this thought in the Paulines is the "requies" (*ἀνεως*) which the afflicted Thessalonians can expect at Christ's appearance (2 Thess., 1. 7).

⁵ The Pauline parallels have been referred to in the preceding section.

In order of time it is preceded by the coming of Christ, who, however, does not figure in our Epistle as a Judge but as a Saviour (9. 28), though the word preached by him is the test by which judgment shall be made (2. 2, 3). Judgment, in *Hebrews*, is attributed to God (10. 30; 12. 23), an ascription which is no departure from Paulinism,¹ however much the Apostle insists on judgment of the world through Jesus Christ as a characteristic of his teaching.²

Before the article of " eternal judgment," in the order likewise of time as well as of collocation, stands the " resurrection of the dead " (6. 2). With regard to the attitude of the Almighty towards men, the wrath of God is considerably stressed in the Epistle. That wrath excluded the rebel generation of the exodus from the land of promise (3. 11; 4. 3) and its terrors also await apostate Christians (4. 11; 6. 4-8; 10. 28-31). The nature of the divine punishment is substantially determined: exclusion from God's rest (4. 11) and devouring fire (6. 8; 10. 27). Fire as an instrument of God's vengeance is scarcely a metaphorical expression. Here as in the Paulines³ it is obviously to be taken literally. For apostates " no victim for sins remains but a certain fearful expectation of judgment and wrath of fire which shall devour the adversaries " (10. 27).

The familiar Pauline designation of the judgment as " the day " ⁴ is found also in our Epistle (10. 25). In the one passage, where the expression occurs, the Hebrews are exhorted, in a way similar to that of Romans 13. 12, to live virtuously, the special virtue required here being fidelity to community life. With the substitution of the " Lord " for the " day," a sentence of identical import stands in Philippians 4. 5: " The Lord is nigh; have no anxiety etc." When, however, our author writes: " Let us consider one another to provoke unto charity and good works: not forsaking our assembly, as is the custom of some, but exhorting one another: and so much the more as ye see the day drawing near " (10. 24, 25), it is probable that the approaching end of the Jewish commonwealth is foremost in his thoughts.

The accompaniments of Christ's coming are also touched upon. In the words of Psalm 96, all the angels of God are invited to adore him (1. 6). It is furthermore inferred from Aggeus 2. 6 that a great

¹ Rom., 2. 2; 3. 6; 1 Cor., 5. 13.

² 2 Thess., 1. 7-10; Rom., 2. 16; 2 Tim., 4. 1; 1. Cor., 4. 5.

³ 2 Thess., 1. 8; 1 Cor., 3. 13-15. 1 Thess., 1. 7-9 couples fire and loss of God.

⁴ With or without additions: 1 Thess., 5. 2, 4; 2 Thess., 1. 10; 2. 2; Cor., 1. 8; 3. 13; 5. 5; 2 Cor., 1. 14; Rom., 2. 51; 3. 12; Philipp., 1. 6, 10; 2. 16; 2 Tim., 1. 12, 18; 4. 8.

movement of heaven and earth shall usher in the last scene, a movement which marks a complete change of the visible universe to give place to an unchanging kingdom (12. 27). This change may have been partially verified in the foundation of a final economy of salvation in the Church, but St. Chrysostom and the most authoritative commentators and the context itself bid us to consider here the final establishment of the kingdom of God. The same change is also contemplated in the citation from Psalm 101 in *Hebrews* 1. 10-12. The deliverance of creation from the slavery of corruption to pass to the freedom of the glory of the children of God (Rom. 8. 21) is not far removed from this thought. The final consummation shall, according to the writer, place all things under the feet of Christ (2. 6-8). Since he sat down at the right hand of God, he is waiting, till all his enemies become his footstool (10. 13). In the Paulines also the supreme lordship of Christ is connected as here with the testimony of Psalms 8 and 109.¹ The coherence of what we have set forth, in all points, with the Pauline eschatology is so evident that no serious attempt can be made to separate the eschatological thought of our Epistle from that of the Corpus Paulinum.²

¹ See 1 Cor. 15. 24-28; Eph., 1. 20-22; Philipp., 3. 21.

² Even Windisch seems to have recognised this. His excursus *Eschatologie im Hebr.* is a good summary of the facts. Apart from some points of expression and the view that our author regarded the time between the first and second coming as really very short, these is nothing that calls for special criticism in it. Particularly noteworthy is his concluding remark: "Die ganze Betrachtung lehrt, dass in Hebr. keineswegs die Eschatologie spiritualistisch aufgelöst ist, wie bei Philo." (O. c., p. 87).

Moffatt, on the contrary, reads into the Epistle a strange mixture of Alexandrinism and what he is pleased to call "primitive eschatology." He thinks that there are certain survivals of primitive notions which are out of place in the argument of the Epistle. The ideology, for instance, of a older militant Messianism is kept, because it serves the author's purpose of affirming the absolute significance of Christ's work. By way of anticipation this note is considered by Moffatt to be sounded in the interpretation of the figure of Melchisedech. "Later on," he says, "it opens up into an interesting instance of (the writer's) relation to the primitive eschatology. To his mind trained in the Alexandrian philosophy of religion, the present world of sense and time stands over against the world of reality, the former being merely the shadow and copy of the latter. There is an archetypal order of things, eternal and divine, to which the mundane order but dimly corresponds, and only within this higher order, eternal and invisible, is access to God possible for man. On such a view as this, which ultimately goes back to Platonic idealism, and which had been worked out by Philo, the real world is the transcendent order of things, which is the pattern for the phenomenal universe, so that to attain God man must pass from the lower and outward world of the senses to the inner." This higher world, the Presence of God is now attainable for the complete sacrifice

Conclusion

Looking back over the ground covered by this positive, objective and unadorned exposition, one cannot but be struck by the enormous amount of thought which is common to *Hebrews* and St. Paul. A further examination would reveal that there is no teaching in *Hebrews* which excludes the view-points of the Pauline Epistles. The ideas of our Epistle, it is true, wear a hieratic, liturgical and peculiarly Judeo-biblical colour, but that is because the Epistle was written to Hebrews on a theme of special Hebrew import. The absence of some particular Pauline idea or of some particular Pauline emphasis from it is a merely negative thing and can furnish no positive argument against Pauline authorship. It is on positive ground that the comparative argument must be worked out, and here the community of theological ideas is shown to be most extensive. Above all, in the domain of Christology, the evidences of one masterly mind striving after the best possible statement of "the mystery of godliness" may be documented by a close comparison of the captivity group of letters with their greater successor, the letter to the Hebrews. This comparison exemplifies in a wonderful way how a good statement will yield place to a better one and, in new circumstances, a great and favourite idea may be dropped, because it does not belong to the present theme. In the latter connexion it is worth while observing that the "body of Christ, the Church" so dominantly present in Ephesians and Colossians is as much absent from Philippians, their immediate contemporary, as it is from *Hebrews*, written some two years later. In regard to the other matter of Christological statement, a synoptic view of eight chief points will serve to show the fraternity of the four letters.

We may distinguish the texts which refer to Christ 1) as God, 2) as cosmic mediator in creation, 3) as holder of a primacy, 4) as God-man, 5) as man, 6) as Saviour, 7) as glorified, 8) as universal Lord. With the utmost brevity, avoiding detailed reference, the

has been offered in the realm of the spirit. "The full bliss of the fellowship is still in the future, indeed; it is not to be realized finally till Jesus returns for his people... The primitive eschatology required and received this admission from the writer, though it is hardly consonant with his deeper thought. And this is why he quotes for example the old words about Jesus waiting in heaven till his foes are crushed (10. 12-13). He is still near enough, to the primitive period to share the forward look... and unlike Philo, he does not allow his religious idealism to evaporate his eschatology." (O. c., pp. xxxiii, xxxiv).

teaching of the four Epistles on this point may be here set forth by way of conclusion.

1) In Ephesians Christ is just the *Son of God, the Beloved*, no attempt being made to give further expression to his metaphysical dignity.¹ In Colossians he is "the *image* of the unseen God, *first-born* before every creature."² In Philippians he is the one "who being in the *form* of God thought it not robbery to be *equal* to God."³ For Hebrews the denomination Son is fundamental, but this term here finds the most perfect declaration short of the Johannine Λόγος in the double metaphor ἀπάνγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ Χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως (τοῦ Θεοῦ).⁴

2) The creative rôle of the Son receives no mention in Ephesians and Philippians, but in Colossians it is richly expressed against the danger of angelolatry. "*In him were created all things* in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones or dominations or principalities or powers, *all things stand created through him and for him* (and he is before all) and *all things subsist in him.*"⁵ *Hebrews* with less verbal fulness, but more synthetically, describes the Son as him "through whom (God) made the ages and who upholds all things by the word of his power."⁶

3) Again, Ephesians and Philippians cannot be said to give any characteristic expression to the natural primacy of Christ. Both Colossians and *Hebrews*, however, give him the title of πρωτότοκος, in the sense of that divine primogeniture which involves priority of existence before all creatures.⁷ On account of its purpose, the letter to Colossae works out this idea more fully, the divine primacy being made the basis of a divine-human primacy whereby Christ is "the head of the body, the church... being the beginning, first-born from the dead, ἵνα γένηται ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτὸς πρωτεύων."⁸

4) Again, Ephesians and Philippians do not expressly mark the theandric character of Christ by any characteristic term, but *Colossians* says that it pleased God that "in him all fulness should dwell"⁹ and further states that "in him dwells all the fulness of the

¹ Eph., 1. 6; 4. 13.

² Col., 1. 15.

³ Philipp., 2. 6.

⁴ Heb., 1. 3.

⁵ Col., 1. 16-17.

⁶ Heb., 1. 3.

⁷ Col., 1. 5; Heb., 1. 6.

⁸ Col., 1. 18.

⁹ Col., 1. 19.

godhead bodily " ¹ and (in another passage) that " in him are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge." ² This idea does not find place in *Hebrews* except, perhaps, in so far as it is included in the " universal heirship " of Christ, " quem constituit haeredem universorum, " ³ since, in the context, this heirship belongs to the hypostatic union and not to Christ's elevation to the right hand of God.

5) The double abasement of the Son of God in his Incarnation and his Passion gets no special notice in the two Asiatic letters. But here there exists between Philippians and *Hebrews* a profound identity of thought, with variation of expression, such as we can scarcely conceive as not coming from *one* great mind, which like St. Paul's had the power of varying the mode of expression according to the exigency of a new purpose. The *κένωσις*, the *μορφή δούλου*, the *ὁμῳμα ἀνθρώπου*, the *σχῆμα (ἀνθρώπινον)* of the famous Christological passage in Philippians (2. 7) are paralleled in our Epistle by the descent of the Son of God to a nature a little below the angels, to a sharing in flesh and blood, to a human confidence in God (2. 9, 13, 14), to the offering of prayers and supplications with a loud cry in the days of his flesh (5. 7), to assimilation, in all things, to his brethren (2. 17). The further abasement of the Passion is characterized by the same central note of *obedience* in the two Epistles. " He humbled himself becoming *obedient* unto death, " ⁴ and " he learned *obedience* from the things which he suffered." ⁵

6) The saviourship of Christ in the Asiatic letters is especially concentrated in his headship with regard to the Church. This is more characteristically prominent in these letters than his redeeming death. Christ is " the Saviour of his body " (Eph. 5. 23). For *Hebrews*, on the other hand, moving, as it does, in a ritual track, the Saviour is the one " who has made purgation of sins " ⁶ and " suffered to sanctify the people by his blood." ⁷ It is not surprising, therefore, that its dominantly sacerdotal conception of Christ's work meets the Epistles of the Captivity in practically only one sentence of Ephesians, where the ideas of sacrificial offering, sanctification and purgation occur: *ὁ Χριστὸς ἡγάπησεν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ἑαυτὸν παρέδωκεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς, ἵνα αὐτὴν ἀγιάσῃ καθαρίσας τῷ λουτρῷ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν ῥήματι.* ⁸

¹ Ibid., 2. 9.

² Ibid., 2. 3.

³ Heb., 1. 2.

⁴ Philipp., 2. 8.

⁵ Heb., 5. 8.

⁶ Heb., 1. 3.

⁷ Ibid., 13. 12.

⁸ Eph., 5. 26.

7) The glorification of Christ occupies in all four letters the place of importance which St. Paul always gave it. The salvific virtue of "the working of God's mighty power which he wrought in Christ, raising him from the dead and setting him at his own right hand in heavenly places" ¹ is paralleled in Colossians by the attribution of the spiritual resurrection of baptismal regeneration to "the faith of the operation of God who raised (Christ) from the dead" ² and in Philippians by a singularly emphatic mention of "the power of Christ's resurrection," ³ his session at the right hand of the Father not being expressly mentioned in this third letter. *Hebrews* has both the resurrection and the session, but the emphasis passes from the first to the second, which change of emphasis had, indeed, already occurred in the Asiatic letters, the headship of the Church being as closely connected with the heavenly glory of Christ, as is the priestly *τελείωσις* which is so central in *Hebrews*. Like the author of Philippians the author of *Hebrews* omitted the ideas of *πλήρωμα* and *σῶμα*, because he was not pursuing the same ecclesiological theme as the Asiatic letters but otherwise the Christ "in dextera Dei" is equally vital to all three writings. ⁴

8) Side by side with remarkable differences we can observe the no less remarkable basic harmony of *Hebrews* with the captivity Epistles regarding the Lordship of Christ. "Ut sit in omnibus primum tenens" is the expression given to this truth by Colossians, ⁵ the *βασιλεία τοῦ ὑιοῦ* having been mentioned a few lines earlier. ⁶ In Ephesians Christ's kingdom is equally *ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ*, ⁷ and this letter stands with *Hebrews* in asserting very emphatically the superiority of the glorified Christ above the angels. ⁸ The Epistle to the Philippians had marked the lordship of Christ as a conquest: "Propterea Deus exaltavit illum" (2, 9), and *Hebrews* also contemplates the Christ as attaining his glory by way of merit: "Videmus Iesum propter passionem mortis gloria et honore coronatum" (2, 9). Philippians alone emphasises the equivalence of the name *Jesus* with *Yahveh-Kύριος*, so that "Jesus" has become a name of divine lordship and receives the honour of adoration. For

¹ Eph., 1. 19, 20.

² Col., 1. 12.

³ Philipp., 3. 10.

⁴ Eph., 1. 2; 4. 8-10; Col., 3. 2; Heb., 1. 3. 13; 8. 1; 10. 12; 12. 2.

⁵ Col., 1. 18.

⁶ *ibid.*, 1. 13.

⁷ Eph., 5. 5.

⁸ Eph., 1. 21; Heb., 1. 4-14.

the rest, Ephesians, Philippians, *Hebrews* connect the sovereignty of Christ with the noun ὄνομα and the verb ὑποτάσσειν. Christ has been raised "above every name that is named not only in this world but in that which is to come."¹ God "gave him the name which is above every name that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow."² He "has become so much better than the angels as he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they."³ And again God "has put all things in *subjection* under (Christ's) feet."⁴ Christ has "the operation whereby he is able even to *subject* all things to himself."⁵ Referring to the words of Psalm 8: "Omnia subiecisti sub pedibus eius," *Hebrews* asserts the same universality of Christ's sovereignty. "For in that (God) put all in subjection under him, he has left nothing not put in subjection under him."⁶

Even this meagre summary of the common christological points of these letters is sufficient to justify the conclusions of Father McNabb: "De tout ce qui précède on pourra déduire avec quelle profondeur saint Paul a conçu tout à la fois la doctrine et l'expression verbale adéquate à la doctrine de la divinité de Jésus-Christ... Plus importante sera la conclusion que, dans l'épître aux Hébreux, l'expression doctrinale évoluée appelle et suggère cette plus grande plénitude qui fut le legs suprême du dernier des Apôtres."⁷ That any other mind than St. Paul's thus carried christological statement on such harmoniously Pauline lines to the threshold of Johannine splendour seems a very puerile hypothesis.

¹ Eph., 1. 21.

² Philipp., 2. 9. 10.

³ Heb., 1. 4.

⁴ Eph., 1. 22.

⁵ Philipp., 3. 21.

⁶ Heb., 2. 8.

⁷ Art. cit. *Revue Biblique*, Vol. 42, 3 (July 1933), p. 327.

III

LITERARY FORM OF " HEBREWS "

Having shown in the first chapter that a cumulative series of contacts between *Hebrews* and the Pauline Epistolary supports the tradition of that writing's Pauline origin, we proceeded in the second chapter to show the theological relation of our Epistle to St. Paul's thought. The conclusion here was that *Hebrews*, especially in its Christology, exhibits such a coherent development of Pauline conceptions as cannot be reasonably attributed to any other mind than that of the Apostle himself. We should also lawfully conclude that the doctrinal plan of a writing, in which these conceptions are woven into such a marvellous unity, cannot be the work of a secondary agent. Hence St. Paul must be the author of the thoughts and of the structural scheme according to which they are embodied in a " word of exhortation." In other words, Paul " as a wise architect " must have planned the whole structure. Comparing the Epistle to a building we should say that all the architectural lines and organic fitting of parts must be the fruit of his brain. At least in this sense the whole work must belong to Paul, whom tradition calls its author, whose other writings it echoes in so many ways and whose great ideas it embodies in such a wonderfully developed shape. Consequently, not only the matter but the basic form also is to be attributed to the Apostle. This, however, is not equivalent to asserting that the literary execution of the work is totally due to him. Although a powerfully conceived masterpiece must have a proper form of its own, that form, in the accidentals that go to make literary beauty, need not be the making of the author himself. The literary vesture and finish may be due to an executive instrument who has the power of adorning what his master wishes him to write. Without destroying his master's claim to authorship such a secondary agent may have a very considerable part in the bestowal of those graces which mark a writing as elegant. We must now see in what measure this supposition can be conceded in reference to our Epistle.

No one would think of denying that *Hebrews* has a style which leaves an impression of particularly perfect Hellenic symmetry, order and polish such as we do not associate with the name of St. Paul. Origen was evidently not wrong in describing this letter as " more

Greek " than the Paulines. This same impression, as we have seen, has led modern critical scholars to distinguish the author from the Apostle. It will be worth while transcribing a few judgments of those critics.

Even a judicious scholar like Westcott has strongly emphasised the unpaulinity of the style. " The vocabulary " he says, " is singularly copious. It includes a large number of words which are not found in the apostolic writings, very many which occur in this book only among the Greek Scriptures, and some which are not quoted from any other independent source. Even when allowance is made for the requirements of the peculiar topics with which the writer deals, the number of peculiar words is still remarkable. The style is even more characteristic of a practised scholar. It would be difficult to find anywhere passages more exact and pregnant than 1. 1-4; 2. 14-18; 7. 26-28; 12. 18-24. The language, the order, the rhythm, the parenthetical involutions, all contribute to the total effect. The writing shows everywhere traces of effort and care. Detailed inquiry shows that these (differences in style between the Epistle and St. Paul's writings) cannot be adequately explained by differences of subject or of circumstances. They characterise two men, and not only two moods or two discussions. The student will feel the subtle force of the contrast if he compares the Epistle to the *Hebrews* with the Epistle to the Ephesians, to which it has the closest affinity. But it is as difficult to represent the contrast by an enumeration of details as it is to analyse an effect. It must be felt for a right appreciation of its force." ¹

Similarly such a practised philologist as Thayer contrasts *Hebrews* with the Paulines in such terms as these: " Very different is the studied rhetorical periodicity of the writer to the Hebrews. The nature of his theme indeed leads him to use many words and constructions found in the LXX; but the general air of his vocabulary no less than his style is literary. Reminiscences of classic phraseology meet us in his *ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν* and *ἐμαθεν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπαθεν*. His varied use of particles: *δήπου*, *ἐάνπερ*, *καθὼςπερ*, *καίπερ*, *καίτοι*, *μετέπειτα*, *τέ* (*τε γάρ*) and the affectedly indefinite *πού* (2. 6, 4. 2) further attest his culture. So do the periphrastic phrases *ἀρχὴν λαμβάνειν* (i. q. *ἀρχεσθαι*), *πεῖραν λαμβάνειν* (yet cfr. *ὑπόμνησιν λαμβάνειν*, 2 Tim. 1. 5, *λήθην* λ. 2 Petr. 1. 9 etc.) and such terms as *αἰσθητήριον*, *ἀπάντασμα*, *ἔγγυος*, *ἐλεγχος*, *ἔξις*, *εἰς τὸ διηνεκές*, *πρόσφατος*, *τραχηλίζω*, *χαρακτήρ*. Still he betrays conspicuously the later Greek fondness for sono-

¹ WESTCOTT, o. c., Introduction XLIV, XLVI, LXXVII.

rous words. One of the noteworthy grammatical peculiarities of the Epistle is its use of the perfect tense as nearly tantamount to the aorist (e. g. 11. 17, 28; note the coordination of the two in the former passage) in accordance with the laxity of the late and less cultivated writers (cfr. e. g. Rev. 5. 7, 8. 5 etc.)."¹

Moffat calls special attention to such points as the use of the perfect to secure literary variety and relieve a line of aorists, the purely aoristic use of this same tense, the sparing employment of the definite article, the frequency of μέν... δέ (in accordance with the author's antithetical predilections), the remarkable avoidance of the preposition σύν in spite of a fondness for verbs compounded with σύν. In the field of style (which the Scottish commentator characterises as λέξις κατεστραμμένη as distinguished from the more rapid and conversational λέξις εἰρομένη) such special features are noted as the following: Effective use of oratorical imperatives: single, double or even triple dramatic questions; really skilful manipulation of transitions; artistic parentheses and asides; a noticeable love for paronomasia and assonance; employment of terms in two senses; addictedness to the gentle practice of alliteration; predilection for sonorous compounds; love of adjectives in a privative (which Aristotle noted as a mark of the elevated style); fondness for nouns ending in ις, for periphrases, for the infinitive preceded by a preposition, for the particle τε as a link between substantives, principal clauses and participial clauses. Other characteristic usages are the securing of emphasis by throwing a word to the beginning or the end of a clause; the incapsulation of several words between an adjective and its substantive; a more frequent employment of the genitive absolute. Add to these characteristics a rich crop of rhythmical cadences, an obvious endeavour to avoid harsh hiatus, an abundance of compound verbs, a vocabulary drawn from a wide range of reading, and we have a fairly formidable list of lexical, grammatical and stylistic marks which apparently set *Hebrews* apart from the Paulines in the splendour of such σοφία καὶ ὑπεροχὴ λόγου (1 Cor. 1. 17; 2. 1) as the great Apostle rather despised.²

The German critic Hermann von Soden went even further than Dr. Moffat. In Cheyne-Black's *Encyclopedia Biblica* he wrote: "The author is the most cultured of all the primitive writers, with the possible exception of Luke. He has a rich vocabulary at his command

¹ Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible. Art. *Language of the N. T.*, Vol. III, p. 42.

² MOFFAT, O. C., Introduction LVI-LXI. I have not cited the author textually and the concluding words are entirely my own.

and uses it with great skill. His Epistle is full of rhetoric and has the character of an urgent address more than of a letter ..."¹ This scholar found that the structure of the Epistle conformed to the rules of Greek Rhetoric. Hence he distinguished in it a *προοίμιον πρὸς ἔννοιαν* embodying a statement of the author's *πρόθεσις* (1. 1-4. 13), a *δύησις πρὸς πιθανότητα* (4. 14-6. 20), an *ἀπόδειξις πρὸς πειθῶ* (7. 1-10. 18) and an *ἐπίλογος*, which deduces the practical conclusions and presses them home.

This much may suffice as a preliminary array of philological testimony regarding the artistic composition, choice language and rhetorical apparatus of *Hebrews*. On the linguistic and stylistic side no appreciable influence of Rabbinism has been alleged, but it is frequently asserted that the Epistle betrays the influence of the Hellenistic Judaism of Alexandria not only by reminiscences of the Book of Wisdom but also by certain evidences of acquaintance with the writings of Philo. In this regard Moffat writes: "He was acquainted with the books of the Maccabees, Wisdom, Sirach and perhaps even Philo. This last affinity is strongly marked. The more he differs from Philo in his speculative interpretation of religion, the more I feel, after a prolonged study of Philo, that our author had probably read some of his works; it is not easy to avoid the conclusion that his acquaintance with the Hellenistic Judaism of Alexandria included an acquaintance with Philo's writings. However this may be, the terminology of the Wisdom literature was as familiar to this early Christian *διδάσκαλος* as to the author of James."²

Lastly, the well-controlled flow of affective movement³ and the strongly perceivable hieratic or levitical colour of our Epistle are

¹ EBB, Vol. II, col. 2000. Cfr. the same author's summary in Holtzmann's Handcommentar, Vol. 3. Einleitung IV, p. 6: Der Verfasser ist ein vielseitig und fein gebildeter Geist. Er verfügt über einen reichhaltigen Wortschatz (140 Hapaxleg.), in welchem sich eine grosse Anzahl der Bibelsprache fremder, dem Profangriechisch angehöriger Worte finden (z. B. *νέφος*, *νόθοι*, *γάμος* für Ehe, *ελαθόντινες*, *κλίνειν*, *προσφέρεισθαι* τι, daneben gewählte Wortbildungen, Verba auf *ἵκειν*, Subst. auf *σις* Composita wie *αἵματεκχυσία*, *μισθαποδοσία*). Die sprachliche Diction ist gewandt blühend, sobald er es für angebracht hält (z. B. 1. 3), reich an feinen syntactischen Wendungen, an schöngebaute Perioden; er liebt Wortspiele (5. 8, 14; 8. 7 f.; 9. 15 f.; 10. 38 f.; 11. 37; 13. 14), treffend durchgeführte Bilder (6. 7 f.; 12. 1-3), scharf sich abhebende Gegensätze; das Ganze ein künstlerisches Erzeugnis schriftstellerischer Reflexion, überall von geschulter Rhetorik und reichlich angelegter Feile zeugend. (HTZM. 331, 297). Ja das Schreiben ist nach den Regeln der griech. Rhetorik aufgebaut.

² Ibid. LXI, LXII.

³ "The calculated force of the periods," writes Westcott, "is sharply distinguished from the impetuous eloquence of St. Paul. The author is never carried

urged as arguments against the paternity of the impetuous Paul, a scion of the tribe of Benjamin, whom neither Rabbi Gamaliel's training nor any subsequent formative discipline can be supposed to have turned into a specialist in levitical lore and language.

With this brief review of the critico-philological arsenal before us, it would seem sufficiently exhaustive, to treat the question of our Epistle's literary form under the ten headings of 1) Vocabulary, 2) Grammar and Phraseology, 3) Periods, 4) Rhetorical Elegances, 5) Imagery and metaphorical usage, 6) Composition and argumentative Method, 7) Affective movement, 8) Rhythm, 9) Colour, and 10) External literary influences. These divisions may conveniently be made to include all the available instruments of speech utilised by our author to encompass the end " ut veritas pateat, ut veritas placeat, ut veritas moveat." It will be necessary to inquire conscientiously in each case to what extent the alleged peculiarities are real, and secondly whether the real lexical, grammatical and rhetorical facts are incompatible with integral Pauline authorship of our Epistle.

Vocabulary

Briefly, the lexicon of the *auctor ad Hebraeos* is said to be singularly copious, to include many very choice words and to manifest certain tastes or predilections of the author. It also shows a sense of nicety that is very rare in other books of the N. T. outside of the Lucan writings.

About the first point, if we regard the actual number of words used, in relation to the size of the book in which they stand, *Hebrews* has a more copious vocabulary than any Pauline Epistle of equal or greater volume. There are only three Epistles which can compete with it in length of text, namely, Romans and the two Corinthian Epistles. Romans is longer than *Hebrews* in the proportion of about 7 to 5; first Corinthians is longer than it in the slightly lower proportion of about 10 to 7; second Corinthians is shorter than it by a

away by his thoughts. He has seen and measured all he wishes to convey to his readers before he begins to write. In writing he has, like an artist, simply to give life to the model which he has already completely fashioned. This is true even of the noblest rhetorical passages, such as ch. XI. Each element, which seems at first sight to offer itself spontaneously, will be found to have been carefully adjusted to its place, and to offer in subtle details results of deep thought, so expressed as to leave the simplicity and freshness of the whole perfectly unimpaired." (Ibid. XLVI, XLVII).

fourteenth (486 words).¹ Nevertheless, while the vocabulary of *Hebrews* amounts to 990 words (excluding over thirty proper names),² the *Wortschatz* of Romans is limited to about 950, that of first Corinthians to about 920, and that of second Corinthians to about 740.³ Taking an average of these three Epistles, we see that the author of *Hebrews*, whose work is less than one fourth that of the author of Romans and Corinthians together, shows himself lexically richer by a proportional excess of some 240 words.

Is this a fair test of diversity of authorship? Statistics, as is well known, supply one very specious way of violating truth. The argumentum ad quantitatem is often really as sophistic as the argumentum ad baculum and the argumentum ad verecundiam. It works by dazzling the imagination. To found a theory of diversity of authorship on extensiveness of vocabulary, it would be necessary to prove that St. Paul had a fairly meagre store of Greek words and could probably not rise to the lexical abundance of *Hebrews*. Now, it is a notorious fact that St. Paul does not at all suffer, like such a writer as St. Mark, from lexical poverty. Of the 5000 words which constitute the dictionary of the New Testament nearly half have stood at the command of the writer of the thirteen Epistles. He has over 650 words in common with *Hebrews* and about the same number which are not found elsewhere in the New Testament. Taking it as proved that he wrote the Pastorals, we are placed before the fact that he there used over 170 words which neither he nor any writer of the N. T. ever had occasion to employ.⁴ Really, the evidence which the Epistolary supplies of the volume of St. Paul's vocabulary and of his power to use, as occasion demanded, new words, will go a long way towards bridging the lexical chasm which is supposed to separate *Hebrews* from that Epistolary.

¹ These estimates are based on the statistics given by Roller (*Das Formular der paulinischen Briefe*, p. 38). The actual number of words in each Epistle are: Romans 7101, 1 Corinthians 6820, 2 Corinthians 4469, *Hebrews* 4955. I take the numbers to be correct not only because of the author's amazing industry but also because a calculation made on a page basis gave me nearly the same results.

² This calculation for the Epistle to the Hebrews I have made with great care and independently of the Λεξιλόγιον τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολῆς of the Greek scholar J. G. Panagiotides (*θεολογία* 9 [1931] 307-317; 10 [1932] 163-172). His articles, which I know of only through Professor Vitti, I have unfortunately not read. His total of 992 is practically the same as that given above.

³ Round numbers are given in order to cover the possibility of some oversight in gathering the respective words from Moulton and Geden's Concordance.

⁴ I assume throughout that the traditional authenticity of the thirteen Paulines and of the seven Catholic Epistles is a scientific certainty.

The matter of *hapaxlegomena* is the most impressive form of the lexical objection. Happily the days of *hapaxomania* are coming to an end, but in the case of *Hebrews* the *hapax* method is not yet quite dead.¹ It, therefore, seems worth while to examine it anew.

The number of *hapaxlegomena* in *Hebrews* is generally set down as 168. That figure seems to be 18 above the true count. Excluding the six or seven proper names which occur only in this Epistle, a very diligent search for *hapaxlegomena* conducted on two different methods revealed only 150. It is a high total, seeing that Romans is said to have only 113, 1 Corinthians 110, 2 Corinthians 99 etc. The three Pastorals together are alone found to outrival our Epistle in this respect. Though they cover only three fourths of the length of *Hebrews* and have sections and sentences which are almost doublets, yet their toll of *hapaxlegomena* is calculated at about 170. In the light of this fact, it is evident that, if the Pastorals are victoriously vindicated for St. Paul, as appears to be happening now, even in the critical camp, the *hapax* argument against *Hebrews* will have lost its force. Its strength should not in any case be estimated according to numbers. Merely quantitative methods belong to the counting-house rather than to the domain of literary criticism.

When viewed in all its circumstances, the presence of 150 *hapaxlegomena* in *Hebrews* is not by any means an extraordinary *phenomenon*. Twenty of them occur in citations from the Greek Septuagint.² That leaves a remainder of 130, fully 76 of which are words that St. Paul might have read in his biblical parchments, seeing that in all probability he was conversant with the whole Alexandrian Bible, including the Wisdom literature.³ Thus we have a further reduction of our

¹ Thirty years ago Thayer issued a solemn *caveat* in these terms: "The monumental misjudgments committed by some who have made questions of authorship turn on vocabulary alone, will deter students from misusing the lists exhibiting the peculiarities of the several books" (Preface to *Greek-English Lexicon of the N. T.*, Edinburgh, 1908).

² The words occurring in biblical citations are: *αἰνεῖς*, *ἀναριθμητός*, *βοηθός*, *δοκιμασία*, *γνώφος*, *εὐθύτης*, *θεράπων*, *θυέλλα*, *θυματήριον*, *καταναλίσκω*, *κεφαλῆς*, *κοπή*, *κῶλον*, *μήν*, *ὀλιγωρέω*, *ὀλεθρεύω*, *(παρὰπικραίνω)*, *παρὰπικρασμός*, *προσοχθίζω*, *τροχιά*. The bracketed word may have a doubtful claim to be listed here, but, besides being suggested by *παρὰπικρασμός*, it figures in no less than 37 passages of the Alexandrian translation of the Law, Prophets and Psalms.

³ The second list of Septuagintal words, which appear in our Epistle outside of citations and are *hapaxlegomena* in the N. T. must also be given in full. They are *ἀγνόημα*, *αἰγείος*, *αἰσθητήριον*, *αἴτιος*, *ἀνακαινίζω*, *ἀντικαθίστημι*, *ἀπαύγασμα*, *ἄπειρος*, *ἀποβλέπω*, *ἄρμός*, *ἀφανής*, *ἀφανισμός*, *ἀφομοίω*, *βοτάνη*, *γενεαλογέω*, *δάμαλις*, *δεκάτη*, *δεκατόν*, *δέος*, *δέρμα*, *δημιουργός*, *διάταγμα*, *διηκεῖς*, *δύκνέομαι*, *ἐγγνος*, *ἐκβαίνω*, *ἐγκαινίζω*, *ἐλεγχος*, *ἐμπαιγμός*, *ἔξις*, *ἐπιλείπω*, *ἔπος*, *ἐναρεστέω*, *ἐνλάβεια*, *ἐνλαβέομαι*, *θέλῃσις*,

list to 54 non-biblical words. In considering these we may begin with eight adjectives in *a* privative. These are the only *hapaxlegomena* out of a total of 24 such adjectives. We may say at once that this type of word is not foreign to Saint Paul. There are some 64 of them in his thirteen letters, not a few of them being of very high-sounding formation. Moreover, as a fair rival of *Hebrews*, first Corinthians shows a toll of 20. Of the eight before us, which are *hapaxlegomena* in the New Testament, three at least will cause no surprise to those who know the vocabulary of St. Paul. Surely *ἀπαράβατος* does not wear a more unusual look than *ἀπαρασκεύαστος* (2 Cor. 9. 4); *ἀκατάλυτος* does not sound more literary than *ἀκατακάλυπτος* (1 Cor. 11. 5, 13); nor is *ἀμετάθετος* a mightier specimen than *ἀμετακίνητος* (1 Cor. 15. 58). Two such tremendous words as *ἀνεξέραννητος* (Rom. 11. 33) and *ἀνεξιχνίαστος* (ibid. also Eph. 3. 8) show what St. Paul could do in manipulating this particular element of the *genus sublime*.

Of the five that remain *ἀκλινής* and *ἀλυσιτελής* do not seem to call for any comment. The latter has something of a Lucan appearance, since that Evangelist uses the verb *λυσιτελεῖ* in a logion where Matthew employs *συμφέρει* and Mark *καλόν ἐστιν*. The unique *ἀγενεαλόγητος* and also the adjectives *ἀπάτωρ*, *ἀμήτωρ*, would seem to come naturally to any cultured Greek-speaking Jew in the particular context of *Hebrews* 7. 3. No great significance can be attached to the fact that Philo frequently uses the word *ἀμήτωρ*.¹ In current Greek both *ἀπάτωρ* and *ἀμήτωρ* were common, being used in three or four different senses.² We must, however, suspend our judgment for a while on the question of Philonic influences on the writer of our

ἱερωσύνη, ἱκετηρία, κακυχέομαι, καρτερέω, κατάσκοπος, καῦσις, λειτουργικός, μερισμός, μετάθεσις, μετέπειτα, μηλωτή, μυελός, νέφος, νόθος, νομοθετέω, νωθρός, ὁμοιότης, ὀρκωμοσία, πανήγυρις, παραδειγματίζω, παραπίπτω, παραρέω, πείρα, πήγνυμι, πρίζω, προβλέπω, πρόδρομος, προσαγορεύω, πρόσφατος, πρωτοτόκια, στάμνος, συναπόλλυμι, συνδόν, τιμωρία, τράγος, τρίμηνος, φαντάζω, φοβερός, χαρακτήρ, χειρουβεῖν.

¹ *De ebrietate*, 14 (Wendland, Editio minor, Vol. II, p. 170): With reference to Genesis 20. 12, where Abraham describes Sara as his sister *ἐκ πατρός, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ μητρός*, Philo remarks: *λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἀμήτωρ γενέσθαι, τὴν ἐκ πατρός, οὐ πρὸς μητρός, αὐτὸ μόνον κληρωσαμένη συγγένειαν, θήλεος γενεᾶς ἀμέτοχος*. See the remarks of CARPZONIUS, *Sacrae Exercitationes in S. Pauli Ep. ad Hebraeos ex Philone Alexandrino* (in cap. VII, 3) pp. 300-302. "Vocabulum *ἀμήτωρ* saepe apud Philonem legitur, *ἀπάτωρ* non idem."

² Pallas Athene was said to be *ἀμήτωρ*, Hephaestus *ἀπάτωρ*; also an orphaned, disclaimed or illegitimate son was said to be *ἀπάτωρ*, the term *ἀμήτωρ* being used similarly. Cfr. ZORELL, *Lexicon Graecum N. T.* sub vocibus; also BAUER, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, coll. 76 and 137.

Epistle. The question has to be asked for St. Paul as well as for the *auctor ad Hebraeos*.

Our residue is now 46. The 4 words in this list which partially represent our author's fondness for derivatives in *-σις* namely *ἀθέτησις*, *ἄθλησις*, *διόρθωσις* and *πρόσχυσις* need not be denied to the man who used dozens of similar words, including many such peculiar Pauline formations as *ἀνακαίνωσις* and *ἀπέκδυσις*.¹ Besides, he used the roots of the first two and most probably had read *διορθώτης* in a passage of Wisdom (the same which also supplied the word *ἀπάνγασμα*).² The word *πρόσχυσις* is said not to occur anywhere else either in classical or biblical Greek and the same assertion is made with regard to *αἵματεκχυσία*, *ἐντρομος*, *εὐπερίστατος*, *μισθαποδότης*, *μισθαποδοσία*, *συγκακουχέω*, *τελειωγής*. These are, however, scarcely beyond the coining power of St. Paul, who has left us such samples as *εὐπάρεδρος*, *ἀντιμισθία* and *συγκακοπαθέω*.

Looking over the 35 words which remain, surprise will hardly survive careful reflexion in more than a very few cases. We feel, for instance, that even St. Paul would have startled any ordinary amanuensis, if he were to dictate *μετριοπαθέω* and *τραχηλίζω*, but we ought to feel at the same time that we are not in the conditions to circumscribe the vocabulary of a man of genius who grew up in a metropolis of Stoicism and took an interest even in the things of the pugilistic arena. The former word was to a great extent a technical term of ethical philosophy and *τραχηλίζω* seems to have had its original currency in the language of the ring.³ We need not be surprised either at the word *σαββατισμός*, possibly coined for this Epistle, nor at the two compounds *συνεπιμαρτυρέω*, *σὺμπαθέω* nor at *καταγωνίζομαι*, *κατάδηλος*, *κατασκιάζω*.⁴ The noun *ὑποστολή* in 10. 39 is suggested by the verb *ὑποστείλῃται* in the previous citation from Habacuc. Such stately adverbs as *πωλυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως* can easily be imagined acknowledging the same source as *πολυποίκιλος* in an equally sublime passage of Ephesians.

¹ I have counted 11 such words under the initial *α* alone.

² Wisdom 7. 15 ὁ Θεὸς ... τῶν σοφῶν διορθώτης. Compare also the use of the verb *ἐπιδιορθόω* in Titus 1. 5.

³ See CARPZOVIVS, o. c., p. 208 and the texts gathered by WETSTENIUS on *Hebrews* 4. 13: *Novum Testamentum Graecum... cum comment. pleniore ex scriptoribus vet. Heb. Graec. Lat.* Amstelaedami, 1751-1752 (Vol. II, p. 407).

⁴ *συνμαρτυρέω* is a hapaxlegomenon of Romans and in general compounds in *σύν* are a specialty of St. Paul. He has more than 15 such compounds which are not found elsewhere in the N. T. Remarkable compounds in *κατά* are not rare either, e. g., *κατακαλύπτομαι*, *καταστρώννυμι*, *καταχράομαι*, *κατοπτρίζομαι*.

It would be tedious to examine the two dozen words that are left. Equally good reasons can be given for not denying them to St. Paul. If then we consider the 150 hapaxlegomena individually, none can reasonably be marked as not *de genere Paulino*, and if their number impresses us, we must remember that the theme of *Hebrews* is as new in relation to the ten Pauline Epistles that preceded it as the themes of the Pastorals are in relation to their predecessors.

A final remark may be made about hapaxlegomena. As far back as forty years ago, a writer in the *Expository Times*, Mr. W. P. Workman, embodied quite an interesting amount of very relevant facts in a short article dealing with the hapaxlegomena of St. Paul.¹ He showed that hapaxlegomena in different works of authors like Carlyle and Shakespeare vary considerably in number. There is also a tendency to more frequent use of such words in works written in later life. This increase in the number of unusual words in late writings is said to be remarkably illustrated by a comparison between Carlyle's *Latter-Day Pamphlets* and his *Heroes and Hero-Worship*. The variation in quantity within the works of one author is tabulated by Mr. Workman for Shakespeare's plays. The totals for *Julius Caesar*, the *Comedy of Errors*, *Macbeth*, *King Lear* and *Hamlet* are respectively 93, 88, 245, 358, 426. A word which appears in one writing so often as to seem a favourite expression of the author may disappear altogether from the rest of his writings. Thus "moon-calf" occurs five times in the *Tempest* and nowhere else; "pulpit" is found six times over in one scene of *Julius Caesar* and in no other play; we find the same thing in St. Paul. The apparently characteristic *μή γένοιτο* of Romans has left no other trace of itself as a characteristic Pauline expression except in two passages of Galatians and one of first Corinthians. In the case of persons possessing a large vocabulary the use of choice words will evidently be determined by such varying circumstances of the author's psychology, theme and purpose as defy uniformity of usage.

The influence of change of theme and its reactions can be illustrated within one book by the fact that *hapaxlegomena* mostly occur in clusters. Thus more than half the quota of Colossians is found in the second chapter where the Apostle faces the peculiar practical problem of the Colossian community. Over sixty of the 75 in 1 Timothy are clustered in forty-five verses.² There is indeed a more even dis-

¹ *Expository Times*, 7 (June 1896) 418, 419: Hapax Legomena of St. Paul.

² Cf. AHERNE, Art. *Timothy and Titus* CE. 14, coll. 727-733. I have kept the author's numbers, though they are slightly at variance with other statistics given for the Pastorals. Heigl and others count over 90 hapaxlegomena in first Tim-

tribution of *hapaxlegomena* in *Hebrews*, but only chapters 7, 11 and 12 have more than a dozen, the two former giving a combined count of about 50. The remaining hundred are distributed in smaller clusters ranging from three to twelve.

What has been said may be deemed sufficient to discredit the argument from vocabulary, at least, on its quantitative side. With regard to the particularly fine quality of the words and the sense of nicety which they betray, the best answer seems to be not merely a list of the wonderful compounds in which St. Paul abounds but the concrete example of the little letter to Philemon, which no one worth naming has ever denied to St. Paul. Its compass is 337 words and its vocabulary does not range above 130 words. Yet this small compass and this narrow lexical range reveal not only a general spirit of finesse but also a finesse of verbal selection which is very remarkable. Two of the five *hapaxlegomena* found in the Epistle namely ἄχρηστος and ὀνίνημι as well as the rather rare word εὐχρηστος are suggested by the name of Onesimus. The charity demanded of Philemon for his runaway slave is beautifully rounded off in terms of a business transaction whereby Philemon is to receive Onesimus back willingly (κατὰ ἐκούσιον), putting the slave's debts to St. Paul's account (ἐμοὶ ἐλλόγα ... ἐγὼ ἀποτίσω). The Apostle's written engagement to pay may well be cancelled, since Philemon owes Paul not only this favour but himself in addition (καὶ σεαυτὸν μοι προσοφείλεις). "Yes, brother, in sending you the slave Profitable—formerly ἄχρηστος now εὐχρηστος—I would enjoy you in this *profitable* way in the Lord (ἐγὼ σου ὀναίμην ἐν Κυρίῳ)." This delightful finesse is certainly equal to any delicacy of word-selection observable in the Epistle to the Hebrews, whether it be the use of μετριοπαθεῖν or of any other term whatever. Nor is it an isolated example from St. Paul. For instance, that verse of Philippians (4. 8) which has even been named the "Magna Charta of Artists" shows a similar sense of fine perception in the choice of words. It not only sketches a whole programme of loveliness—"whatever is true, whatever is dignified, whatever is just, whatever is pure, whatever is lovely, whatever is of fair fame; if there be any virtue and if there be any praise, think thereon"—but presents a choice cluster of finely beautiful words. The adjectives σεμνός and ἄγνός are, to some extent, rare; προσφιλής and εὐφηνος are *hapaxlegomena* in the New Testament; ἀρετή is a

oethy but the slight underestimate given above does not seriously affect the proportion. Father Aherne probably had in view the words strictly peculiar to first Timothy, which, as far as I can determine, are slightly under 75. See the tables of *hapaxlegomena* in Appendix I of this essay.

Hellenic term which St. Paul uses nowhere else.¹ If we may so speak, the Apostle of the Gentiles was quite open to the humanism that loves an exquisite choice of words.

Whether the Apostle's amanuensis had any noteworthy part in the lexical perfection of *Hebrews* cannot be decided by any available arguments. It is, of course, possible and highly probable that many writings of the New Testament owe some of their linguistic elements to the suggestions of amanuenses. For instance St. Peter's first letter deserves to rank amongst the five most elegant writings of the New Testament and we may well conjecture that this quality of fine form is partially due to the skill of Silvanus, whom the Prince of the Apostles names as his amanuensis (5. 12). The somewhat high-sounding vocabulary and rhythmical, though not always fluid, Atticism of the second of Peter may be due to an amanuensis who had much book-learning.² The form of the Epistle of James, which can even claim to be called "the best Greek in the New Testament,"³ presents the same sort of riddle. As we are now dealing with vocabulary only, all that can be said in regard to *Hebrews* is that its words seem to manifest something of that Lucan colour observed by Clement of Alexandria.⁴

There is, however, a still greater number of words in *Hebrews* which are otherwise of exclusively Pauline usage in the New Testament. The subjoined list shows 56 such words distributed through the four groups of Epistles. They furnish a positive proof of the Pauline quality of the special vocabulary of *Hebrews* to which they belong—a proof which is all the stronger, because the words are comparatively rare but characteristically Pauline.

¹ Pour désigner la *vertu* (v. 8), saint Paul emploie ici — et c'est le seul exemple dans ses lettres — le mot *ἀρετή*, commun à la philosophie païenne, comme s'il était anxieux, note Lightfoot, de ne négliger aucune source d'expérience, aucun terrain de rencontre. J. HUBY, *Les Épîtres de la captivité*, p. 357.—A few lines higher up the same author cites Gilson's denomination of the Apostle's formula as "charte éternelle de l'humanisme chrétien" (*Esprit de la Philosophie médiévale*, Paris 1932, t. I, p. 29).

² Cfr. MOULTON-HOWARD, Vol. II, *Introduction*, §§ 5 and 16.

³ SALMON, *Introd.* p. 139 cited with approval by Moulton (*ibid.*, p. 27).

⁴ Besides 8 words proper to Luke and *Hebrews*, owing to citation of the Septuagint, there are thirty rather remarkable coincidences of vocabulary: *ἄγκυρα*, *ἀναδέχομαι*, *ἀναθεωρέω*, *ἀνώτερον*, *ἀπαλλάσσω*, *ἀπογράφω*, *ἀρχηγός*, *ἀσάλευτος*, *ἄστρον*, *βοήθεια*, *διατίθεμαι*, *εἴσειμι*, *ἐπιστέλλω*, *ἐρυθρός*, *ἐσώτερος*, *εὐθετος*, *ἦχος*, *ιερατεία*, *ιλάσκομαι*, *καίτοι*, *κεφάλαιον*, *λύτρωσις*, *μέτοχος*, *παλαιός*, *παντελής*, *συναντάω*, *σχεδόν*, *τελείωσις*, *υἱός*, *ὑπαρξίς*. All of these except *υἱός* occur only in *Hebrews* and St. Luke's writings. The word *κεφάλαιον* should possibly be excluded because of considerable difference of meaning.

ἀγιότης	2 Corinthians	κοσμικός	Titus
ἀγών	Thess.-Phil.-Col.-Past.	λειτουργός	Rom.-Phil.
ἀδόκιμος	Rom.-Cor.-Past.	μέμφομαι	Romans
ἀιρέομαι	Thess.-Phil.	μεσίτης	Gal.-Past.
ἄκακος	Romans	μήτω	Romans
ἀνυπότακτος	1 Timothy-Titus	μιμητής	Thess.-Cor.-Eph.
ἀνοφελής	Titus	νεκρός	Rom.-Col.
ἀόρατος	Rom.-Col.-Past.	ὀκτιρμός	Rom.-Cor.-Phil.-Col.
ἀπίθεια	Rom.-Eph.-Col.	ὀρέγομαι	1 Timothy
ἀπόλαυσις	1 Timothy	παιδευτής	Romans
ἀφιλάργυρος	1 Timothy	παράβασις	Rom.-Gal.-Past.
ἀφορώ	Philippians	παρακοή	Rom.-Cor.
βεβαίωσις	Philippians	(περιβόλαιον)	1 Corinthians
βέβηλος	1 and 2 Timothy	περισσοτέρως	Thess.-Cor.-Gal.-Phil.
διάκρισις	Rom.-Cor.	πηλίκος	Galatians
διάφορος	Romans	πλάξ	2 Corinthians
δουλεία	Rom.-Gal.	πληροφορία	Thess.-Col.
δυναμός	Eph.-Col.	πόμα	1 Corinthians
ἐκβασίς	1 Corinthians	πρόδηλος	1 Timothy
ἐκτρέπομαι	1 and 2 Timothy	σαρκινός	Rom.-Cor.
ἐνδείκνυμαι	Rom.-Cor.-Eph.-Past.	(στεφανώ)	2 Timothy
ἐνδικος	Romans	συνκεράννυμι	1 Corinthians
ἐνίστημι	Thess.-Rom.-Cor.-Gal.	τελειότης	Colossians
εὐάρεστος	Rom.-Cor.-Eph.-Phil.- Col.-Past	τοιγαροῦν	2 Corinthians
θαρρέω	2 Corinthians	ὑπεναντίος	2 Timothy
θιγγάνω	Colossians	ὑπόστασις	Romans
ἱλαστήριον	Romans	φιλοξενία	Rom.-Cor.
καύχημα	Rom.-Cor.-Gal.-Phil.	φράσσω	Romans

Certainly no other personal vocabulary that is known to us, not only in early Christian literature but in the whole range of Hellenistic literature, coincides so much with the vocabulary of St. Paul as the nine hundred and ninety words which make up the lexicon of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Grammar and Phraseology

The main grammatical points in *Hebrews*, which are alleged to be suggestive of another writer than Paul, are the very different use of particles, the sparing employment of the definite article, fondness for *παρά* as a preposition of elative comparison, the remarkable absence of the preposition *σύν*, the repeated occurrence of the perfect in an aorist sense.¹ These simple grammatical facts we shall treat

¹ See BLASS-DEBRUNNER, *Neutestamentliche Grammatik*⁶, §§ 107, 185, 221 and MOFFAT, l. c. Other points, which can scarcely be called peculiarities of *Hebrews*, may be followed through BLASS, 101, 169, 238, 351, 388, 402.

separately from such particular combinations of words as are involved in the construction of phrases.

The subject of particles in *Hebrews* finds place here partly for convenience sake, for these small elements of Greek diction belong to style as much as to grammar. There is no denying that our Epistle differs from the Epistolary as a whole in the manner that these subtle parts of speech are chosen and distributed.¹ A whole series of particles, namely, εἴ τις, εἴτε, εἴ πως, πότε, εἰ δὲ καί, εἴπερ, ἐκτός εἰ μή, εἰ γε, μὴ πως, μηκέτι, μενδυνγε, which appear with more or less frequency (the first two over fifty times) in the Paulines, are totally absent from *Hebrews*. Another series ἐάν, εἰ μή εἰ καί, εἰ οὐ, ὅταν, ὅτε, ὥστε, μηδεῖς, μηδέ, ἄρα, πάντοτε, which St. Paul uses lavishly, occur only once or twice in our Epistle. On the other hand, the particles καθ' ὅσον, ἐάνπερ, καίτοι and especially ὅθεν are found in *Hebrews* but not even once anywhere in St. Paul.² Specially noticeable is the use of τε. "Apart from eleven occurrences of τε καί and one doubtful case of τε ... τε .. καί (6. 2), τε links a) substantives without any preceding καί or δέ; b) principal clauses as in 12. 2; and c) participial clauses as in 1. 3, 6. 4."³ In general *Hebrews* is said to conform to a more classical standard than the Paulines in the use of particles.

The facts just mentioned are certainly true, but need to be set in their proper light. Of the eleven particles and combinations of particles cited by Jacquier as frequent in St. Paul and absent from *Hebrews*, several are just as much absent from other Epistles which are certainly Pauline. The combination εἴ τις, for instance, is very frequent in first Corinthians and occurs with varying frequency in ten other Paulines, but is totally absent from first Thessalonians and Colossians. Not one of the Epistles of the captivity nor of the Pastorals contains εἴπερ, which, although exclusively Pauline, is confined to first Thessalonians, Romans and the two Corinthians. Again the Corinthian Epistles would almost give one the impression that St. Paul could hardly dispense with the use of the disjunctive particle εἴτε; yet the two Thessalonian letters and Ephesians have each only one pair of this disjunctive and it does not occur at all either in Galatians or the Pastorals. Even πότε and μηκέτι, which according to Jacquier's list attain the second degree of frequency in the Paulines, are

¹ "Les particules, cette caractéristique d'un style, sont employées différemment par saint Paul et par l'épître aux Hebreux." JACQUIER, *Histoire des livres du N. T.* Tome I^{er}, p. 462.

² Ibidem.

³ MOFFAT, o. c. *Introduction*, LX.

almost entirely missing from second Corinthians (*μηκέτι* once only, *ποτε* not at all).¹ To a noticeable degree both of these particles belong to Romans and Ephesians (*ποτε* also to Galatians). Similarly *πάντοτε* and *ἄρα* which occur only once and twice respectively in *Hebrews* are equally rare in some of the Paulines, the former figuring only once each in Romans and Ephesians, the latter (so typical of Romans) finding place only in one solitary instance in the Captivity Letters and not even once in the Pastorals. Even the great toll of 88 occurrences in the Paulines, calculated for the conjunction *ἐάν*, is not due to any necessitating force of St. Paul's mentality. It is strewn profusely over twelve chapters of first Corinthians; is much rarer in Romans, second Corinthians and Galatians; occurs only once in Ephesians and nowhere appears in Thessalonians, Philippians, Philemon and Titus. If *ἐάν* appears only twice in *Hebrews* (outside of citations), it is because the dozen hypothetical sentences, which the author had to express, nearly all required a protasis introduced by the conjunction *εἰ*.² It is foolish to argue from mere numerical lists, without considering the quality of the things represented by the numbers. Though these pages are themselves full of numbers, they are intended as a protest against one-sided arguments *ex numeris*. The list of absentee or rare particles mentioned above has purely negative force and proves nothing.

Conversely, the absence of *ὅθεν*, *ἐάνπερ*, *καθ' ὅσον*, *καίτοι* from the thirteen Epistles of St. Paul does not prove that these conjunctions never found place in his speech. The most impressive of them is the consecutive *ὅθεν* which, in this logical sense as distinct from its local sense, never occurs in the Pauline Epistles and is found only twice in the rest of the New Testament as against six times in *Hebrews*. However, one of the two examples mentioned stands in St. Luke's report of the Apostle's defence before Agrippa (Acts 26. 19). It is a matter of common experience that a certain word will become a favourite with a speaker or writer for a period. We have known persons who had *hence*-periods or *therefore*-periods. Latin orators may possibly have had their *igitur*-days and their *ergo*-days; likewise St. Paul may have had moments in which he laid aside *διό* or some other such particle in favour of *ὅθεν*.³

¹ BLASS-DEBRUNNER, o. c. § 107: "Manche Partikeln kommen im N. T. *nur einmal* vor; es sind meist Klassizismen des Lk. und des Hb."

² See WESTCOTT, *Additional note on IV*, 8. *On some hypothetical sentences*, o. c., pp. 113-116.

³ We do not mean to assert that these particles are absolutely synonymous. It is worth while trying to find a substitute for *ὅθεν* in the passages of *Hebrews* in which it occurs. *Διό* or *διὰ τοῦτο* seems to be the nearest Pauline equivalent.

The use of τε and τε ... καί to which Dr. Moffat draws attention is rather favourable than adverse to the Pauline claim. The particle is not by any means frequent in the New Testament outside of *Hebrews* and the Lucan and Pauline writings. It does not appear at all in the Johannine or Petrine Epistles nor in St. Mark's Gospel. The evangelists Matthew and John have only each three examples while James, Jude and the Apocalypse together boast of three only, that is one each. The Acts are sprinkled all over with it, about 150 examples being found from the first chapter to the twenty-eighth. St. Luke's Gospel counts some nine examples. There are twenty-three examples in the Paulines, sixteen of which occur in Romans. *Hebrews* with its quota of twenty is only slightly above its great compeer. Both in Paul and in *Hebrews* τε solitarium has the force which classicists attribute to it in the dictum: " καί coniungit, τε adiungit." ¹ When Moffat says that " it links substantives without any preceding καί or δέ," the word which we have italicized must be a misprint for *succeeding*, but in any case there is a perfect example of the same usage in 1 Corinthians 4. 21: ἐν ἀγάπῃ πνεύματί τε πραΰτητος. Likewise the linking of sentences by this particle finds a parallel in Romans 2. 19. There seems, indeed, to be no case of participial clauses being joined in this way by St. Paul, but we have only one example in *Hebrews* (1. 3), the second cited by Moffat (6. 2) not being to the point because of the substantival character of the participial phrases. This exaggeration of what reduces itself to one tiny point is a fair example of the flimsy arguments which philologists sometimes put up against the apostolic writings.

Much more striking on the positive and traditional side are the facts that τε is coupled with γάρ at the beginning of a sentence (τε γάρ) only in *Hebrews*, Romans and second Corinthians; that such an unusual triple particle as τοιγαροῦν presents itself only in *Hebrews* and first Thessalonians; that the exclusively Pauline νυνὶ δέ (occurring eighteen times in six epistles) turns up twice in *Hebrews* as a typically Pauline opening for a conclusion. ²

The alleged parsimony of our author in regard to the definite article may be dismissed in a few words. The most striking examples concern the noun υἱός which is without the article in 1. 2 (ἐλάλησεν ἡμῖν ἐν ὑψώ), in 1. 5 (citation from LXX), in 3. 6 (Χριστὸς δὲ ὡς υἱός)

¹ See Romans 16. 26 and *Hebrews* 1. 3; also Westcott's note on the latter place.

² It is noteworthy that even in the two places of Acts, where we read the word νυνὶ outside of the Epistles, it comes from the mouth of St. Paul (Acts 22. 1; 24. 13). Τοιγαροῦν we may add τούνν (Heb. 13. 13) which is paralleled only in 1 Corinthians 9. 26 and Luke 20. 25.

in 5. 8 (καίπερ ὢν υἱός), in 7. 28 (υἱὸν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τετελειωμένον). But, in these cases, as Westcott points out, "the absence of the article fixes attention upon the nature and not upon the personality of the Mediator of the new revelation." The adequate English translation of the anarthrous substantive would be "One who is Son." The same mode of fixing attention on the character of the object may be observed in the anarthrous υἱὸς Θεοῦ of Romans 1. 4 and in the anarthrous ἄνθρωπος of 1 Timothy 2. 5. The word σταυρός without the article in *Hebrews* 12. 2 has an exact parallel in *Philippians* 2. 8. Similar examples may be examined in 6. 12, 13; 11. 24 of *Hebrews* and quite a harvest of them in 12. 23, 24. These might easily give a superficial observer the impression that the author of *Hebrews* uses the article more sparingly than St. Paul. The reading of 1 Corinthians 12. 1-10 should prove a good antidote for such an impression.¹

The author's apparent fondness for *παρά* *comparationis*, of which there are eight instances,² is easily explainable. The idea of superiority is fundamental to *Hebrews*; hence the adoption of a form of expression which should be particularly strong. That form was suggested by two of the Psalms cited in the first and second chapters, the phrases *παρὰ τοὺς μετόχους* and *παρ' ἀγγέλους* from Psalms 44. 8 and 8. 6 being probably present to the mind of the writer from the beginning.

The absence of the preposition *σύν* is somewhat remarkable, if we compare *Hebrews* with only eight of the Paulines (although there are as few as four instances in *Romans* and only two in *Ephesians*), but this preposition is also an exile from second *Thessalonians*, *Philemon* and the *Pastorals*. There are really only two passages in *Hebrews* where *σύν* might possibly replace *μετά* (4. 9 and 13. 23).

Finally it is more than doubtful that the perfect has practically lost its proper force and is used aoristically by our author. Westcott defends the underlying notion of permanency of consequence in every case,³ a position which Moffat dubs as pedantry.⁴ However, the renowned philologist Blass cites no example of an aoristic perfect from *Hebrews*, while he admits its presence in second *Corinthians*.⁵

¹ There is a memorable example of anarthrous κόσμος in *Galatians* 6. 14: δι' οὗ ἐμοὶ κόσμος ἐσταύρωται καὶ γὰρ κόσμῳ.

² *Hebrews*, 1. 4, 9; 2. 8, 9; 3. 3; 9. 23; 11. 4; 12. 24.

³ The passages where the perfect tense occurs are 1. 4, 13; 2. 14; 3. 3; 4. 2, 4, 15; 7. 3, 6, 13, 14; 8. 5, 6; 9. 18, 26; 10. 14; 11. 5, 17, 28; 12. 2, 3.

⁴ O. c. *Introduction*, LIX.

⁵ *Grammatik*, § 343.

The great British authority, J. H. Moulton examines very thoroughly the question of aoristic perfects in the N. T. and looks even upon the προσενήνοχεν of Hebrews 11. 17 as a true perfect denoting the fact of Abraham's offering "as written in Scripture" (Cfr. Gal. 3. 18; 4. 23).¹ Dato sed non concesso that there are a few aoristic perfects in *Hebrews*, it will be all the more inevitable that we admit the same usage in 2 Corinthians 12. 17, 11. 25 and other places besides. Thus not one of the 21 perfects in *Hebrews* can be adduced as an argument against its Paulinity. Even if they all had the force of aorists, they would still not be unpauline.

We may now pass to the grammatical facts connected with the construction of phrases.

Only two features of our author's predilections in the art of phrase-building need receive consideration. There are some very remarkable hyperbatic phrases, the incapsulated series of words being two or three or six. The following examples are cited by Moffat:

1. 4 διαφωρότερον (παρ' αὐτοὺς κεκληρονόμηκεν) ὄνομα
4. 8 οὐκ ἂν περὶ ἄλλης (εἰλάλει μετὰ ταῦτα) ἡμέρας
10. 11 τὰς αὐτὰς (πολλάκις προσφέρων) θυσίας
10. 12 μίαν (ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν προσενέγκας) θυσίαν
10. 27 πυρὸς (ζῆλος ἐσθίειν) μέλλοντος τοῦς ὑπεναντίους
12. 3 τὴν τοιαύτην (ὑπομεμενηκότα ὑπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν εἰς αὐτὸν) ἀντιλογίαν.

These are the major examples of hyperbaton in *Hebrews* but there are many minor examples.² The tendency is scarcely observable at all in St. Paul so that one should feel justified in saying that hyperbaton was not part of his literary habits.³ It seems therefore, that the hyperbata of *Hebrews* may reasonably be taken as an indication that the whole literary polish of the letter is not St. Paul's. We should say that the amanuensis who wrote *Hebrews* was a lover of this emphatic turn of phrase, the effect of which consists in stimulating the mind by holding it in suspense for a moment, until the emphatic word comes at the end of the incapsulated piece.⁴ It cannot, perhaps,

¹ *Grammar of N. T.* Vol. I, p. 142.

² Cfr. Heb. 2. 3 τηλικαύτης (ἀμελησαντες) σωτηρίας; 2. 9 τὸν δὲ βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους ἐλαττωμένον (βλέπομεν) Ἰησοῦν.

³ I can recall only a few examples from the Epistolary, namely, the phrase παραλαβόντες λόγον ἀκοῆς (παρ' ἡμῶν) τοῦ Θεοῦ in first Thessalonians 2. 13, and two in Galatians (2. 6 and 6. 11).

⁴ BLASS-DEBRUNNER § 477. "Die Annahme eines Hyperbaton... ist ein sehr altes exegetisches Hilfsmittel; wird es doch schon von Sokrates bei Plato (Protagoras 343) gebracht, um den Dichter Simonides zu nötigen, das auszusagen, was Sokrates für richtig hält."

be asserted that the phenomenon points very clearly to St. Luke, for hyperbaton finds very little room in the narrative of an historian. The tendency is, however, observable in the one greatly elaborated period left us by the evangelist, the last words of the Lucan Prologue: ἵνα ἐπὶ τῇ περιᾷ ὧν κατηχήθη λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν being a good example of hyperbatic phraseology.

The second phraseological feature of *Hebrews*, which must be mentioned, is the use of the genitive absolute. Twelve examples are registered by Moffat,¹ these, with the addition of 11. 40, making a complete list. Two of these thirteen examples are especially noteworthy because they occur within subordinate final clauses and entail the insertion of seven and ten words, respectively, between the subordinating conjunction and the verb-group. Thus we read in 4. 1: Φοβηθῶμεν οὖν μέ ποτε (καταλειπομένης ἐπαγγελίας εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσιν αὐτοῦ) δοκῇ τις ἐξ ὑμῶν ὑστερηκεῖν; and in 9. 15: διαθήκης καινῆς μεσίτης ἐστίν, ὅπως (θανάτου γενομένου εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ διαθήκῃ παραβάσεων) τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν λάβωσιν οἱ κεκλημένοι... In every case the classical rule is observed, namely, that the noun or pronoun of the genitival phrase, be not the subject of the sentences or fill any other function in it.

Here also there is a suggestion of some other hand besides St. Paul's but to what extent one cannot say. Certainly the genitive absolute does not occur often in St. Paul's letters nor does he observe in every case the classical rule. There are some five examples in Romans, three in first Corinthians and five in second Corinthians, *Hebrews* having the same count as all three together, although it is less than one third of their combined length. The argument from quantity must, however, keep within its limits, for, if a writer is accustomed to use the genitive absolute at all, there is no possibility of measuring how many times he may use it in a given length of text. The two cases of a boxed genitive absolute are not any more probative. There is a very striking parallel in 1 Corinthians 5. 4: ἤδη κέκρικα ὡς παρὼν τὸν οὕτως τοῦτο κατεργασάμενον (ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ συναχθέντων ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ πνεύματος σὺν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ) παραδοῦναι τὸν τοιοῦτον τῷ σατανᾷ. Moreover, although St. Paul does not always conform to the classical rule of the genitive absolute, he seldom departs from it.

¹ O. c. *Introduction*, LXI. The complete list is: 2. 4, 4. 1, 4. 3, 7. 12, 8. 4, 9. 6, 9. 8 (double), 9. 15, 9. 19, 10. 26, 11. 4, 11. 40.

Periods

In treating the question of periodism in *Hebrews* it is necessary to have a clear notion of the difference between the so-called λέξις εἰρομένη and the typically Greek λέξις κατεστραμμένη. The distinction between the two is drawn very succinctly by Aristotle.¹ The first form of composition, being based on co-ordination of parts (τῷ συνδέσμῳ μία), does not produce rounded and self-contained pieces. It flows on, until all that is to be said about the matter in hand is finished. It may be esthetically pleasant but does not allow that enjoyment which consists in the vision of something concluded by its own very structure (οὐδὲν ἔχει τέλος καθ' αὐτήν). The λέξις κατεστραμμένη on the other hand has an aesthetically recognisable beginning and end, for it moves in artificial periods or circuits, the beginning, middle and end of each period being laced and not simply bound into a unity. The pleasure which it offers (especially to the Greek mind) consists in the facility which it affords of grasping or memorising a rounded and symmetrical whole. Periodism is of the very essence of this form (Κατεστραμμένη δὲ ἡ ἐν περιόδοις). It is not, of course, the primitive and natural manner of speech but an artificial development. The earliest Greek writers used λέξις εἰρομένη and, as a matter of course, so did the writers of the N. T., whose speech was so close to the everyday vernacular of " the butcher, the baker, the candle-stick maker." It is not a matter of surprise that in writings, whose authors used the colloquial Κοινή, periods are rare, being found only exceptionally even in the most artistic books. This is true of the whole N. T., and it is untrue to assert, as Dr. Moffat does, that the Epistle to the Hebrews is λέξις κατεστραμμένη and not εἰρομένη. The terms are taken from Aristotle and ought to be understood in the Aristotelian sense, εἰρομένη not being interpreted merely " in the sense of rapid dialogue."² The great bulk of our Epistle runs in the flowing sentences and sometimes even in the short ones of the colloquial style, thought adding itself to thought either in a simple paratactic way or more often by the use of relative and participial clauses. The number of developed periods, in which subordinate and not merely co-ordinate clauses are bound to a principal clause to produce an artistic unity, is not very great. Many sections are loosely called periods to which the name does not strictly belong. Measure and balance and even a certain rotundity secured by skilful co-ordination do not constitute a period in the

¹ *Ars Rhetorica*, III, 8, 9. ed. Adolphus Roemer (Teubner) pp. 191 sqq.

² O. c. *Introduction*, LIX.

category of λέξις κατεστραμμένη. Thus, the Prologue of *Hebrews* is, in strict parlance, no more a period than the mighty exordium of Ephesians, which fills every reader with a sense of exegetical dismay. It is only in a wide sense that we can speak of πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως κ. τ. λ. as a period.¹ The name belongs, however, in justice to the opening section of chapter 2 and even more so to the fourteenth and fifteenth verses of the same chapter. The long sentence on the "living and effective word of God" (4.12,13) is not built like a Greek period, but the description of a Highpriest, which figures at the beginning of chapter 5, fulfils the conditions required by the Hellenic model. The exquisitely balanced piece 5. 7-10 may like the Prologue be called a period in a wide sense, but it is really only a group of participial clauses grouped round a central nucleus and is not of periodic structure. The same must be said of 6. 4-6. In 6.16-20 we have an example of sentence-composition which approaches the build of a period, but that distinction must be denied to the fine sentence 7. 1-3, also to 8. 4-6 and to 9. 2-5 as well as to the long sentence 9. 6-10, in spite of the fact that this last possesses three genitive absolutes and two relative clauses. The structure of 9. 24-26 entitle this piece to a place in the category of λέξις κατεστραμμένη, although the sentence is not entirely periodistic. Neither 10. 11-13 nor 10. 19-25 nor 11. 24-26 nor the opening sentence of chapter 12 are periods. Not even the claim of the long piece 12. 18-24 can be recognised. Thus we have exhausted the long list made by Dr. Moffat, and the truth seems to be that there are many finely balanced sentences in *Hebrews*, but few periods, if we accept the Aristotelian definition: λέγω δὲ περίοδον λέξιν ἔχουσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ τελευτὴν αὐτὴν καθ' αὐτὴν καὶ μέγεθος εὐσύνοπτον. Aristotle's meaning will be best seen, if one analyses a Latin period like the following from Cicero's speech in defence of Milo: "Reliquum est, iudices, ut nihil iam quaerere aliud debeatis nisi uter utri insidias fecerit, quod quo facilius argumentis perspicere possitis, rem gestam vobis dum breviter expono, quaeso diligenter attendite."

There is no evidence, therefore, that the sentence-building habits of our author were different from those of St. Paul. If the Epistle abounds in certain ample pieces, the same is true of the Paulines, as may be seen by examining such passages as 1 Thessalonians 1. 1-7, 2 Thessalonians 2. 3-12, 1 Corinthians 1. 4-8, 2 Corinthians 1. 3-7, Romans 2. 17-23 as well as the first three chapters of Ephesians and the exordium of Philippians. The elevation of diction attained by

¹ The looser nomenclature has been used earlier in this essay (p. 24). Cfr. A. M. VITTI, *Le bellezze stilistiche della lettera agli Ebrei*, Bb. 17 (1936), p. 154.

many passages of *Hebrews* is also paralleled in the Paulines. As the list of these parallels would be a long one, it is sufficient to cite Ephesians 4. 11-16 and Titus 3. 4-7. The very occasional tendency to periodic structure, which we have noted in our Epistle does not put the writing in a different class from the letters of St. Paul. The same phenomenon occurs here and there throughout the Epistolary. Certainly, Philippians 1. 9-12 has as much periodic structure as any of the passages cited from *Hebrews*. In general (without considering degrees of regularity and elegance) the sentence-architecture of Paul and the author of *Hebrews* are identical—very seldom periodic but often attaining a fulness akin to periodism by means of participial, infinitival or relative clauses.¹

But—it may be objected—the smooth λέξις εἰρομένη of *Hebrews* is poles apart from the anacolutha, aposiopesis and parenthetical interruptions so common in St. Paul. Not a single sentence of *Hebrews* is smashed in the middle; only one doubtful departure from the apparent plan of a sentence, as indicated by its beginning, can be cited (10. 16, 17); parentheses never make the author forget how he began.² These things are partly true but they belong to the affective movement of the writer's speech and shall be examined under that head. The irregularities mentioned are disturbances within the λέξις εἰρομένη which vary considerably in different writings of the same author and may be entirely absent from works composed in a period of calm, or in a time of better health, or in circumstances which bring a more peaceful kind of music into the soul, as, for instance, when St. Paul dictates a letter "full of goodness and joy" to his favourite church at Philippi. Here, also, very much will depend on the precise relation between the author and his amanuensis. A letter dictated and taken down in shorthand in a merely mechanical fashion is almost certain to show certain irregularities. But, if the amanuensis is an able literary artist, he can easily rectify such things as the disturbing influence of a parenthesis. If the sentences of our Epistle are to some extent "characteristic of a practised scholar," the fact can easily be explained by supposing such a secretary as

¹ See HEIGL, o. c., p. 78. "Der Satzbau ist in unserm Brief im allgemeinen derselbe wie bei Paulus." This very thorough scholar has collected over 40 parallels in Appendix X of his valuable work.

² Two examples of anacolouthon may be seen in chapter 2 of Galatians (4. 6) and many others in Romans, second Corinthians and Ephesians; an instance of aposiopesis occurs in 2 Corinthians 7. 8 and, in spite of the denial of strict aposiopesis in the N. T. by Blass (§ 482), we think that there is a perfect example in 1 Cor. 9. 15; perhaps the best example of a parenthesis completely dislocating the original structure and producing anacolouthon is that of Galatians 2. 6. Cfr. Rom. 2. 14-16.

would suggest to St. Paul that what he had dictated would run better, if it were phrased in a somewhat different way. What must be asserted in this place is the demonstrable fact that the phraseology of Hebrews is not a rhetorical type different from the phraseology of St. Paul.

Rhetorical elegances

Under this heading we may include such things as the author's love of antithesis and the chiasmus, his use of oratorical imperatives and dramatic questions, his fondness for paronomasia and assonance, the use of the anaphora and antistrophe. The frequency of these devices in *Hebrews* would seem to be the result of studied effort and striving after rhetorical effect, the evidences of a rhetorician not of Paul. But let us examine the facts once more.

The love of antithesis should be almost inborn in any Hebrew and it could easily become second nature to a religious Hebrew nourished on the parallelism of the Psalter and other books of Israel's sacred literature. Besides, antithesis would be a greater necessity than ever for a Hebrew who had to write to Hebrews on a theme, which was chiefly concerned with the comparison of the Old and the New. Hence it is not surprising that our Epistle has many antithetical passages. The Prologue is a magnificent antithesis:

Multifariam multisque modis	novissime ¹
(Deus) olim	diebus istis
loquens	locutus est
patribus	nobis
in prophetis	in filio.

and the Epistle continues with three great antitheses, namely, Christ and the angels, Christ and Moses, the Messianic priesthood and the Aaronic. That μέν ... δέ should be frequent was only to be expected. There is a fair list of examples (such as *Hebrews* 1. 7, 8; 3. 5; 7. 5; 7. 8; 7. 18, 19; 7. 20, 21; 7. 23; 9. 6; 9. 23; 10. 11 and in the final paraenetic part 10. 33; 11. 15; 12. 10; 12. 11), but we must not forget that the use of antithesis and its indication by these two particles is also fairly frequent in St. Paul especially in first Corinthians, where there

¹ We have chosen the stately Vulgate translation which, with Augustine (see SCHAEFER, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der lateinischen Uebersetzung des Hb.* Freiburg im B. 1929, p. 161) makes ἐπ' ἐσχάτου (postremo) correspond to πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως. Although the phrase ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν is frequent in the LXX in the sense: "in novissimis diebus," the addition of τούτων seems to make a difference and justify one in separating ἐπ' ἐσχάτου in this place.

was more occasion than elsewhere of setting thoughts over against one another. In fact the count for first Corinthians is slightly in excess of that given above for our Epistle. Here is another instance which shows us that the case against St. Paul in regard to this particular writing is often based on very defective comparison.

The chiasmus is equally native to the Hebrew mind. In order to vary the parallelism of their poetry the Psalmists and Prophets and gnomic writers of Israel constantly employed it. A small selection of examples will suffice here. In Psalm 147. 16 we read: "*Qui dat nivem sicut lanam, nebulam sicut cinerem spargit*" and the same tiny poem has four other examples. Similarly in Isaiah 11. 4 it is said of the Messias: "*Percutiet terram virga oris sui et spiritu labiorum suorum interficiet impium.*" In Ecclesiasticus we are told that God placed Moses "*to teach Jacob his testament and his judgments to Israel*" (45. 5).¹ The chiastic arrangement of words has also passed into the New Testament and is frequent in the Gospels, the Acts, the Pauline and Catholic Epistles (see U. Holzmeister, *De forma chiastica in N. T. adhibita*, Verbum Domini, 14 [1934] 337-341). Our Epistle has many graceful examples as, for instance 2. 16: *ἵνα λάβωμεν ἔλεος καὶ Χάριν εὐρωμεν* and 7. 3: *μήτε ἀρχὴν ἡμερῶν μήτε ζωῆς τέλος ἔχων*. So also have the Paulines, several of their chiasmi being quite as graceful as those just cited e. g. Rom. 6. 11: *νέκρους μὲν τῇ ἀμαρτίᾳ ζῶντας τῷ Θεῷ*; 2 Cor. 15. 27: *ὅταν δὲ εἴπῃ ὅτι πάντα ὑποτέτακται, δῆλον ὅτι ἐκτὸς τοῦ ὑποτάξαντος αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα τίς*. (See further Phil. 3. 10, Coloss. 3. 1 and the subtle example in Philemon 5).

Instances of effective oratorical imperatives in our Epistle are the following: Considerate apostolum et pontificem confessionis nostrae (3. 1); Videte, fratres, ne forte etc. (3. 12); Intuemini autem quantus sit hic (7. 4); Rememoramini autem pristinos dies (10. 32); Videte ne recusatis loquentem (12. 25), and Mementote praepositorum vestrorum (13. 7). So far, however, is this oratorical trait from being alien to St. Paul that, on the contrary, from the short Epistle to the Galatians alone about as many examples can be gleaned as from *Hebrews*. It is only necessary to turn the leaves of four of the Galatic letter's six chapters to find the following: Cognoscite ergo (3. 7); Estote sicut ego (4. 12); Dicite mihi qui sub lege vultis esse (3. 21); State (ergo) et nolite (5. 1); Videte qualibus litteris scripsi vobis

¹ A. M. VITTI, *Le bellezze letterarie* etc., p. 157. The author refers to twin studies of W. A. LUND: *The presence of Chiasmus in the Old Testament* (American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature, 46 [1930] 104-126, and *The presence of Chiasmus in the New Testament* (Journal of Religion, 10 [1930] 74-93). The same writer has further studied chiasmus in the Psalms.

(6. 11). This list could be augmented from other letters. Perhaps the example that will first occur to anyone acquainted with the Pauline Epistles will be: *Imitatores mei estote*, occurring no less than three times (1 Cor. 4. 6, 11. 1; Philipp. 3. 17).

| Dramatic questions, single, double or triple such as we have in 2. 3, 7. 11, 9. 14, 10. 29, 11. 32, 12. 9 (single); 1. 13, 14 (double); 3. 16-18 (triple)¹ are certainly numerous, but the Paulines also swarm with them. Especially the second group of the Apostle's letters show the dramatic question to be an eminent favourite of his. It is enough for us to take a look at Romans and Galatians. In the last four chapters of the latter and in the first eight chapters of the former there are no less than seven examples of the single question, seven of the double question, two triple interrogations, one quadruple series and two quintuple series. [There are even a sextuple and septuple series.² of these dramatic instruments of the Pauline dialectic. The interrogatory style is almost as much a hall-mark of St. Paul as of the homilies of St. Gregory which we read in the Breviary. Moreover, practically all the ways of introducing these questions found in our Epistle occur also in the Paulines e. g. *τίς* (frequently), *τί ἔτι* (H. 11. 32; R. 3. 7; Gal. 5. 11), *πῶς* (H. 2. 3, Paulines frequently), *οὐχί* (H. 1. 14, Rom. 3. 29; 1 Cor. frequently), and *πόσῳ μᾶλλον* (H. 9. 14 coll. 10. 29 and R. 11. 12, 24). The only introductory modes which are absent from the Epistolary are *ἀλλ' οὐ πάντες* (3. 16) and *οὐ πολὺ μᾶλλον* (12. 9).

Paronomasia, alliteration and assonance are remarkable features of our Epistle. It is a pleasure even to read an abbreviated list of these elegances, such as: *πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως ... πάλαι ... πατρ-άσιν* (1. 1), *περισσοτέρως προσέχειν ... παραρῶμεν* (2. 1) *παράβασις ... πάρακοή* (2. 2) *ἔπρεπεν ... πάντα ... πάντα, πολλοὺς ... παθημάτων* (2. 10), *ἀπιστίας ... ἀποστήναι* (3. 12), *παρακαλεῖτε ... καλεῖτε* (3. 13), *καίτοι ... καταβολῆς κόσμον* (4. 3), *δίστομον καὶ δῆκνούμενος* (4. 12), *ἔμαθεν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπαθεν* (5. 8), *καλοῦ τε καὶ κακοῦ* (5. 14), *ἀπάτωρ, ἀμήτωρ, ἀγενεαλόγητος* (7. 3), *αὐτῆς ἀσθενὲς καὶ ἀνωφελές* (7. 18), *βρώμασιν ... πόμασιν* (9. 10) *κεκλημένοι ... κληρονομίας* (9. 15), *πολλάκις παθεῖν ἀπὸ καταταβολῆς*

¹ Dr. Moffat is inaccurate in describing this example as a triple question. As a matter of fact, the series is quintuple, though the series may be distinguished into three primary and two secondary questions.

² To avoid covering the text with ciphers, the references are given here in classified order. Single questions occur in Romans 7. 4, Galatians 4. 9, 4. 21, 4. 30, 5. 9, 5. 11; double questions in Romans 2. 3, 4; 4. 1, 2; 6. 15, 16; 7. 7, Galatians 4. 15, 16; triple in Romans 3. 1-3; 3. 29-31; quadruple in 6. 1-3; quintuple in 2. 21-23; 3. 5-8; sextuple in Galatians 3. 1-6; and septuple in Romans 8. 31-35.

κόσμον (9. 26), Θλίψεσιν Θεατριζόμενοι (10. 33), πίστει πλείονα θυσία Ἰαβελ παρὰ Κάιν προσήνεγκεν (11. 4) πᾶσα μὲν παιδεία πρὸς μὲν τὸ παρόν (12. 11), μένουσαν... μέλλουσιν (13. 14) περισσοτέρως δὲ παρακαλῶ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι (13. 19). This list of twenty is far from exhaustive and might perhaps be doubled. When one becomes conscious of such an array of literary adornment and of such paronomastic play as the double signification of λόγος in 4. 12, 13, and of διαθήκη in 9. 15-20, one is certainly inclined to feel that this writing stands apart from every other book of the New Testament. Yet there is one writer who has an outstanding faculty for this *lusus verborum* and that writer is St. Paul. The presence of word-play in every group of his Epistles may be illustrated by a few examples out of many.¹ In the first or Thessalonian group we have such coupling of like-sounding words as the following: παράκλησις... πλάνης (I, 2. 3), παρακαλοῦντες ὑμᾶς καὶ παραμυθούμενοι... εἰς τὸ περιπατεῖν (2. 12), κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ (5. 15) ὀλοτελεῖς... ὀλόκληρον (3. 23), ἐγκαυχᾶσθαι ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις (II, 1. 4), μηδὲν ἐργαζομένους ἀλλὰ περιεργαζομένους (3. 11), (3. 12). It is difficult to give in a brief space a best selection from the many examples to be found in the great Epistles. The following are a few taken almost at random. In the list of twenty-one forms of vice in Romans (1. 29-31) we have such combinations as παραγγέλομεν καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν... ἀδικία πονηρία πλεονεξία κακία... φθόνου φόβου... δόλου... ἀσυνέτους ἀσυνθέτους ἀστόργους ἀνελεήμονας. Note also the assonances of 11. 16-20: Ἐἰ δὲ τινες τῶν κλάδων ἐξεκλάσθησαν... μὴ κατακαυχῶ τῶν κλάδων... ἐξεκλάσθησαν κλάδοι ἵνα ἐγὼ ἐγκεντρισθῶ and the paronomasia in 12. 3: μὴ ὑπερφρονεῖν παρ' ὃ δεῖ φρονεῖν ἀλλὰ φρονεῖν εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν. It is worth while to remark *en passant* that the last section of chapter twelve abounds in homoioteleuton such as χαίρειν μετὰ χαίροντων, κλαίειν μετὰ κλαιόντων (12. 15). First Corinthians also shows sequences like: περικαθάρματα κόσμου ἐγενήθημεν, πάντων περίλημμα ἕως ἄρτι (4. 13) and εἰ δὲ ἑαυτοὺς διεκρίνομεν, οὐκ ἂν ἐκρινόμεθα· κρινόμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου παιδευόμεθα, ἵνα μὴ σὺν τῷ κοσμῷ κατακριθῶμεν (11. 31, 32), παράκλησιν καὶ παραμυθίαν (14. 3). An extraordinary play on words is found in chapter 9. 20, 21, of this Epistle: Ἐγενόμην... says the Apostle, τοῖς ὑπὸ νόμον ὡς ὑπὸ νόμον, μὴ ὧν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον, ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον κερδήσω· τοῖς ἀνόμοις ὡς ἄνομος, μὴ ὧν

¹ BLASS-DEBRUNNER, *Grammatik des ntllichen Griechisch*, § 488: "Gorgianische Klangfiguren in gesuchter Weise müssen dem NT umso mehr fremd sein, als sie der ganzen Zeit ziemlich fremd waren; einzelnes derart bewirkt der Zufall; auch verschmäht der Schriftsteller öfter nicht was ihm die volktümliche Sprache bietet oder der Gedankengang und die Stimmung nahe legt; die paulinischen Beispiele entsprechen dem Stil der Diatribe."

ἄνομος Θεοῦ ἀλλ' ἔννομος Χριστοῦ, ἵνα κερδάνω τοὺς ἀνόμους. Second Corinthians is still richer in sound figures, being almost a mine of this verbal "wit." Notice, for instance, the use of παράκλησις, παρακαλέω, πᾶς, περισσεύω, πάσχω, παθήματα in the exordium; the play on ἀναγινώσκειν and ἐπιγινώσκειν (1. 13, 14 and 3. 2); the really wonderful repetition of ναί and οὐ after the manner of the rhetorical figure called *traductio* (1. 71-20); the use of ἱκανός, ἱκανότης, ἱκανόω, of δόξα, δοξάζω (3. 4-11); the series of homoioteleutic participles in 4. 9, 8, including the pair: ἀπορούμενοι ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξαπορούμενοι. But perhaps the gem of the collection is the anagogical "sporting" on the verbs ἐνδημέω and ἐκδημέω in chapter five. The same chapter has such alliterative combinations as ἐπενδύσασθαι ἐπιποθοῦντες; chapter ten has some beautiful play on ἐγκρίνειν συγκρίνειν, μετρον ἄμετρον which is followed in chapter eleven by a bunch of words from the root-form φρόν, namely, ἄφρων, ἀφροσύνη, φρόνιμος, ἀφροσύνη, παραφρονέω. The selection here given for six Epistles might be multiplied from the other Epistles but a few examples must suffice from the Captivity and Pastoral groups. A reader is immediately struck by a beautiful ternary of alliterative hapaxlegomena in Ephesians 3. 6, namely, συγκληρονόμα, σύσσωμα καὶ συμμέτοχα. In Colossians 4. 6 a graceful assonance marks a precept regarding the use of speech: ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν πάντοτε ἐν χάριτι ἁλατῇ ἡρτυμένος. The anti-judaistic passage of Philippians (3. 2 ff) fixes a sharp sting by translating the proselytizing περιτομή into κατατομή. Ephesians has an interesting set of assonances falling into chiasmic order, as follows: λαλοῦντες ... ἄδοντες καὶ ψάλλοντες ... εὐχαριστοῦντες. The nearest companion to ἔμαθεν ... ἔπαθεν seems to be ἐμάθετε ... παρελάβετε of Philippians 4. 9, but the former is probably not as original as it seems. Blass suggests that the combination was embodied in a popular proverb.¹

From first Timothy it would also be easy to cull many of these flowers, but a few must suffice. The doxology at the end of the exordium is "to the King of the ages" ἀφθάρτῳ ἀοράτῳ μόνῳ Θεῷ. In 1. 18 παραγελλίαν παρατίθεμαι is followed at an interval of five words by προαγούσας ἐπὶ σέ προφητείας.² The strongly stylised sex-

¹ Reference has already been made to the double pun on the name of Onesimus. This subjocose form of charity is not admitted by all commentators of the Epistle. Even St. Chrysostom and Theodoretus ignore it. Blass denies it (§ 488, 1 b). But it seems reasonable to admit it not only on the basis of the text but also on account of what we know of St. Paul from his remark to Agrippa (Acts 26. 29: "exceptis vinculis his").

² Compare Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 164 τὸν πάθει μάθος θέντα κυρίως ἔχειν.

tuple homoioteleuton of the hymn of the " great mystery of piety " is closely followed by a description of apostates *προσέχοντες πνεύμασιν πλάνοις καὶ διδασκαλίαις δαιμονίων*. The second Epistle not only offers phrases like *σοφίσαι εἰς σωτηρίαν* but a criminal catalogue similar to Romans 1. 29 ff., in which certain groups of twins or triplets stand out, such as: *φίλαντοι φιλάργυροι... ἀχάριστοι ἀνόσιοι, ἄστοργοι ἄσπονδοι, ἀκρατεῖς ἀνήμεροι ἀφιλάγαθοι, προδότες προπετεῖς... φιλήδονοι μᾶλλον ἢ φιλόθεοι*.

It seems to be time to turn off the tap; "sat prata biberunt." Yet the special feature of St. Paul's dialectic method, which has only been lightly touched, must get a further word of emphasis here. The Apostle loves to drive home his teaching by the repetition in various connexions of a certain term, it being taken up several times at intervals throughout an entire exposition. This is akin to the figure which Latin rhetoricians call *transductio*,¹ not in the merely metonymic sense whereby the name Jerusalem, for instance, is substituted for the people of that city, nor in the paronomastic sense which denotes repetition with a change of meaning, but in the sense of a repetition which allows the hearer or reader to take in the full significance of the respective term. Attention has already been called to an example in second Corinthians (*καὶ καὶ οὐ*), but there are many other specimens. Thus the unveiled glory of the ministry of the New Testament over the veiled glory of the Old is set forth in the following passage (2 Cor. 3. 7-4. 6):²

"Quod si ministratio mortis litteris deformata in lapidibus, fuit in gloria, ita ut non possent filii Israel intendere in faciem Moysi propter gloriam vultus eius, quae evacuatur, quomodo non magis ministratio Spiritus erit in gloria? Nam si ministratio damnationis gloria est multo magis abundat ministerium iustitiae in gloria. Nam nec glorificatum est quod claruit (Greek, glorificatum est) in hac parte, propter excellentem gloriam. Si enim quod evacuatur, per gloriam est: multo magis quod manet, in gloria est.

"Habentes igitur talem spem multa fiducia utimur: et non sicut

¹ BLASS-DEBRUNNER, § 488 I d). Paulus liebt es, bei einem Begriff und Wort zu verweilen, ohne ihm verschiedene Bedeutungen zu geben und ohne die Wiederholungen allzu nahe eintreten zu lassen, aber doch in einer gewissen künstlichen, reflektierenden Art (*transductio* bei lateinischen Rhetoren).

² "Transductio est quae facit, ut cum idem verbum saepius ponatur, non modo non offendat animum, sed etiam concinniores orationem reddat... inest festivitas quaedam, quae facilius auribus diiudicari, quam verbis demonstrari potest." *Rhetoricorum ad C. Herennium*, l. IV, 14. The author emphasises the aesthetic effect, whereas St. Paul would have primarily considered the didactic effect: "ut veritas pateat."

Moyses ponebat *velamen* super faciem suam, ut non intenderent filii Israel in faciem (τέλος) eius, quod evacuatur, sed obtusi sunt sensus eorum. Usque in hodiernum enim diem, idipsum *velamen* in lectione veteris testamenti manet non *revelatum* (quoniam in Christo evacuatur) sed usque in hodiernum diem, cum legitur Moyses, *velamen* positum est super cor eorum. Cum autem conversus fuerit ad Dominum, auferetur *velamen*. Dominus autem Spiritus est: Ubi autem Spiritus Domini: ibi libertas. Nos vero omnes *revelata* facie *gloriam* Domini speculantes, in eandem imaginem transformamur a *claritate* in *claritatem* (ἀπὸ δόξης eis δόξαν), tamquam a Domini Spiritu.

" Ideo habentes administrationem, iuxta quod misericordiam consecuti sumus, non deficimus, sed abdicamus occulta dedecoris, non ambulantes in astutia, neque adulterantes verbum Dei, sed in manifestatione veritatis commendantes nosmetipsos ad omnem conscientiam hominum coram Deo. Quod si etiam *opertum* est (κεκαλυμμένον) Evangelium nostrum: in iis qui pereunt est opertum (κεκαλυμμένον); in quibus Deus huius saeculi excaecavit mentes infidelium ut non fulgeat illis illuminatio Evangelii *gloriae* Christi, qui est imago Dei. Non enim nosmetipsos praedicamus sed Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum: nos autem servos vestros per Iesum: quoniam Deus, qui dixit de tenebris lucem splendescere, ipse illuxit in cordibus nostris ad illuminationem scientiae *claritatis* Dei in facie Christi Iesu."

The terms which denote glory and veil are italicized. The passage loses somewhat in the Vulgate translation because of the substitution of *claritas* and *clarere* for *gloria* and *glorificari* as well as *operiri* for *velari*, but the Apostle's method is clear. It may be further studied in Galatians 3. 14-4. 28, where *εὐαγγελία* occurs nine times within sixteen verses and is resumed twice at a distance of twenty-two verses.

Now, this same method shows itself in *Hebrews* and, as it were, sets the Pauline stamp upon it. The sixfold occurrence of *oikos* in the short section 3. 1-6 and the resumption of the term in 10. 21 is a case in point. In the third and fourth chapters (3. 7-4. 13) our author takes up the term *κατάπαυσις* of Psalm 94 seven times over besides using the verb *καταπαύω* three times. We may note also the resumption of the ideas of suffering and trial, first announced in chapter 2 and resumed in 4. 17. We shall indicate the sequence of the occurrences and the intervals. In 2. 9 Jesus is presented *διὰ τὸ πάθημα τοῦ θανάτου* crowned with glory and honour; the next verse announces the becomingness observable in the Author of human salvation being brought to glory (*τελειώω*) *διὰ παθημάτων*. The com-

munity of co-filiation with himself into which the sanctifier was to bring the sanctified necessitated his becoming their brother by communion in flesh and blood, the death of the Saviour being the means of destroying the empire of death and delivering men from its fear. This communion of nature with men and not with angels was the condition of a merciful and faithful priesthood fitted to expiate the sins of the people. ἐν ᾧ γὰρ πέπονθεν αὐτὸς πειρασθεὶς δύναται τοῖς πειραζομένοις βοηθῆσαι (2. 18). A long interval of thirty-two verses separates this last mention of the "sufferings and trials" of the Priest from the next mention of him as δυνάμενον συμπαθεῖν τοῖς ἀσθενεῖαις ἡμῶν, πεπειρασμένον δὲ κατὰ πάντα καθ' ὁμοιότητα χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας (4. 15). Furthermore, the first quality presently introduced into the description of a sacrificing priest three verses later (5. 2) is that he be μετριοπαθεῖν δυνάμενος and when the historical outline of the Priest's special work in the days of his flesh is given five verses later, he is said to have learned ἀφ' ὧν ἔπαθεν the obedience which led to his consummation. Thus not only passion and trial are coupled in the text but passion and consummation are coupled in 2. 10 and in 5. 8 at a distance of fifty verses. It is necessary to read the whole passage in order to appreciate the process which we have attempted to describe. The reader will here see a splendid specimen of that power of keeping an idea in sight and "traducing" it by repetition of the relative terms—that power which we know to be so characteristic of St. Paul. Within smaller textual compass two very easily appreciated examples may be studied in the threefold *traductio* of παιδεία (with παιδεύω and παιδευτής) in *Hebrews* 12. 5-11 and in the treatment of ἐσάλευσεν in 12. 26-28, where the author starts from the voice of the Lord shaking the earth at Sinai and sees through a prophecy of Aggeus another *shaking* which shall involve τῶν σαλευομένων μετάθεσιν and the permanence of those things which are μὴ σαλεύόμενα; to which expectation he attaches a solemn admonition that we who receive a βασιλείαν ἀσάλευτον should "have grace whereby we may serve God so as to please Him well, with reverence and fear."

Another characteristic of St. Paul's style, which is also observable in *Hebrews*, is fondness for participial and adjectival ternaries. Compare ὧν ... φέρων ... ποιησάμενος (1. 3) and ὑστερούμενοι θλιβόμενοι κακουχούμενοι (11. 37) from *Hebrews* with first Thessalonians 5. 12: κοπιῶντας ... προισταμένους ... νουθετοῦντας; compare ἀπάτωρ ἀμήτωρ ἀγενεαλόγητος (7. 3) and ὁσιος ἁκακος ἀμίαντος (7. 26) from *Hebrews* with the group: ἀγίους ἀμώμους ἀνεγκλήτους in Colossians 1. 22. Other ternary forms are also found in our Epistle and prove its kinship with the

corpus Paulinum where this numerical combination is admittedly very frequent.¹

Hebrews has also one celebrated series of eighteen anaphorae in the highly artistic chapter XI, which closes with a fervid summing-up not unlike the peroration of a speech (11. 32-40). The eighteen strophes of the preceding panegyric of the heroes of faith (excluding the parenthetic paragraph 13-16) are each introduced by the word *πίστει*. This elaborate use of anaphora is the only example in our Epistle. No such extensive example is found in St. Paul but the usage is familiar to him. The anaphora (*ἐάν, καὶ ἐάν*) is carried through three members of the first strophe of the charity hymn in first Corinthians (13. 1-3); the preposition *ἐν* is the anaphora of a short series of nineteen terms in 2 Corinthians 6. 4-7; *διὰ* introduces in immediate succession a series of three; and the same passage ends in a longer series of seven, each beginning with *ὥς*. The introduction *τούτου χάριν* at the beginning of the two main strophes of a sublime passage of Ephesians (3. 1-21) deserves to be placed in the same category. Not only the anaphora or figure or the same beginning but also the antistrophe or figure of the same ending is common to our author and St. Paul. Such a double sentence as: "Nusquam enim angelos apprehendit, sed semen Abrahae apprehendit" (*Hebrews* 2. 16) is not any more striking than the two antistrophes which St. Paul introduces into an oratorical conclusion in Romans 3. 27-31: "An Iudaeorum Deus tantum? Nonne et Gentium? immo et gentium, quoniam quidem unus est Deus, qui iustificat circumcisionem ex fide et praeputium per fidem. Legem ergo destruimus per fidem? Absit sed legem statuimus." And this is not a solitary example.² Really there is greater abundance of rhetorical devices in some of the Pauline letters than in *Hebrews*.³ As Milton said of Shakespeare, the Apostle of the gentiles was "naturally learned." We cannot indeed regard him as a student of the figures which Gorgias of Leontini trans-

¹ Besides the triad of theological virtues mentioned already (pp. 32, 33) first Thessalonians has nine ternaries; second Thessalonians has at least three. I have counted about 20 examples in *Hebrews*, the most remarkable of which will be found in 1. 3; 1. 5, 6 (3 scriptural citations grouped together); 2. 4; 12. 14 (group of 3 citations); 3. 16-18 (group of three primary and two secondary questions); 6. 7, 8; 7. 2; 7. 26; 9. 2; 9. 10; 10. 29; 11. 36; 11. 37; 12. 3; 12. 15, 16.

² See 1 Cor. 1. 25; 1. 27, 28, 7. 2 etc.

³ This is admitted by Blass, who, however, sees an evidence of classicism in the greater restraint of our author. With reference to the rhetorical construction of chapter 11, the great philologist says: "Vorher (und nachher) ist die Schrift nicht so figurenreich wie einige paulinische Briefe, sondern zeigt darin eine gewisse klassische gemässigte Haltung." (*Grammatik*, § 491).

mitted to the Greek rhetoricians, but his genius was able to assimilate and wield all the persuasive devices of Greek speech.

We may, therefore, conclude that no valid argument from abundance of rhetorical figures proves our Epistle to be not "of Paul."

Imagery and Metaphorical Usage

The discussion of imagery and metaphorical usage must naturally be limited to what is the author's own. Images or metaphors manifestly drawn from Septuagintal texts should remain outside the discussion, as these do not necessarily show our author's predilections. A careful reading of *Hebrews* will show that, though there are many picturesquely expressive words scattered throughout the text, the number of images which are developed with any degree of detail is relatively small. In this sense *Hebrews* is not at all so rich as a letter like first Corinthians. Amongst the developed similitudes of the latter Epistle must be reckoned those of spiritual babyhood and baby-food, of the apostolic ministry as an agricultural work, of the apostolic builder, of the Christian community as a temple, of the ferment and the azymes, of the maintenance due to the soldier, the shepherd, the threshing ox and the ploughman, of the athletes in the stadion, of the body and its members, of the flute and the trumpet and the foreigner, of the seed sown as an image of the resurrection. The amplitude of picture found in these passages is seldom reached in our Epistle, the most detailed images being the house of God, the word of God as a sword, the baby-allegory, the parable of the fruitful and unfruitful land, hope as an anchor, the allegory of the runners in the amphitheatre and the simile of domestic discipline.¹ This comparison alone is calculated to indicate that the imagery of our Epistle attains no super-pauline measure. But it is worth while making a comparative examination somewhat in detail. In order to keep within reasonable limits of length (for a book could be written on the subject²) we shall confine ourselves mostly to a brief discussion of the seven images just mentioned and a series of the more remarkable

¹ For purposes of comparison the passages in question are listed here: 1 Corinthians, 3. 1-4; 3. 5-9; 3. 10-15; 3. 16, 17; 5. 6-8; 9. 7-10; 10. 24-27; 12. 12-30; 14. 7-12; 15. 35-49. *Hebrews*, 3. 2-6; 4. 12; 5. 12-14; 6. 7, 8; 6. 19; 12. 1; 12. 7-11.

² This has been done for the 13 Pauline Epistles quite recently. During the summer of this year (1937) the *Mohr-Siebeck Verlag* of Tübingen published a work of Lic. Werner Straub entitled: *Die Bildersprache des Apostels Paulus* (183 octavo pages).

picture-words of our Epistle. Westcott has collected the most noteworthy samples in the following passage: "A whole picture often lies in a single words: 2. 1 (παραρυνόμεν); 4. 2 συνκεκερασμένους; 9 (σαββατισμός); 13 (τετραηλισμένα); 5. 2 (περίκειται ἀσθένειαν, comp. 10. 11 περιελείν); 6. 1 φέρωμεθα; 6 (ἀνασταυροῦντες); 8. 5 (σκιὰ, comp. 9. 23 f; 10. 1, 11); 13 (γηράσκον); 10. 20 (ὁδὸς ζωσα); 33 (θεατριζόμενοι); 12. 23 (πανήγυρις). Compare also 1. 3; 2. 9, 15; 3. 2, 5. 12 f.; 10. 22, 27; 12. 13."¹ The additional references indicate ἀπαύγασμα and χαρακτήρ; the metaphorical use of γεύεσθαι and of δουλεία (the image of the house already listed above; the baby-allegory also listed); symbolic washing and the metaphor of fire devouring; the limping foot in peril of being disjoined. In view of securing a moderately full list we may add to these the divine titles τεχνίτης and δημιουργός; Christ's titles of ἀρχηγός and πρόδρομος, the application of the terms ἄρμοι καὶ μυελοί to the psychological sphere; such religious terminology as θρόνος τῆς χάριτος, Σιών (Jerusalem), νεκρά ἔργα, εἰκὼν τῶν πραγμάτων and the verb φωτίζω; θεμέλιος, στοιχεῖα and γυμνάζω as pedagogical terms; the anagogical use of πατρίς and πόλις; ὄγκος, νέφος and ῥίζα πικρίας in the sphere of morals and also κοίτη as a synonym for the use of marriage. In these seven developed images and 39 image-words or image-phrases we have a sufficiently complete view of the metaphorical treasury of our Epistle.² We may class this imagery, in view of its origin, as a) domestic and social, b) somatic, c) physical, d) religious, e) agricultural, f) architectural, g) military, h) nautical, i) kinetic, j) athletic, k) various.

a) The domestic and social group includes the image of the house in 3. 2-6, that of paternal discipline in 12. 7-11 and the metaphorical terms δουλεία (2. 15), κοίτη (13. 4) πανήγυρις (12. 23) πατρίς (11. 14) and πόλις (11. 10, 16; 12. 22; 13. 14).

Of these it may be said briefly that οἶκος in 3. 1 ff., apart from being derived in this instance from the LXX, is altogether biblical and most certainly Pauline (cfr. 1 Tim. 3. 15). St. Paul also happens to be the only writer of the N. T. who speaks of παιδεία and understands it both of domestic discipline (Eph. 6. 4) and of ecclesiastical teaching (2 Tim. 3. 16). Δουλεία in the moral sense is also exclusively his, being found only in Romans 8. 15, 21, and Galatians 4. 24, 5. 1. The noun δοῦλος, however, in the same sense of one morally subject to sin and its penalties, is common to our Lord, St. Peter and St. Paul. The Apostle of the Gentiles has, notwithstanding, made

¹ WESTCOTT, O. C. *Introduction*, p. XLVIII.

² The enumeration is not exhaustive, but it is hoped that no important element of the image-language of *Hebrews* has been omitted.

the transference of the notion of slavery to the moral and spiritual spheres largely his own by the further metaphorical use of the adjective *δοῦλος* (Romans 6. 19 bis) and of the verb *δουλεύω* (Rom. 6. 6 etc.). It is a fact also that *κοίτη* in its sexual sense is nowhere found in the N. T. outside of this Epistle and Romans 9. 10, 13. 13. The solemn term for festive assembly, namely, *πανήγυρις* is a hapaxlegomenon of the N. T. but it occurs in the LXX in a passage which St. Paul must surely have read (Osee 2. 13), since he makes a composite citation of two texts almost equally removed (before and after) from the place where it stands (1. 9 and 2. 25). Both *πατρίς* and *πόλις* are proper to our Epistle (excepting the metaphorical use of the latter term in the Apocalypse) but the ideas are set forth in other form in 2 Corinthians 5. 6-8, Ephesians 2. 19 and Philipians 3. 20.

b) The somatic group derived from the human body, its organization, its senses, its maintenance etc. comprises about a dozen items of the imagery of *Hebrews*. Such phrases as "*tasting death*" and being "*devoured by fire*" are so biblical as scarcely to require any remark. Our Lord's logion, shortly before the Transfiguration, cited by all three synoptists (Mt. 16. 28, Mk. 9. 1, Lk. 9. 27) would have been sufficient to establish the currency of the former phrase in Christian circles and the Messianic psalm 68, coupling *ζῆλος* not indeed with *ἐσθίειν* but with *κατεσθίειν* (68. 9), is very close to the latter, which in any case, is most probably a reminiscence of Isaiah 26. 11 according to the LXX. St. Paul uses the verb *περίκειμαι* in reference to the chain which he wove during his Roman captivity (Acts 28. 20) so that, especially, in view of his constant employment of the clothes-metaphor (Romans 13. 12, 14; 1 Corinthians 15. 53; 2 Cor. 5. 3; Galatians 3. 27 etc.) the phrase *περίκειται ἀσθένειαν* should not come as a surprise. The metaphorical use of "*wash*" and "*exercise*" and "*dead*" is familiar to St. Paul (see 1 Cor. 6. 11; 1 Tim. 4. 7; Eph. 2. 1, 5; Col. 2. 13). The term *ὄγκος*, though singular, finds at least a partial equivalent in the metaphorical employment of *βάρος* (Gal. 6. 2) *βαρέομαι* (2 Cor. 1. 8; 5. 4) and *φορτίον* (Gal. 6. 5). Enough has already been said in these pages on the striking parallelism which exists between the baby-similitude in *Hebrews* 5. 12ff. and 1 Cor. 3. 1 ff. (pp. 29, 30). Three terms remain, which can also be dismissed briefly. The lame member threatened with dislocation is certainly in the same line as the transferred meaning of the rare word *ὀρθοποδέω* in Galatians 2. 14; the metaphor of old age as applied to the Mosaic Covenant (8. 13) is suggested by the citation from Jeremiah which immediately precedes; but the transference of "*joints*

and marrow" from the body to the spiritual "parts" of the soul is unique in biblical literature.¹

c) The chief metaphors taken from nature are σκιά, φωτίζειν, ἀπαύγασμα to which we may add εἰκόν and νέφος. The third of them has been taken over from Wisdom 7. 26. Three others are familiar to St. Paul (Col. 2. 17; Eph. 1. 18; Rom. 8. 9 etc.). The expression "cloud of witnesses" belongs to *Hebrews* only.

d) Special religious metaphors like σαββατισμός and θρόνος τῆς χάριτος belong to the particular theme of this letter. The anagogical Sion-Jerusalem joins the "Jerusalem above" of Galatians 4. 26 (cfr. the two texts of Isaias cited in Romans 9. 33 and 11. 26).

e) The number of instances in which St. Paul draws figurative expressions from the agricultural department is sufficiently impressive to form a distinguished guard of honour round the solemn parable of *Hebrews* 6. 7-8. The differences ought not to suggest the idea of separating the passage from its Pauline cousins. It is true that the Apostle never represents the spiritual field as "drinking rain" but he represents Apollo "giving it to drink" (ποτίζειν). The "rain from heaven" and the "fruitful seasons" which it made he had taken good notice of, as his Lystrian discourse shows (Acts 14. 17). He never expresses the productivity of the earth in such terms as τίττειν βοτάνην but, while we recognise βοτάνη, ἄκανθαι, τρίβολοι and the "curse" to be reminiscences of Genesis 1. 11 f. and 3. 17, we must give the Apostle credit for ability to find original modes of expression. The further botanical metaphor ῥίζα πικρίας ἄνω φύουσα is taken from the Greek Deuteronomy 29. 18, but fits in with St. Paul's fondness for the noun "root" and its derivative verb (Rom. 11. 16-18; Eph. 3. 17; Col. 2. 7; 1 Tim. 6. 10).

f) Architecture inspired a good deal of the picture-language of the Apostle. In the light of such passages as that of "the wise architect laying a foundation" for the "building of God" (1 Cor. 3. 10 and 3. 9) and of many others where there is mention of spiritual building and spiritual foundations, the two passages of the θεμέλιος metaphor (*Hebrews* 6. 1 and 11. 10) seem to cry to St. Paul. In the second of them God stands as the τεχνίτης καὶ δημιουργός of the city to come, titles which are altogether absent from the Paulines.

g) A whole military terminology passed into the spiritual language of our Apostle. He is the inventor of the title *miles Christi* (2 Tim. 2. 3), and of that grand term of Apostolic comradeship, *commi-*

¹ It is assumed that the metaphorical sense of the terms is required by the context. Baur (*Wörterbuch* s. v.) cites a parallel from Euripides, Hippolytus 255: πρὸς ἄκρον μυελὸν ψυχῆς.

lito (Phil. 2. 5, Phlm. 2). Excepting our Lord (Lk. 11. 22), he is the only Apostle known to have spiritualised arms and panoplies (Romans 6. 13; 13. 12; 2 Cor. 6. 7; 10. 4; Eph. 6. 11, 13) and helmets and breast-plates and shields (Eph. 6. 14-17; 1 Thess. 5. 8). When, therefore, we find the word of God (*ῥῆμα Θεοῦ*) called the "sword of the spirit" in Ephesians 6. 17 and the *λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ* compared to a "two-edged sword" in *Hebrews* 4. 12, we are inclined to say: "This is Paul." The two-edged sword is the only military image in *Hebrews* but it seems to take its part in telling a tale.

h) The anchor "which is not mentioned in the Old Testament" ¹ occurs in the New three times in its literal sense and only once as a symbol of the stabilising power of hope (*Hebrews* 6. 19). Its presence in *Hebrews* makes us ask to what extent St. Paul ever used nautical images. It must be admitted that there are a few examples. Père Allo regards *συνεσταλμένος* (1 Cor. 7. 29) applied to the shortening of the measure of time as a metaphor taken from a sailing-ship: "le délai qui nous est accordé pour assurer notre bonheur est comme une voile qui se replie (une des rares métaphores nautiques trouvées chez Paul)." ² However this may be, there can be no doubt that the phrase *κλυδωνιζόμενοι καὶ περιφερόμενοι παντὶ ἀνέμῳ τῆς διδασκαλίας* (Eph. 4. 14), as well as the expression *περὶ τὴν πίστιν ἐναυάγησαν* (1 Tim. 1. 19) are nautical metaphors. ³ It would certainly seem strange if a man, who was so often at sea and suffered shipwreck at least three times (2 Cor. 11. 25), should not sometimes use the language of those "who go down the sea in ships." The word *παρappέω* in *Heb.* 2. 1 is most probably a ship-metaphor also, ⁴ and, if so, it seems that we ought to add *παρappέρω* (13. 9) to the list. The word is, indeed, used by St. Jude of "clouds driven by the winds," but the image of "a ship adrift" is more likely to be intended in the warning: *διδασκαίς ποικίλαις καὶ ξεναῖς μὴ παρappέρεσθε*. In this hypothesis *Hebrews* 13. 9 almost joins Ephesians 4. 14.

¹ WESTCOTT, Note on *Hebrews* 6. 19 (*Commentary*, p. 165).

² Première Epître aux Corinthiens, p. 180. Tertullian translates the phrase: *tempus in collecto est*; Cyprian: *tempus collectum est*. See CORNELY, *Comm. in Ep. ad Cor. priorem*, p. 204.

³ Cfr. STRAUB, o. c., pp. 27 and 41. The author cites Dibelius and Koehler as thinking that perhaps *ἀποθέω* also in the latter passage offers the image of one who has thrown out even necessary ballast and thus suffered shipwreck.

⁴ Cfr. U. HOLZMEISTER, Z. f. k. T., 52 (1928) p. 556. "Hier ist das Bild verwendet von einem Schiffe das nach langer Seefahrt in den erstrebten Hafen einfahren will, aber angesichts desselben von einem Sturme vorbeigezogen wird."

ι) The name "kinetic imagery" has been reserved for the energetic phrase ἐπὶ τὴν τελειότητα φερώμεθα (6. 1). This use of φέρεσθαι is solitary and is also possibly nautical, the image being that of a ship in full sail under a favourable wind (cfr. *Acts* 27. 15, 17). No verbal parallel can be adduced from St. Paul, but both the theme and the energy of the phrase reminds one of a very dynamic passage of Philippians (3. 7-14).¹

γ) Athletic imagery, above all, constitutes a degree of kinship which places *Hebrews* very close to the *Corpus Paulinum*. The relative texts should be read, but a series of verbal parallels will suffice here. The verbs γυμνάζω, τρέχω (and we may add περιπατεῖν) in their metaphorical sense (*Hebrews* 5. 4; 12. 11 — 12. 1 — 13. 9) are all paralleled in the Paulines. The first occurs in 1 Tim. 4. 7, the second in 1 Cor. 9. 24-26, Gal. 2. 2, 5. 7, Phil. 2. 16, while περιπατέω is found in no less than nine of the thirteen Epistles, once in Galatians, seven times in Ephesians and twice or more in all the others. It is absent from Philemon and the Pastorals only. Similarly the noun ἀγών (12. 1) and the hapaxlegomenon ἄθλησις (10. 32) find echo in the Epistolary. Five times does St. Paul mention the Christian ἀγών, the verb ἀγωνίζομαι being used six times over.² He tells Timothy that no one is crowned ἐὰν μὴ νομίμως ἀθλήσῃ (2 Tim. 2. 5) and in writing to the Philippians he not only voices his wish to find them συναθλοῦντες τῇ πίστει (1. 27) but also expresses his appreciation of those good ladies (Evodia and Syntyche among them) αἵτινες ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ συνήλθισαν μοί (4. 3).

As has been already said τραχήλιζομαι (4. 13) is probably a metaphor borrowed from the palaestra. In this category we find πυκτεύω, δέρω and ὑπωπιάζω in St. Paul (1 Cor. 9. 26, 27).

Our list of unclassified imagery comprises συγκεράννυμι (*Hebr.* 4. 2; 1 Cor. 12. 24) and θεατρίζομαι (10. 33). With the last compare 1 Cor. 4. 9 θέατρον ἐγενήθημεν), and for a third, namely, ἀνασταυρώ (6. 6) compare the metaphorical use of σταυρώ, Gal. 5. 24, 6. 14 and of συνσταυρώ Rom. 6. 6, and Gal. 2. 20, both proper to St. Paul. They are not precisely the same metaphor as *Hebrews* 6. 6, though this approximates Gal. 6. 14 b. The word χαρακτήρ which also figures in our Epistle is at least in the same line of metaphor as εἰκών (2 Cor. and Colossians) and perhaps faintly recalls the χάραγμα τέχνης καὶ

¹ Dr. Moffat finds an illustrative phrase in Euripides, *Andromache*, 392-393, τὴν ἀχὴν ἀφείς πρὸς τὴν τελευταίαν ὑστέραν οὖσαν φέρῃ.

² ἀγών, 2 Thess. 2. 2; Phil. 1. 30; Col. 2. 1; 1 Tim. 6. 12; 2 Tim. 4. 7; ἀγωνίζομαι; 1 Cor. 9. 25; Col. 1. 29, 4. 12; 1 Tim. 4. 10, 6. 12; 2 Tim. 4. 7.

ἐνθυμήσεως of St. Paul's Athenian discourse, the word being there used, however, in a literal sense.¹

Of the four terms that remain three, namely ὁδὸς ζωῆς, ἀρχηγός and πρόδρομος are unparalleled in the Epistles. The remarkable phrase θυσία ζωῆς of Romans 12. 1 shows, however, that St. Paul could have coined the first. The second occurs twice in St. Luke's reports of two discourses delivered by St. Peter, being applied to Christ in both cases (Acts 3. 15; 5. 31). The third is not an entirely unbiblical word. It is the Septuagint rendering of the firstlings or "first-comers" of the vine (Numbers 13. 20) and of the fig-tree (Isaias 28. 4, an over-early fig), but it also figures in the originally Greek book of Wisdom (12. 8) as a descriptive of the wasps which God sent before the armies of Israel.

The word στοιχεῖα is the last which we have to deal with. In *Hebrews* 5. 12 it certainly means the primary steps of learning, the ABC of the beginning of the word of God—the initial elements of divine knowledge. It is equally certain that in second Peter, στοιχεῖα denotes the physical elements of which the world is composed. St. Paul uses the term four times, twice in Galatians (4. 3, 9) and twice in Colossians (2. 8, 20), and the majority of commentators favour the physical rather than the pedagogical sense, taking στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου (Gal. 4. 3, Col. 2. 8, 20) or τὰ ἀσθενῆ καὶ πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα to mean the material components of the world, which dominated Jewish and pagan religion so much, or cosmic forces under one form or another, either the heavenly bodies that regulated the festive calendar or the spiritual agencies (Elementargeister) which were supposed to control the movements of these astral bodies.² We are not specially concerned here with the discussion of the two texts from Colossians but it seems that an examination of the context is sufficient to establish the sense of "an elementary form of education" for the two texts of Galatians, while at the same time it bring into strong light the parallelism of metaphor existing between Galatians 4. 1-11 and *Hebrews* 5. 12-6. 2.

There was no question of the Galatians relapsing into paganism. The fear was that they should fall away from true faith in Christ by adopting the practices of the propaedeutic religion of Judaism. This would be a fall from spiritual majority back into fleshly minority—the renunciation of the privileges of manhood in favour of baby-

¹ Χάραγμα seems to be the equivalent of χαρακτήρ in the Apocalypse and is rendered "character" in our Latin Vulgate.

² See CORNELY, *Comm. in Ep. ad Gal.*, pp. 523, 524, 533, and KNABENBAUER, *Comm. in Ep. ad Coloss.*, 324, 325.

hood. The Jew was a *νήπιος* (same metaphor in Galatians 4. 1, 3, and in *Hebrews* 5. 13 "quanto tempore haeres *parvulus* est nihil differt a servo... ita et nos cum essemus *parvuli*, sub elementis mundi eramus servientes—qui lactis est particeps, expers est sermonis iustitiae: *parvulus* enim est." The unprogressive Christian is also a *νήπιος*. The Jewish *νήπιος* was under a pedagogue or, what comes to the same thing, in the state of tutelage, under the servile regime of preparatory training, at the will of tutors and governors. The would-be Judaists of Galatia want to go back again to those "weak and beggarly elements" and put themselves in the servitude of the ABC class anew — "ad infirma et egena elementa, quibus denuo (*ἀνωθεν*) servire vultis." The *νήπιοι*, to whom our Epistle is addressed, are in need of lessons in the ABC of Christianity once more. The circumstances are, of course, not the same, only analogous, but the parallelism of the two metaphors *νήπιος* and *στοιχείον* in *Hebrews* and Galatians is complete.¹

This much should suffice to show that arguments fashioned to separate *Hebrews* from Paul on account of differences of imagery are based not upon an examination of the facts but on shallow impressionism.

Composition and Argumentative Method

Up to this point we have considered only, as it were, the material stones, the sort of masonry, the length and breadth and height of wall, the ornamental pillars and entablatures, the ribs of vaults and domes, which have gone to form that monument of *κοινή* Greek, which the Epistle to the Hebrews is. We must now examine the architecture of the letter as a whole and see what ground plan and sectional design and logical organisation of parts are discernible in it. We may give the name of *composition* to the artistic scheme according to which the letter was put together, and the name of *argumentative method* to the dialectic order which the composition follows. It is not for its own sake that we make this attempt at analysis but for the sake of comparison with the composition and method of the Paulines. Such comparison is not easy because *Hebrews* has no twin sister among the Paulines. Galatians, for instance, lends itself to comparison with Romans because of partial coincidence of

¹ This parallelism has unfortunately been missed by Dr. J. Nikel, who cites only Galatians 4. 9 as a parallel to *Hebrews* 5. 12 (*Der Hebräerbrief*, B. Z. 7 Folge, Heft 6, p. 28). In a few pages Dr. Nikel presents close on thirty parallels from our Epistle and the four great Paulines.

theme and argument; Ephesians and Colossians form a twin group which can in part be arranged synoptically; but many circumstances set *Hebrews* apart from them all. All the Pauline letters to Churches were addressed to Ethnico-christians, *Hebrews* was addressed to Judeo-christians. None of the Paulines is such an *ex professo λόγος παρακλήσεως* as this letter is. None of them, not even those of the Judaistic controversy, treats such a distinctively Jewish theme. It will be necessary to take all these circumstances into account while endeavouring to describe and explain the architecture of our Epistle.¹

The plan of the Epistle was, of course, determined by the particular purpose which the author had in view. We know that purpose very clearly, because the author himself expressly tells us, that he wrote in order to convey in the form of a brief letter a word of consolation and encouragement and solemn admonition to a community which sorely needed it. Hence everything that entered into the letter was to serve the function of encouragement and admonition. This character of *λόγος παρακλήσεως* sufficiently explains the continuous thread of exhortation and warning which runs through the whole writing as also the continuous subordination of the dogmatic sections to an exhortatory purpose. As the community to which it was addressed was undergoing a moral and intellectual crisis, the letter should carry not only strong exhortation, but set that exhortation on a particularly powerful dogmatic basis. There was urgent need of choosing a theme and a mode of argument which should adequately meet a very grave condition of things. The crisis in which the readers found themselves was somewhat analogous to the situation of the Galatians but yet very different from it. The Galatians were Ethnico-christians who had been won for the Gospel but were in danger of accepting the view that the Gospel was not enough without circumcision and other Jewish ceremonies. Here the community was a Judeo-christian one, for which further adherence to the ritual of the temple was obviously becoming impossible, while at the same time external opposition and opprobrium made the thought of belonging to a little flock of Christians, despised by the great body of the Jewish nation and cut off from the liturgy of Mosaism, seem a very bitter thought. Some were withdrawing from the community (10. 25) and the inevitableness of a final separation of the Church from the Synagogue was making others feel that it would be better for them to go back to the practices of their fathers. To the Gala-

¹ See the two learned articles of A. M. VITTI, *L'ambiente vero della lettera agli Ebrei*, in "Miscellanea Biblica," 2 (1934) 245-27, and *Le bellezze stilistiche della lettera agli Ebrei*, "Biblica," 17 (1936) 137-166, especially 143-152.

tians St. Paul had to proclaim the absolute sufficiency of faith in Christ: "Behold, I. Paul say to you that, if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing" (5. 2). To the Hebrews placed before the critical question: The religion of Christ or the religion of Moses and Aaron? our author had to show the surpassing excellence of the religion of Christ. That Christianity is the perfect and final covenant between God and man was to be the foundation of this Apostolic word framed to exhort Hebrews to hold fast by the confession of the new religion. As, however, the greatness of the covenant depends on the greatness of its Mediator, the Epistle must be a magnificent assertion of the glories of Christ. As St. Thomas Aquinas points out: "Intendit... ostendere excellentiam novi ad vetus testamentum per excellentiam Christi, quantum ad tres personas solemnes in ipso veteri testamento contentas, scilicet angelos, per quos lex tradita est. *Ordinata per angelos in manu mediatoris* (Gal. 3. 19). Quantum ad Moysen, a quo, vel per quem data est. *Lex per Moysen data est* (Jn. 1. 17). Et non surrexit ultra propheta in Israel sicut Moyses, cui locutus est Deus facie ad faciem (Deut. 34. 10). Quantum ad sacerdotium per quod administrabatur. *In priori tabernaculo semper introibant sacerdotes sacrificiorum officia consummantes* (Heb. 9. 6). Unde primum praeferit Christum Angelis, secundo Moysi... tertio, sacerdotio veteris testamenti."¹ The author determined, in view of the special circumstances of the case, that such demonstration of the superiority of Christ should not merely be a splendid nave leading up to a final paraenesis but should rather stand as a strong substructure of walls and pillars to support a continuous "word of exhortation." Being intended for Hebrews the demonstration and exhortation must needs be biblical² and, we may add, beautiful. It is not merely accidental that the two Apostolic letters which were written in Greek for Palestinian Christians, namely, our Epistle and that of St. James, are amongst the very purest specimens of Greek in the New Testament. [The reading of their sacred books and the liturgy of the Old Covenant had trained the Jews to a high aesthetic standard.³ The principle of order so splendidly maintained in *Hebrews*

¹ *Commentarius*: in cap. I *Ep. ad Hebraeos*. Ed. cit., p. 288, 289.

² The Old Testament was the great fountain of consolation for the Jewish people. See the letter of Jonathan Hasmonaeus to the Roman Curia (1 Macc. 12. 9), "Nos... habentes solacio sanctos libros qui sunt in manibus nostris." Also St. Paul to the Romans 15. 4: "Quaecunque enim scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt: ut per patientiam et consolationem Scripturarum spem habeamus."

³ Cfr. A. M. VITTI, *Epistula ad Hebraeos*, Cap. 2: Cultura Iudaeorum Palaestinsium, pp. 120-157.

as to make a discerning scholar like St. Thomas Aquinas write: "*Hoc autem est in hac epistola singulare quod singula verba habent singulas sententias, et servant ordinem suum*" (ibid. p. 289), is not really foreign to Palestinian mentality. We have a striking proof of this in the first book of the N. T. With regard to the thematic and apologetic order which it maintains within a historical account, there is probably no more skilfully ordered book in the whole collection than the Gospel of St. Matthew written by a Palestinian for Palestinian Judeo-Christians. Our author, then, would have conceived his work as needing to be a powerful word of consolation strongly founded on the most suitable dogmatic basis, permeated with the Sacred Scriptures of the Hebrews, holding a splendid series of admonitions and arguments set in orderly array and redolent of the solemn beauty of biblical literature. Let us see how he realised that plan, lest we should seem to reason entirely *a priori*.

It is not easy to give the whole substance of *Hebrews* in a few paragraphs, but it is worth while trying. To Christians feeling the depression of their state as a persecuted, despised body, and nostalgically looking back in the fascination of a moment of Jewish revival brought by the uprise of that national feeling which was soon to cause the Jewish War—to such Christians hankering after the Revelation of Sinai and of the Prophets of Israel and after the glorious liturgy now celebrated more splendidly than ever by the sons of Aaron in a temple nearing completion, under the special patronage of Herod Agrippa II, the writer of our Epistle says: Consider the Apostle and Pontiff of our confession (3. 2) and hold by it (4. 14); imitate the faith and patience of men like Abraham (6. 12, 13 ff.); hold on to your anchor already fixed with Jesus behind the veil (6. 19, 20). Keep the confession of your hope in the "new living way" and in your "great Pontiff" and forsake not your assembly (10. 19-25). "We are not of withdrawal but of faith" (10. 39)—that faith which kept the eyes of our fathers fixed on the invisible world, where they were to attain their consummation *only* with us (chapter 11. 1-39 and 11. 40). Accordingly (τοιγαροὺν) in the persevering race which you must run under the eyes of Israel's saints, let your eyes be on Jesus, his Cross and his subsequent glory. Put up with the paternal discipline which shapes you to sanctity (12. 1-13). You may long for Sinai once more, but remember it was a mountain of terrors; you have come to a more attractive mountain, namely, Sion, the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, to the company of the first-born whose names are enrolled in heaven (12. 18-24). The earth trembled when God spoke at Sinai. He speaks now also and has

promised with regard to the present age that the next great manifestation of His power shall involve the shaking of earth and heaven. That *adhuc modicum* of the Prophet Aggeus "signifies the removal of those things that are shaken, as of things that are made, that those things which cannot be shaken may remain. Wherefore, we receiving a kingdom which cannot be shaken, let us have grace whereby we may serve God in a well-pleasing way, with reverence and fear. For God is a consuming fire" (12. 26-29).

These last words which really terminate the body of the Epistle show that the cord of consolation and admonition that runs through it is not all blandishment. The hemp of holy fear is liberally interwoven with the wool of hope. It is to be particularly observed that most of those dicta mentioned in an earlier chapter as so characteristically Pauline are severe in tone, as indeed they also very often are in the Pauline Epistles.¹ From the very beginning of the letter the note of grave warning is sounded. "How shall we escape if we neglect so great a salvation?" (2. 3). This very first *caveamus* is founded on an *a minori* argument, namely, the inferiority of the angels who were ministerial mediators of the Old Law which, notwithstanding, had very firm sanctions. "If the word spoken through Angels had such force that every transgression and disobedience received a just requital, *how shall we escape?*" A very similar question comes at the close of the body of the letter. "See that ye refuse not him that speaketh, for if they *did not escape* who refused him that spoke on earth, how much more shall we (not escape), if we turn away from him that speaketh from heaven?" (12. 25). In considering these two extreme points of the Epistle it should not pass unobserved that the word *ἐκφύγειν* is proper to Luke and Paul and *Hebrews*.² Moreover, the latter final warning (12. 25) is introduced by a *βλέπετε μὴ*, which has a parallel in the introductory clause of our Epistle's second great warning namely, that founded on the inferiority of Moses and the exclusion from the Lord's rest of the disobedient generation, which Moses led out of Egypt: *βλέπετε, ἀδελφοί, μὴ πότε ἔσται ἐν τινὶ ὑμῶν καρδιά πονηρὰ ἀπιστίας ἐν τῷ ἀποστήναι ἀπὸ θεοῦ ζῶντος* (3. 11). Though not peculiarly Pauline this phrase *βλέπετε*

¹ See chapter I, p. 36. Compare *Hebrews* 6. 8: cuius consummatio in combustionem; 10. 31: horrendum est incidere in manus Dei viventis; 12. 29: Etenim Deus noster ignis consumens est, with Romans 3. 8: quorum damnatio iusta est; 6. 21. Nam finis illorum mors est; 2 Cor. 11. 15: quorum finis erit secundum opera ipsorum; 1 Thess. 2. 16: pervenit enim ira Dei super illos usque in finem.

² Compare for the special sense attached to the word here, 1 Thessalonians 5. 3, Romans 2. 3. The only other parallel is Luke 21. 36.

μὴ is sufficiently frequent in St. Paul to attract the attention of a reader of the Epistles to its use here.¹ The threatening exhortation which it introduces opens up a prospect of God's plan which is vital to the message of the Epistle. "Sharers in Christ" must hold the beginning of their "standing" (τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ὑποστάσεως) till the end. From the works of creation God rested on the seventh day. A share in His sabbath He promised to the generation that came out of Egypt under the leadership of Moses. They missed it through hard-hearted infidelity and left their corpses in the desert. Though Josue subsequently led the people into the rest of Chanaan, yet centuries later God through David (Psalm 94) fixed "a day," calling it "Today," in which faith should be rewarded by entrance into God's rest. It is obviously not the rest of Chanaan but a greater σαββατισμός which is left for the people of God as the end of their labours. That is the ἐπαγγελία, here (4. 1) mentioned for the first time and held before the eyes of the Hebrews up to the very end of the Epistle (6. 7, 8. 6, 9. 15, 10. 36, 11. 39 and under the images of a sanctuary a kingdom and a city: 6. 19, 10. 19, 11. 16, 12. 29, 13. 14).² To miss that rest spells ruin and the terrible spectacle of this ruin reverberates firstly, in the image of "the reprobate field near to a curse, whose end is burning" (6. 8), secondly, in the fearful vengeance due to those who shall fall into the hands of the living God after having trampled on the Son of God, treated the blood of the testament as a worthless thing and outraged the Spirit of grace (10. 26-31) and thirdly in the fear of losing primogenital rights as irrevocably as Esau lost them (12. 16, 17).

These lessons of encouraging hope and salutary fear are set upon the two strongest possible pillars, namely the thought of Jesus the Revealer—Lord of the Angels, Maker and Head of the House in which Moses fulfilled the function of a servant to witness what should be spoken (τῶν λαληθησομένων)—and the thought of Jesus the Priest, consummated by a sacrifice which expiated all sins, and, in his consummation (τελειώσις) at the right hand of God, now become the cause of salvation to all that obey him.

¹ It is used in the Pisidian discourse (Acts 13. 40), in 1 Cor. 8. 9, in Gal. 5. 15, in Col. 2. 8. Otherwise it figures only in our Lord's eschatological discourse (Matt. 24. 4, Mk. 13. 5, Lk. 21. 8) and in slightly modified form (βλέπετε ἑαυτοὺς μὴ) in 2 John 8.

² Since this prospect is the great motive-power of the Epistle, A. M. Vitti felicitously calls it the *idea dinamica* of the whole writing. The static idea he finds in the speaking of God through varied prophecies of former days now finalised in the definitive Revelation spoken to us ἐν ὑμῶ.

The Lordship of Jesus as supreme administrator of "the world to come" (2. 5, 9) and as Prince over his Father's house (3. 6) enters into the proof of his superiority over the Angels and Moses, but it is chiefly as Revealer (ἐλάλησεν ἡμῖν ἐν υἱῷ) and Sanctifier (ὁ ἁγιάζων) — Apostle and Pontiff, that the Hebrews are asked to consider the Mediator of the New Covenant. [These two ideas corresponding to Truth and Grace in St. John's Gospel (1. 17) are the "pillars and ground" of our Epistle. Here, however, *the revelation* is considered as the final and crowning perfection of the words spoken "at many times and in many ways to the fathers through the prophets;" while *the grace* is regarded not so much as an interior gift justifying the soul but rather as a great objective *opus operatum* of the priesthood of Christ.

The author puts the whole basis of what he is going to say into the Prologue. There we are introduced to God speaking "in one who is His Son," whose divine and human dignity is summed up in the words: "quem constituit haeredem universorum, per quem fecit et saecula... cum sit splendor gloriae et figura substantiae eius, portansque omnia verbo virtutis suae," and whose triumphantly efficacious priestly work is epitomised in the sentence: καθαρισμὸν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ποιησάμενος ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν ὑψηλοῖς. The dignity of Christ's unique sonship recurs as the basis of his triple superiority. He is superior to the Angels because he is *Son*—that dignity being twice enunciated in the first chapter on the authority of the Old Testament (Ps. 2. 7 and 2 Sam. 7. 14) and being further presented analytically as including a right to angel's adoration (Ps. 96), kingship (Ps. 44), creatorship (Ps. 101) and elevation to God's right hand (Ps. 109). He is superior to Moses, because he is Creator and *Son* in his own house. But, before this superiority is pointed out, the position of the passible Christ above the Angels had to be shown through the very words of a psalm which presented him successively, under the type of mankind, as below the Angels and yet as endowed with a sovereignty to which they could lay no claim. It is by the brotherhood of mortality and suffering that Christ became the Representative and the Liberator of the human race, for the divine economy of grace consisted in this, namely, that salvation is for men who are brought to glory, as sons, through the Son assimilated to his brethren in flesh and blood and suffering and trial and death, which death his coronation with glory and honour showed him to have tasted on behalf of every man, to free them from the slavery of the devil, the Prince of death. This densely packed exposition of the Philosophy of the Incarnation already introduces the reader of *Hebrews*

to a Christ, the fraternal Helper of Abraham's race and not of angels, assimilated to his human brethren in all things "that he may become merciful and a faithful Highpriest in what pertains to God, to make atonement for the sins of the people" (2. 17, 18). Christ the Priest thus appears on the scene in reference to his sub-angelic and sacerdotal nature before the mention of Moses (who is presently proved inferior to Christ the Apostle) leads up to the great warning that establishes the existence of that *σαββατισμός* into which the great Highpriest leads his people. When this exhortation terminates in the description of the all-penetrating and all-seeing *λόγος κριτής* to which all shall have to give account, the way is open for a continuous exposition of Christ's priesthood and priestly work. That exposition introduced by a short exhortatory exordium (4. 14-16) extends from 5. 1-10. 18. The author, however, inserts one long parenthesis, for after having presented the credentials of the Eternal Highpriest in terms of a divine call and the quality of sympathy (5. 1-10) he stops to tell the Hebrews how dull they are, but promises them, in a generous burst of optimism, that, God permitting, he will lead them on to complete understanding, because he trusts that their case is not the hopeless case of obdurate apostates, but rather that of people whose first fervour God will not forget. He has confidence that they will be imitators of the patience and faith of the Patriarchs and that, considering the sworn, and thus doubly ensured, promise made to Abraham, we ought to have strong encouragement to lay hold on the hope offered to us, "wherein we have a safe and sure anchor of the soul, one which goes in behind the veil whither, as forerunner on our behalf, Jesus has entered, having become a Highpriest for ever according to the order of Melchisedech."

The Melchisedechian character of Christ's priesthood, vouched for by Psalm 109, proves, on examination of the type Melchisedech, that Christ is superior to Abraham and Levi, that with the rise of a new priesthood according to the order of Melchisedech, the Levitical priesthood is abolished as being imperfect and with it goes the Law which had no provision for the transmission of priesthood to a Judahite. Not only that, but a priesthood, which is perpetual in virtue not of fleshly succession, but by a title of unbreakable life in him who holds it, must more surely mark the annulment of the preceding law on account of its powerlessness to consummate, and must at the same time mark the "introduction of a better hope by which we draw near to God." Again, the sworn appointment of the Melchisedechian Priest proves that he is the guarantor of a better testament. Lastly, because he is always living, his priesthood is efficacious at all

times for those, who approach God through him (7. 1-25). A concluding antithetic summary of the qualifications of the Priest follows, the chief point being the great difference between "Highpriests having weakness" as set up by the Law and "a Son consummated for ever" as set up by a sworn oracle which came after the law.

The sequence of points in the long exposition of the efficacy of Christ's ministry, which follows (8. 1-10. 18), may be briefly stated thus: Christ the Minister of the perfect sanctuary must have a sacrifice, and in offering it he must be raised above the earthly ministry of priests who serve a type-sanctuary. Now a better ministry corresponds to a better Covenant, founded on better promises. The Mosaic Covenant was actually inadequate, as God testified, when He promised a New (spiritual and interior) Covenant through Jeremias, thereby declaring the former covenant senescent and destined to disappear (8. 1-13).

The superior efficacy of the New Priesthood is shown by the consideration of some institutions of Mosaic worship. The ministry of the outer Holy entailed the daily entrance of the priests on service into its precincts, while the ministry of the inner Sanctuary of the Holy of holies allowed only one annual entrance of the Highpriest alone and that not without blood shed for the ignorances of the Highpriest himself and of the whole people. That arrangement, which, by the will of the Holy Spirit who ordered it, maintained the ministry of an outer sanctuary, clearly showed that the way to the Holy of holies was not yet open. The outer sanctuary was not a type but a picture (*παραβολή*) of the whole preparatory regime which stopped before the inner sanctuary offering no means of purifying the conscience of the worshipper. Neither did the Highpriest's annual entry into the holy Cube purge away sin, because the Cube was only a type of the greater and more perfect sanctuary which Christ, having come as Highpriest of the good things to come, entered, not through animal blood but through his own blood, having found in place of yearly redemption an eternal redemption, which conferred no mere external purification but a purgation of the conscience from dead works to serve the living God.

Christ is the Mediator of a New Covenant "in order that, a death having taken place for the redemption of those transgressions which were under the former Covenant, those who have been called may receive the promise of eternal inheritance." As Christ by dying delivers the inheritance, the transaction is testamentary; hence its old figure, the Covenant of Sinai, was not inaugurated without sacrificial blood sprinkled by Moses on the book and the people. Under

the law blood was the almost universal instrument of ritual purification. "Et sine sanguinis effusione non fit remissio."

The author now returns (9. 23, 10. 1) to the ideas of copy and shadow (8. 5). The copies were cleansed with animal blood; the heavenly realities must be cleansed by better sacrifices. Christ has entered into no figurative sanctuary but into heaven and the presence of God by a sacrifice needing no repetition, offered once at the end of the ages and remaining in efficacy till the offerer comes again without any sin-mission to give final salvation to those who expect him.

The shadow could never do what the very image of the things themselves does. The same sacrifices offered and re-offered could never perfect (τελειῶσαι) those who thus approached God as worshippers. Year after year there was a remembrance of sins, for the blood of sheep and goats cannot take sins away. Hence, on coming into the world the Messiah pronounces the words of Psalm. 39:

Sacrifice and offering thou wouldst not (accept)
but a body thou hast fitted for me.
In holocausts and sin-offerings thou hadst no pleasure:
then said I: Behold, I come,
(in the roll of the book it is written of me)
to do thy will, O God.

The significance of this text is that the Messiah in obedience to the will of God "takes away the first in order to establish the second. In which will we have been sanctified through the offering of the body of Christ once for all."

The spectacle of the daily sacrifices of Israel exhibits the same contrast. Often as every priest offers them, they can never take away sins. "But he, having offered one sacrifice for sin 'hath taken his seat for ever on the right hand of God' waiting for the rest, 'till his enemies be made the footstool of his feet.' For by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified." The Holy Ghost says as much through Jeremias, for after promising the covenant under which laws shall be written on the hearts and minds of men, (He adds): "And their sins and iniquities I will remember no more." Surely, where such remission is, there is no longer offering for sin.

Here closes the great sacerdotal tract, which rests on the proclamation of Christ's priesthood in 5. 5, 6 through the words of two divine oracles: "My Son art thou, this day have I begotten thee," and "Thou art a priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedech."

The rest of the body of the letter (10. 19-12. 29) is an exhortation to persevere in the faith, intermixed with the comminations already mentioned, the central piece being the great Hebrew roll of honour

so full of heroic perseverance in action and suffering. In its main details the section runs thus: After an exhortation to bold confidence in "the living way" and unflinching adherence to "the confession of hope" (10. 19-25), a terrible threat of the vengeance, which is to fall on apostates, follows (10. 26-31) but is counterbalanced by an appeal to remember the fervour of former days and resist the thought of withdrawing (10. 32-39). The famous text of Habacuc (2. 3) closes this appeal, and a conclusion therefrom, namely: "But we are not of withdrawal unto perdition but of *faith* unto the saving of our souls" supplies the word of transition to the eulogy of the faith of the Old Testament fathers. These are to be witnesses of the Christian contest which finds its inspiration in Jesus' choice of the Cross as the way to glory. The vision of the Author and Finisher of our faith is the first and chief antidote against faintheartedness (12. 1-3). Another is found in remembering what the Scripture (Proverbs 3. 11) says of the benignly paternal purpose which God has in meting out the discipline of suffering to His children (12. 4-13). Yet another short series of exhortations, which hinge on not withdrawing from grace and not making jettison of primogeniture like Esau (12. 14-17), and then comes the solemn conclusion, in which the terrors of Sinai melt into the delectable grandeur of the heavenly Sion (12. 18-24) and the quaking of Sinai ushers in the final commotion of heaven and earth to give rise to an unshakable kingdom, aspirants to which must have grace and serve God with reverence and fear. "For our God is a consuming fire" (12. 25-29).

The Appendix (13. 1-17) and the Epilogue (13. 18-25), being a series of special admonitions and personal remarks, which constitute an outwork of the Epistle, need not detain us.

It is unfortunately impossible to show the whole building scheme of the Epistle in a tabular synopsis. In the light of what has just been said, the following will help towards obtaining a general view of the chief parts and their co-ordination:

Prologue (1. 1-3)	The Old Revelation and the New. The Incarnate <i>Son</i> as final Revealer. Synthesis of his divine and human dignity, work and exaltation.
Section I (1. 4-2. 18) Christ better than the Angels	As <i>Son</i> . Proved by series of texts mostly from Psalter. <i>Warning a minori ad maius</i> Even as Man holding sovereignty over the world to come, and fitted by mortality and suffer- ing and death with the conditions of a sym- pathetically human priesthood (Ps. 21, Ps. 8).

Short transitional word of *exhortation*: "Consider the Apostle and Highpriest" (3. 1).

Section II (3. 2-4. 13).

Christ (the Apostle) better than Moses.

As Maker of the House in which Moses was faithful.

As *Son* and Prince over the House in which Moses was a Servant.

Warning from Psalm 94. Sabbatismos.

Short *exhortatory* transition to sacerdotal section, resuming 2. 17, 18 (4. 14-16).

Section III (5. 1-7. 28).

Qualifications of Highpriest: sympathy and vocation.

Vocation (*Pss. 2 and 109*) and sympathy-forming obedience of Christ.

Spiritual babyhood and perfection.

On to perfection! Impossible to apostates.

Warning Author's better hopes for Hebrews.

Hold to hope as an anchor behind the veil with the Highpriest.

Christ's

Priesthood better than the Levitical.

Melchisedechian character of Christ proving his superiority over Levitical priesthood (Gen. 14; Ps. 109).

Section IV. 8. 1-10. 18.

Efficacy of Christ's priestly work better than Levitical.

Better Sanctuary, better Ministry, better Covenant (Jer. 31) Highpriest's Ministry of Annual Expiation and Christ's Ministry of Eternal Redemption. Mediator of N. T. by death. Hence image of death over inauguration of O. T. (Blood-sprinkling).

Animal blood for copy of heavenly things.

Better blood for heavenly things themselves.

Shed by Christ once for all.

Annual shadow-liturgy inefficacious. Hence O. T. sacrifices annulled according to God's will by the sacrifice of Christ's body.

Daily liturgy similarly inefficacious and replaced by Christ's one sacrifice.

Strong Practical confidence in "living way" and great Priest.

Terrors of impenitent apostasy.

Memory of early days a monition against withdrawal (Hab. 2).

Section V (10. 19-12. 29)

Great Exhortation

Faith of the Fathers.

Christian contest under the eyes of such cloud of witnesses. Motives: Christ crucified and exalted. Advantages of paternal discipline. Further admonitions and special cautions regarding loss of grace and primogeniture. Sinai and Sion. Peril of refusing to hear.

Appendix containing various admonitions (13. 1-17).

Admonitions in regard to charity, purity, detachment.
 Admonition to remember dead leaders and keep same faith in "Christ-for-ever."
 Separation from Jewish sacrificial meats. Christian Altar.
 Exit to Christ crucified outside the gate, in quest of future city.
 Sacrifices of praise and beneficence. Obedience to superiors.

Epilogue (13. 18-25).

Request for prayers. Great prayer for Hebrews.
 Plea for favourable reception of letter.
 Timothy free. May see you soon together with him.
 Grace be with you all. Amen.

A skilful arrangement of parts, allowing a powerful λόγος παρακλήσεως to be carried on the eagle-back of the supereminence of Christ, is not the whole marvel of the composition of *Hebrews*. The parts are wonderfully knit together. As Westcott accurately puts it: "Each element, which seems at first sight to offer itself spontaneously, will be found to have been carefully adjusted to its place, and to offer in subtle details results of deep thought, so expressed as to leave the simplicity and freshness of the whole perfectly unimpaired."¹ The pieces are dovetailed into one another by precursory and resumptive phrases. For instance the presentation of the new message as a great "salvation" (σωτηρία) in the first solemn warning (2. 3) is foreshadowed in the previous summing up of the position of the angels as "administratorii spiritus, in ministerium missi propter eos, qui hereditatem capient salutis" (1. 14), and in the next subsection Christ appears as ἀρχηγὸς τῆς σωτηρίας. Again the description of Christ as πιστὸς ἀρχιερεὺς, when he makes his appearance in the vestments of sympathy at the end of this third subsection, furnishes the transition, with emphasis on his fidelity, to the beginning of the next section (3. 1) and is resumed, with emphasis on his sympathy, in the little preface of the third section. The great chiasmic passage on the double qualification of Christ for Highpriesthood ends in the phrase "appellatus a Deo pontifex secundum ordinem Melchisedech" (5. 10) and, lest a long parenthesis should break the connexion with the Melchisedech-chapter, the parenthesis also (5. 11-6. 20) is made to end majestically with the figure of Jesus who went in as a precursor on our behalf "secundum ordinem Melchisedech pontifex factus in aeternum." Thus chapter seven opens without any jerk: "Hic enim

¹ WESTCOTT, O. C. *Introduction*, XLVI, XLVII.

Melchisedech etc." These examples might be multiplied and still subtler forms of connexion pointed out. Nor is this process extended only over short tracts of text. Repetitions of a dominant idea occur at long intervals, showing how thoroughly the theme had worked itself out in the mind of the author. Nothing could be more striking than the following, if account be taken in each case of the immediate context: The Prologue ends in the words: *καθαρισμὸν τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ποιησάμενος ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν ὑψηλοῖς*. This fact is so vital that the author will not let it go. Consequently the series of seven biblical texts relative to the pre-eminence of Christ over the angels also ends with: *κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου* (Ps. 109, 1). Moreover apart from the facts that 2. 9 shows "Jesum propter passionem mortis gloria et honore coronatum" and that 3. 6 places him *ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον*, the exaltation of Christ recurs again in the resumptive preface: "Habentes ergo pontificem magnum qui penetravit caelos etc." (3. 14-16), in the *τελειωθείς* of 5. 9, in the *πρόδρομος* of 6. 20 and in the *ὕδὼν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τελελειωμένον* of 7. 28. When the author comes to treat the *κεφάλαιον* or "main point" of his reflexions on the priesthood, he harks back with added majesty to the Prologue and simultaneously to 4. 14 and to 7. 26 declaring: *τοιούτον ἔχομεν ἀρχιερέα, ὃς ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θρόνου τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς* (8. 1). In the sequel Christ is presented as not on earth (8. 4), as having entered the true Holy of holies (9. 12), as having entered heaven to appear before the face of God on our behalf (9. 24) and finally, when the exposition of the "main point" is closing, he appears once more as one who *μίαν ὑπὲρ ἀμαρτιῶν προσενέγκας θυσίαν ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Θεοῦ κ. τ. λ.* (10. 12).

The final exhortative part begins with the living way which Christ has inaugurated into the Holy of holies and with his dignity as "great priest over the house of God" (10. 19-21) and, when exhortation is taken up again after the great Martyrology, the Hebrews are urged to look upon Jesus the author and finisher of their faith "ὃς ἀντὶ τῆς προκειμένης αὐτῷ χαρᾶς ὑπέμεινεν σταυρὸν αἰσχύνῃς καταφρονήσας, ἐν δεξιᾷ τε τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ θεοῦ κεκάθικεν" (12. 2). Lastly, it is surely Christ enthroned that is contemplated in the vision of Sion, for after "God the Judge of all and the spirits of the just made perfect," we are made to approach "Jesus the Mediator of the New Testament and a blood of sprinkling speaking better than that of Abel" (12. 24).

St. Paul never seems to have so perfectly interlocked his thoughts in any of his thirteen Epistles. Nevertheless, one seems justified in saying that the same mode of joining prevails in them and that the "wise architecture" of *Hebrews* is a matter of degree and finish

rather than of specifically different art. It has been already remarked that the intercalation of paraenetic pieces in a dogmatic exposition is not alien to St. Paul. There are examples in Romans and Galatians.¹ Place St. Paul before the problem of producing a continuous word of exhortation on a dogmatic groundwork and who can say *a priori* that the form would not be such as we have in Hebrews? On the contrary an examination of the actual joinings of the paraenetic passages will show that they are nearly all familiar to St. Paul. Perhaps it is not just to insist over much on the first διὰ τοῦτο sentence (2. 1) although this form of joining has twenty Pauline examples behind it and although the δεῖ which follows it is a favourite of St. Paul (31 times in Acts and Epistles) and the fourth word περισσοτέρως is exclusively Pauline. The logical conjunction ὅθεν (3. 1), as has been already said, is never found in the Epistles and only once on St. Paul's lips (Acts 26. 19), but διό (3. 7) has very few examples outside of Luke, Paul, *Hebrews* and second Peter. This particle is found introducing Pauline exhortation in Acts 20. 31, 26. 3, 27. 25, 34; Rom. 13. 5, 15. 7; 1 Cor. 14. 13; 2 Cor. 2. 8, 6. 17; ² Eph. 2. 11, 3. 13, 4. 25; 1 Thess. 5. 11 (cfr. *Hebrews* 3. 1, 6. 1, 12. 12, 12. 28).

Twice the phrase ἔχοντες οὖν stands at the head of paraenetical pieces (4. 14; 10. 19). To those accustomed to the Pauline Epistles these words and especially the participle of ἔχω will recall several passages of second Corinthians and at least one passage of the Pastorals.³ The opening of chapter 12 has a similar phrase, besides being introduced by the Pauline hapaxlegomenon τοιγαροῦν. Small verbal coincidences like these seem to have particular importance when they stand at points where sections and subsections meet.

As in the argumentative letters, Galatians, Corinthians and Romans, γὰρ and οὖν occur frequently and ἄρα is used twice (4. 9, 12. 8) in a way which suggests no other writer but St. Paul, since even St. Luke seldom uses this word alone as the sign of a conclusion.⁴ In its argumentative method generally *Hebrews* is distinguished for its use of the negative argument which is mostly enunciated in the

¹ Romans 5. 1-11, 6. 12-14, 6. 19-25. Galatians 4. 12-20. See above p. 22.

² This example is particularly striking. The particle διό is inserted by the Apostle himself before a text of Isaías. There is an exact parallel in *Hebrews* 3. 10. Cfr. also *Hebrews* 12. 12.

³ Compare the two texts of *Hebrews*: ἔχοντες οὖν ἀρχιερέα, ἔχοντες οὖν... παρησίαν with 2 Cor. 3. 12 ἔχοντες οὖν τοιαύτην ἐλπίδα 4. 1 διὰ τοῦτο ἔχοντες τὴν διακονίαν ταύτην; 7. 1 ταύτας οὖν ἔχοντες ἐπαγγελίας. See moreover Rom. 12. 6 and 1 Tim. 6. 8.

⁴ Compare especially Gal. 2. 21, 3. 29, 5. 11; 1 Cor. 15. 14, 15. 18; 2 Cor. 5. 15; Rom. 10. 17.

form of a question and also for the *a minori ad maius* argument.¹ The thesis of the letter necessarily required this prominence of assertion by denial of the opposite and also this frequency of the *multo magis* process. But both modes of argumentation equally abound in the Pauline epistles. Of the buttressing of a thesis by interrogative negation clusters of excellent examples occur in the great Epistles (e. g., Romans 3. 1-9; 8. 33-35; 10. 14, 15; 1 Cor. 4. 7; 15. 29-31; 2 Cor. 6. 14-16; Gal. 3. 1-5). Similarly frequent is the *ad maius* process; for instance, the fifth chapter of Romans is full of it, and excellent examples are found in chapter eleven of the same epistle (11. 15 ff.) as well as in the third of second Corinthians (3. 7 ff.). Since the phrase "much more" frequently occurs in the formulation of this argument, a rather remarkable difference must be noted in this regard between the Paulines and our Epistle. The Greek form of the above phrase in the Paulines is πολλῶ μᾶλλον² but, although πόσῳ μᾶλλον is used in our Epistle as in the Paulines, πολὺ μᾶλλον (Heb. 12. 9, 12. 25) replaces the equivalent phrase which is universally used not only by St. Paul but also by Matthew and Mark. Evidently such a peculiarity could be due either to St. Paul or to an amanuensis. Owing to the total absence of the phrase from the third Gospel and Acts the phenomenon has nothing to say one way or the other to the hypothesis of Luke being the amanuensis of *Hebrews*.

Since our Epistle is in the main expository, its dialectic is very closely bound up with its biblical exegesis and therefore partly belongs to another place. Our chief concern here should be to find the points in which the Pauline method of argument agrees with or differs from that of *Hebrews*. Now one fact stands out very clearly and has already been referred to in a previous chapter. The fact is that although St. Paul never has anything strictly equivalent to the scholastic: *Thesis mihi defendenda sic se habet* etc., nevertheless he is accustomed to put the theme of an argumentative epistle in a nutshell and deposit it in the exordium. In this respect the Prologue of *Hebrews* may very justly be compared with Romans 1. 16, 17, with the more cryptically nucleated thoughts of Galatians 1. 1, 4³ and even with 1. 10 of first Corinthians. Again our author seems to follow the same mode of exhausting his subject as the Apostle Paul,

¹ For the former see 1. 5, 6; 1. 7-12; 1. 13, 7. 11, 12. 4; for the latter 2. 2-4, 3. 3-6, 7. 20-22, 8. 6, 9. 13, 14; 10. 25, 12. 9, 12. 25.

² Romans 5. 9, 10, 15, 17; 1 Cor. 12. 22; 2 Cor. 3. 11; Philipp. 1. 23, 2. 12.

³ In the case of Galatians this preliminary adumbration of the Apostle's thesis is noted by St. Thomas Aquinas with the Saint's usual intellectual acumen and verbal clarity. *Comm. in Ep. ad Galatas*. Ed. cit. I, pp. 526, 527.

namely, by turning an idea or a fact over and over and returning to it, until it has delivered the full freight of its meaning with regard to the point in question. This is very evident in what is perhaps the most highly dialectic passage in the New Testament, namely, Galatians 3. 1-4. 31. It is very instructive to note and compare with the argumentative method of *Hebrews* the way in which the Apostle in this passage of Galatians rings the changes of his argument on such terms as νόμος, πίστις, πνεῦμα, ἐπαγγελία, σπέρμα (Ἀβραάμ), διαθήκη, κληρονόμος, υἱοὶ Θεοῦ, δούλος, ἐλεύθερος. In order to grasp the dialectical affinity which this comparison establishes between Galatians and *Hebrews*, it would be quite sufficient to follow the argument of this particular section of the former Epistle closely, and then, by way of comparison, follow the idea of τελείωσις through our Epistle.¹

There is yet another point which, though of minor importance, must not be overlooked. St. Paul and the *auctor ad Hebraeos* seem to stand alone in the New Testament as representing the *argumentum ex convenientia*.² The two passages of our Epistle, in which the "becomingness" (πρέπει) of the passion (2. 10) and of the unique priesthood of Christ (7. 26) is expressed, find parallels in first Corinthians 11. 13 in regard to the veiling of women, in Ephesians 5. 3 with regard to the avoidance of evil speech, "as becometh saints," in first Timothy 3. 10 anent women's dress, in Titus 2. 1 with reference to sound preaching. These examples may be further increased by the addition of Ephesians 5. 4, Colossians 3. 18, Philemon 8 the words used being (ἀνῆκεν, ἀνήκον).

To sum up a sufficiently long discussion, it is necessary to say in the first place that no attempt is here made to dissimulate the difference which exists between *Hebrews* and the Pauline letters in general with regard to symmetry of composition, skilful fitting of parts and orderly logical procedure. Let us say once again with St. Thomas: "Non est aliqua scriptura quae sic ordinate procedat in ordine verborum et sententiis sicut ista." The contention is, however, that a careful comparison reveals the capacity of St. Paul to face the literary problem of producing a suitable λόγος παρακλήσεως for a Hebrew community of very considerable culture at Jerusalem and to solve it in the highly artistic way exhibited by the text of our Epistle. It

¹ τελειώω: 2. 10; 5. 9; 7. 19, 28; 9. 9; 10. 1, 14; 11. 40; 12. 23. τελειώσις: 7. 11. τελειωτής: 12. 2.

² Our Lord's words to St. John the Baptist as reported in St. Matthew 3. 15: Sine modo: "sic enim decet nos implere omnem iustitiam" are not here taken into account.

is contended that the dialectic perfection of our Epistle is not at all superior in kind to that of Galatians 3. 1-4. 31 (as fine a piece of continuous reasoning as could be found in any book). If there is (as seems to be a case) an extraordinary skill in arranging the articulation of parts and maintaining the limpidity of the argument, this may be due to revision of a rough draft or a collaboration between author and amanuensis, which was not that of Paul and Tertius but more like that of Peter and Sylvanus. Such a mighty marshalling of St. Paul's thought must in all but secondary stylistic details be the work of Paul himself.¹

Affective Movement

It is not an undue extension of a dictum of St. Thomas Aquinas to assert that in literary works as well as in the human body itself "Cor habet quandam influentiam occultam."² We may, therefore, consider it opportune to ask whether we can detect in *Hebrews* any of those characteristic emotions of St. Paul, which are known to us from his Epistles. It will be readily admitted that the Apostle has flights of feeling which may justly be called lyrical; his language from time to time runs through the entire gamut of human emotion. Love, desire, joy, hope, courage, sorrow, fear, depression, indignation have much place in his letters and the ways in which these emotions express themselves undoubtedly bear the impress of the Apostle's personality. The question, then, is whether we can to some extent recognise the beatings of the same heart behind the affective movement of *Hebrews* and that of the Pauline writings. Not very much has been offered by scholars in answer to such a query, for as Professor Vitti says, "questo campo (del lirismo dell'Apostolo) è assolutamente inesplorato in genere, come ha lagnato, dando un bel saggio molto suggestivo E. E. Kellet, *St. Paul the Poet (Expositor, ser. VI, 9 [1904] 339-348) ... Più che il lirismo è sfuggito alla critica vivisezionatrice il cuore stesso del grande Apostolo....*"³ It must be ad-

¹ Literary history affords many examples of the great differences between the carefully written or carefully revised works of an author and those written *currente calamo*. Robert Louis Stevenson is said to have been irrecongnisable as the same person under the two forms of his rough drafts and his polished art.

² *Summa Theologica* 3, 8, 1, ad tertium: "Cor habet quandam influentiam occultam, Et ideo cordi comparatur Spiritus Sanctus, qui invisibiliter Ecclesiam vivificat et unit..."

³ *L'ambiente vero della lettera agli Ebrei*, Misc. Bibl. II, p. 255. See the same author's articles: *Il cuore di S. Paolo*, in *Civiltà Cattolica*, 1936, Vol. I, quad. 2058, pp. 441-452 and Vol. II, quad. 2059, pp. 29-38.

mitted however, that although *Hebrews* is very far from being a cold piece of intellectual rhetoric it does not offer such *variety* of feeling as the first and second groups of Pauline Epistles or as Philippians and Philemon in the third group or as second Timothy especially among the Pastorals. Of Ephesians we may say that, even if its range of feeling is appreciably smaller, its lyrical pieces are very remarkable. Something similar must also be said of Colossians. There is really no Epistle of St. Paul devoid of those touches of personal emotion which flow without premeditation from the treasury of a very rich heart and sometimes stimulate the imagination of the author to lyrical splendour of expression.¹ [The variety of feeling manifested in the Apostle's writings did not escape the keen observation of his greatest commentator St. John Chrysostom. He opens his series of thirty-three Homilies on Romans by confessing that he had so familiarised himself with St. Paul that the public reading of his Epistles set their author before him, as it were, and allowed him to hear a well-known voice. In the final homily of the series, he prostrates himself in spirit before the remains of the Apostle on the Ostian Way and eulogises him member by member. The following is his magnificent encomium of the Apostle's heart. "Nec oris tantum, sed etiam cordis illius pulverem videre vellem, quod si quis cor orbis dixerit non erraverit, nec si innumerorum fontem bonorum, ac principium et elementum vitae nostrae dixerit. Nam spiritus vitae inde in omnia effundebatur, ac membris Christi dabatur, non per arterias emissus, sed per bonorum propositum. Adeo latum cor illud erat, ut civitates integras, populos et gentes caperet: nam ait: *Cor meum dilatatum est* (2 Cor. 6. 11). Attamen tam latum cor aliquando cohibuit et strinxit amor, qui ipsum dilatavit: *Ex multa enim tribulatione et angustia cordis*, inquit, *hanc vobis scripsi* (ibid. 2. 4). Et dissolutum videre cuperem, quod ardeat erga singulos pereuntes, quod iterum parturiat abortivos filios, quod Deum videat... cor caelo sublimius, orbe latius, radio splendidius, igne ardentius, adamante fortius, fluvios emittens... ubi erat fons saliens et irrigans non faciem terrae sed hominum animas: unde non flumina tantum sed etiam

¹ Only a small selection of the Apostle's lyrics can be catalogued here, e. g.: the lyric of Romans 8. 31-39 and the hymn *O altitudo* (11. 33-36) in the same Epistle; the hymn of charity in Cor. 13; the hymn of "the unsearchable riches of Christ" which runs through the whole third chapter of Ephesians; the poetic description of the primacy of Christ and his work of pacification in Colossians 1. 15-23; the Christological gem of Philippians, which is really only the central part of a prose-poem in three strophes (2. 1-18); the magnificent flight of enthusiasm in Philippians 3. 7-13; the swan-song of 2 Timothy 4. 6-8.

fontes lacrymarum emanabant et nocte et die: cor, inquam, quod novam ducebat vitam, non hanc nostram (nam ait: *Vivo autem iam non ego, vivit vero in me Christus* (Gal. 2. 20). Cor itaque Christi erat cor Pauli, et Spiritus Sancti tabula et gratiae liber): cor quod propter aliorum quidem peccata tremebat. *Timeo enim*, inquit, *ne frustra laboraverim vobis* (Gal. 4. 11), *Ne sicut serpens Evam seduxit* (2 Cor. 11. 3), *Ne forte veniens non quales volo inveniam vos* (2 Cor. 12. 20): pro seipso autem et timebat et confidebat: *Timeo*, inquit, *ne aliis praedicans ipse reprobus efficiar* (1 Cor. 9. 27); et *Certus sum*, *quod neque angeli neque principatus poterunt nos separare* (Rom. 8. 38): cor quod ita Christum diligere meruit, ut nullus alius dilexit, quod mortem et gehennam sprexit, et fraternis lacrymis conterebatur: *Quid enim facitis*, inquit, *flentes et conterentes cor meum?* (Act 21. 13), cor patientissimum et non sustinens tempus, quo metuebat, ne Thessalonicenses deficerent (1 Thess. 3. 5)."¹ Can such a eulogy comprise the author of our Epistle?

Perhaps the first thing which strikes a reader of *Hebrews* is the placid calmness of the whole letter. There are passages of almost ecstatic lyricism in St. Paul but it is doubtful if there are more than a few really vibrant outbursts in *Hebrews*. The war-cry: *Jesus Christus heri et hodie, ipse et in saecula* is certainly an ejaculation of strong emotion. The epic of the heroes of faith also draws from the heart of our author a snatch of lyric: *quibus dignus non erat mundus* (11. 38), and the dramatic picture of Sion in 12. 22-24 is apparently tinged with fine feeling and has passed in a rhythmical flow through the author's imagination. The upward sweep of the anchor-passage (6. 18-20), the solemnly festive appearance of the Highpriest of the good things to come (9. 11-14) and the two exordia of the specially exhortative passages 10. 19-25 and 12. 1-3, are the only other examples that we feel justified in selecting, although perhaps the paragraph beginning *Festinemus ergo ingredi in illam requiem* also deserves to be included.² Of these passages not more than one or two have the glow of St. Paul's grand lyrical pieces, for instance, the epiphonema of Romans 8, the charity-hymn of first Corinthians and the magnificent prayer of Ephesians 3.

Does this relative absence of strong lyric militate against the thesis that St. Paul is the author of our Epistle? Decidedly not.

¹ P. G., LX, coll. 679, 680.

² It is obviously difficult or impossible to secure a completely objective and universal criterion of selection, firstly, because the idea of lyrical prose is not strictly definable and secondly, because individual taste cannot presume to give a universally acceptable verdict.

The Apostle was not writing to Gentiles who were his special care, but by supererogation to a community which he knew was not favourably inclined towards him (Acts 21. 20-26). This would not have damped the enthusiasm of his apostolic heart, but it would have imposed upon him a rule of sobriety more strict than was demanded in his other letters. Has he not himself drawn the distinction between "Paul the ecstatic" and "Paul the sober"—"sive enim mente excedimus (ἐξέστημεν), Deo: sive sobrii sumus, vobis (2 Cor. 5. 13)?" Certainly, the Apostle, who knew how to "commensurate" himself to the reality of a situation, would, in writing to Hebrews at Jerusalem on such a delicate theme, have instinctively observed a greater attitude of calm reserve than usual.¹ It is not that he feared such a sceptical *Insanis Paule* as his eloquence once drew from Porcius Festus (Acts 26. 24), but in adapting his theme to his auditory, he would have aimed at the greatest possible objectivity. Hence, as all lyric is suffused with personal feeling, we should not expect to find much of it in a letter of Paul to the Hebrews.

With regard to the heart-influences and manifestations of emotion in our Epistle, three points seem to be worthy of special consideration, namely, the Jewish patriotism of the writer, the evidence that he was a man of deep sympathy, and the signs of a particular stamp of charity towards Christ and his Christian brethren at Jerusalem.

The term patriotism is to be understood not only in its true natural sense but in that special religious sense whereby we find patriotism even in the closing verse of the *Magnificat* namely, in the mention of "our fathers"—of Abraham and his seed for ever. Now, we think that such love of the Jewish people runs through our Epistle as manifests the heart of a man who was a "Hebrew of the Hebrews." With a grandeur which could hardly have come, in *subiecta materia*, from anyone but a devoted Israelite, our Epistle opens by presenting the glorious Hebrew past during which "God at divers times and in divers ways spoke to our fathers in the prophets." This seems to echo what we read in another Epistle which actually opens and closes with mention of the prophetic Scriptures of Israel (Romans 1. 2, 16. 26). In Romans St. Paul asks: "What advantage has the Jew?" and he answers: "A great advantage in every way, chiefly because to them were committed the oracles of God" (3. 1-2). Moreover our author speaks of the Son coming into the fellowship of help not with

¹ The above phraseology is taken from the comment of St. Thomas on 2 Corinthians 5. 13: "*Sive sobrii sumus, id est commensuremus nos vobis, tradendo divina praecepta, hoc est vobis, id est, ad utilitatem vestram. Sobrietas enim idem est quod commensuratio.*" O. c., vol. I, p. 453

angels but with the seed of Abraham: "Nusquam angelos apprehendit sed semen Abrahæ apprehendit" (2. 16); he continually speaks of "the people" (ὁ λαός: 2. 17; 5. 3; 7. 5, 11, 27; 9. 7, 19 bis; 13. 12) and "the people of God" (4. 9; 10. 30; 11. 25) and calls the new city of God by the names of Sion and Jerusalem (12. 22); he speaks with filial reverence of Abraham and the Patriarchs (2. 16; 6. 13; 7 and 11 passim), of Moses (3 and 11. 23 ff.) and of Aaron (5. 4; 7. 11), of the prophets and great men of Israel (11 passim) of the covenant and promises (9. 20 etc.; 6. 12, 15 etc.), of the legislation (7. 11), of the ritual (9. 1-10. 14) and of every Israelite institution that he has occasion to mention, not, however, in order to commend them here and now but to show that they were types of better things in the future. In all this we seem to be very close to the heart of the Apostle who said: "I could wish that myself were anathema from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh: who are Israelites, to whom belongs the adoption and the glory and the covenants and the legislation and the worship and the promises; whose are the fathers and of whom is Christ according to the flesh, who [is] over all God blessed for ever. Amen" (Rom. 9. 3-5). If there is one thing that runs through *Hebrews* from beginning to end, it is a deep and specifically Hebrew feeling, akin to that which largely pervades Romans, of the continuity of the Old Testament and the New.

Our second point is that there is very marked emphasis on the sympathy of the Highpriest of the new confession. His fellowship with the sufferings of his brethren has made him merciful and fitted him to be a helper of those under trial (2. 17, 18). He is *δυνάμενος συμπαθεῖν τοῖς ἀσθενείαις ἡμῶν* (4. 15) and, after the model of a human Highpriest, *μετριοπαθεῖν δυνάμενος τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσιν καὶ πλανώμένοις* (5. 2). His passion is our supreme encouragement (12. 2). These are thoughts impregnated with a sense of pity and come most naturally from a heart which is full of fellow-feeling. Such we know the heart of St. Paul to have been. In fact sympathy has with good reason been described as his characteristic gift.¹ The number of passages which might be adduced in proof of this statement would make a very large catalogue but it is not necessary to produce more than a few. Some have been already indicated in the extract from St. Chrysostom given above, for instance, 1 Thessalonians 3. 1-5 and 2 Corinthians 2. 4. The latter Epistle may be re-

¹ See J. H. NEWMAN, *Sermons preached on various occasions*. Sermon VII for the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul: *St. Paul's characteristic gift*, and Sermon VIII for Sexagesima Sunday: *St. Paul's gift of sympathy*. Both preached in University Church, Dublin, 1857, with special reference to 2 Cor. XII.

garded as the great manifestation of St. Paul's heart. Sympathy is written all over its exordium (1. 3-11), in the reasons given for not coming to Corinth (2. 1-11) in the Apostle's impatience to meet Titus (2. 12) and in the joy which he experienced in hearing his disciple's report from Corinth (6. 6, 7); above all in those eloquent questions: " Quis infirmatur et ego non infirmor? quis scandalizatur, et ego non uror? " (11. 29).¹ In the light of this special gift of sympathy we seem to discover some slight indication that the author who has so carefully depicted the sympathy of the Highpriest in *Hebrews* is none other than the man whom historical tradition designates as the Epistle's author, the Apostle Paul.

Everyone who has read the Paulines knows the strong manly and at the same time intimately tender fibre of St. Paul's love for Christ his Lord and for the members of Christ, potential or actual, his fellow-men. St. Chrysostom could dare to assert, with pardonable exaggeration, " that Paul deserved to love Christ as no man ever loved him " (loco superius citato). The plain fact which rhetoric somewhat overstates will be easily admitted. Who that has ever read the inflamed sentences of Romans 8. 31-36, of first Corinthians 16. 21, of second Corinthians 5. 14, 15, of Galatians 2. 20 and 6. 14-17, of the third chapter of Ephesians and 5. 2 of the same epistle, the splendid confession of Philippians 1. 21-24, that Epistle's Christological gem and the almost ecstatic words of 3. 7-15, could doubt that St. Paul's love of the Saviour was an immensity? It is of course very difficult to describe that *je ne sais quoi* of a personal brand of love which we, nevertheless, recognise to be a reality because of the special characteristics of its manifestation. St. Peter loved our Lord, St. John loved him, St. Paul loved him but *alius aliter*. We think that the Epistles will justify the assertion that the specialty of St. Paul's love was in the way that it attached him to the Cross.² The " word of the cross " (1 Cor. 1. 18) was the synthesis of his faith and his devotion. Is not the same true of the author of *Hebrews*? It is the " purgation of sins " through the death of Christ that is the Epistle's main lesson, sacrificial death being the portal whereby the Highpriest attained his τελείωσις and became for all those that

¹ Cfr. 1 Corinthians 8. 7-13; 9. 19-23; 12. 24-26; Romans 9. 1-5; 10. 1, 2; 11. 1, 2; 12. 14; 14. 1ff.; 15. 1-3; Philippians 2. 25-27; Colossians 3. 12 ff.; 2 Timothy 1. 15-18, and the letter to Philemon.

² See especially first Corinthians 2. 2: " Non enim iudicavi me scire aliquid inter vos nisi Iesum Christum et hunc crucifixum." Cfr. Galatians 2. 20, 3. 1, 6. 14; Romans 5. 8; 2 Corinthians 5. 14, 15; Philippians 2. 8, 3. 10 (configuratus morti eius), 3. 18 (inimicos crucis Christi); Ephesians 5. 2, 5. 25.

obey him the cause of eternal salvation (5. 9). The purpose of the writing is to draw the Hebrews in renewed loyalty to the "Mediator of the New Testament and to a sprinkling of blood better than that of Abel" (12. 24).¹ The author's prayer for them at the end is: "May the God of peace who brought back from the dead the great shepherd of the sheep the Lord Jesus in the *blood of an eternal testament* make you perfect in every good work etc." (13. 20). He endeavours to fix the eyes of the Hebrews on "Jesus, who for the joy set before him endured a cross despising the shame and has been seated at the right hand of the throne of God" (12. 2). And again, having drawn their attention to the fact that Jesus, in fulfilment of a type "suffered outside the gate," he adds: "Therefore let us go forth to him outside the camp, bearing his opprobrium" (13. 13). Consequently, it is not unwarranted to say that the love which expresses itself in the bold formula: *Iesus Christus heri, et hodie: ipse et in saecula* (13. 8) is centred in the cross in a manner which we recognise to be Paul's way.

In reference to the love of neighbour, one might say that the affection shown towards the Hebrews in this letter is not strong enough to come from the man who "would have wished to be anathema from Christ for his brethren, his kinsmen according to the flesh" (Rom. 9. 3), whose "heart's desire and prayer to God was for Israel that they may be saved" (10. 1), whose apostolate among the Gentiles was intended to be indirectly a Jewish apostolate also, "if by any means he might provoke to emulation his own flesh and save some of them" (11. 14). The truth however is that the Epistle itself is the highest possible evidence of love for the Jewish people. Let us hear Chrysostom who writes in his Preface to our Epistle: "Cur igitur Iudaeis scribit, cum non sit eorum doctor? aut quonam ad eos epistolam mittit? Mea opinione Jerosolymam et in Palaestina. Sed quomodo scribit? Quemadmodum et baptizabat, non iussus baptizare; ait enim se non missum ad baptizandum (1 Cor. 1. 17) nec tamen vetitus erat, sed *operae auctarium hoc fecit. Et cur his non scriberet pro quibus anathema esse volebat* (Rom. 9. 3).² In its language the letter does not exhibit the same effusion of affection as St. Paul shows in the highest degree towards the Philippians "his joy and his crown" and also in a marked degree towards the Thessalonians as well as

¹ The death of Christ figures in the following places: *Hebrews* 2. 9; 2. 14; 9. 15; his passion in 2. 10; 2. 18; 5. 8; 9. 26; 13. 13; his opprobrium in 11. 26; 13. 13; his sacrifice in 7. 27; 9. 14; 9. 25; 9. 28; 10. 10; 10. 12; 10. 14; his blood in 9. 12; 9. 14; 10. 19; 12. 24; 13. 13; 13. 20.

² P. G., LXIII, col. 11.

towards the Corinthians, and towards the fickle Galatians whose first kindness to him he had not forgotten. Apart from the greetings at the end, Romans has not so much of the warmth of personal affection. Similarly Ephesians, probably because it was written as a circular letter, and also Colossians (to a lesser extent) are not so full of the outward manifestation of love. The difference appears in some measure in the formulae of address. The Philippians alone receive such an effusive series of words of endearment as "fratres mei carissimi et desideratissimi, gaudium meum et corona mea" (4. 1). The superlatives, however, of the Latin Vulgate render the simple adjectives ἀγαπητός and ἐπιπόθητος. First Corinthians comes next with "fratres mei carissimi" (15. 58). Excepting an incidental ἀγαπητοί in Romans 12. 19 and one passage of Galatians where the unique address τέκνα μου¹ occurs, all the other letters simply have "fratres" or "fratres mei."² Ephesians and Colossians stand alone among the seven letters to churches as not having even the address "fratres." No great importance can be attached to these facts but they happen to offer a basis of comparison with *Hebrews*. Here the simple term "fratres" is used twice (10. 19; 13. 22), ἀγαπητοί (in this place translated *dilectissimi* by the Vulgate as in James 1. 16) only once (6. 9), and "fratres sancti" also once only (3. 1), this being a term of address which is used nowhere else in the New Testament. There is, therefore, no strict parallel in the Epistles to show that the last-mentioned expression is Paul's, unless one insists on the somewhat remarkable but not exclusive use by the Apostle of the term οἱ ἅγιοι to designate the Christian community at Jerusalem.³ However this may be, considering the terms of address and such passages of our Epistle as 6. 9-12; 10. 32-38; 11. 4-13 and the Epilogue 13. 18-25, *Hebrews* exhibits a more abundant flow of personal affection than either Ephesians or Colossians and in this respect rather comes near to the Corinthians Epistles. We cannot therefore reasonably refuse to recognise the heart of St. Paul in the affection which the writer betrays for his Hebrew brethren.

¹ Compare, however, St. Paul's references to the Corinthians (1 Cor. 4. 14; 2 Cor. 6. 13; 12. 14) and to the Thessalonians (1 Thess. 2. 7, 11) as "his children" or "very dear children" (1 Cor. 4. 14).

² First Thessalonians has "fratres dilecti a Deo" once, and second Thessalonians "fratres dilecti a Domino" also once only.

³ Five times over in Romans 15. 26, 31; 1 Corinthians 16. 1; 2 Corinthians 8. 4; 9. 1.

Rhythm of "Hebrews"

The present section deals only with the rhetorico-rhythmic complexion of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Hence it excludes all discussion of the so-called *Schallanalyse*, a new critical invention which investigates the tones and rhythms of a writing and pretends to arrive through these at a scientific knowledge of the writer's voice and at a formulation of his psycho-physiological character and individuality.¹ The question which we are now asking is whether and to what extent our Epistle can be described as artistic prose composed according to certain definite rhythmical schemes. A brief historical note is necessary by way of introduction.

The first philologist who undertook a systematic investigation of the rhythms of *Hebrews* was the German scholar Friedrich Blass, Professor of classical philology at Kiel and Halle (ob. 1907). Blass dedicated many years of his life to the study of Attic and later Greek oratory (*Die attische Beredsamkeit*, 1868-1880; *Die griechische Beredsamkeit in dem Zeitraum von Alexander bis Augustus*, 1865). After having prepared editions of many of the Greek orators, notably Isocrates, he evolved, in the last decade of his life as Professor at Halle, a theory of certain rhythmic schemes alleged to be characteristic of Asiatic (or "Asiatic") prose and proceeded to find his theory verified in some of the prose of the New Testament. As *Hebrews* seemed to be the most artistic of New Testament books, Blass began with this, and published in 1902 an essay on the rhythmical composition of our Epistle. In the following year there appeared from his hand an edition of the Epistle, with indications of the rhythms. Very soon after, the examination of an *Oxyrhynchus papyrus* exhibiting

¹ *Schallanalyse* owes its origin to the Germanic philologist Eduard Sievers (ob. 30, 3, 1932). Combining his own experience in phonetic and metrical studies with the psycho-physiological findings of Joseph Rutz he concluded that voice production always manifests an unchanging individual physical complex. Consequently from the tones and rhythms of a linguistic piece it is possible to know the physical character of the speaker or writer. From the text produced by a writer the peculiarity of his vocal complexion is inferred and expressed by a psychomathematical symbol called a personal curve, which can be indicated by a sort of algebraic formula. If there is an interpolation in the text, it will give a different sound-analysis and in the same way all foreign influences in a text may be detected. In 1919 the method failed to justify itself in the analysis of a composite text skillfully put together from a number of authors by Professor Hans Lietzmann. At the same time *Schallanalyse* earned the discredit of exegetes by reason of the extraordinary results arrived at by Sievers himself in the analyses of the Epistle to the Romans (1926) and by his disciple W. Schanze for Galatians (1918). See article by F. ZORELL in *Theologische Revue*, 26 Jahrgang, 11 (1927) 409-414.

part of the text of *Hebrews* written *per cola et commata* seemed to him to offer a confirmation of the views advanced in his essay and rhythmic edition. In the meantime he made the further discovery that St. Paul was also of the school of Asiatic prose-rhythmists and in a book, which saw the light in 1905, he offered the learned world some new rhythmical analyses of Paul, *Hebrews* and Pausanias in the Greek field, and of Cicero, Seneca, Curtius and Apuleius in the Latin.¹

[The theory of Blass, partially expounded in the foreword of his edition of *Hebrews* (pp. 4-9) and more fully in his later book: *Die Rhythmen der asianischen Kunstprosa*, is briefly as follows. The classical prose of the Attic orators is periodic in structure and admits measured rhythms sparingly. The theory of their art is set forth by Aristotle in the third book of his *Rhetoric*. "The form of speech," says the philosopher, "must neither be metrical nor rhythmless. The former is unpersuasive on account of its artificial appearance and because at the same time it distracts attention. For it makes one look out for the occurrence of the corresponding cadence... On the other hand, a rhythmless prose is objectionable, inasmuch as it has not definite boundaries set to it. A system of definite boundaries must be introduced, but not by means of metre, for the unbounded or indefinite is unpleasant inasmuch as it is an unknown quantity. Now everything has boundaries set to it by number, and the number of a rhetorical form is rhythm, whereof metrical units also are definite sections. Therefore a speech must have rhythm but not metre. Otherwise it will be a poem. But rhythm is not to be understood in the strict sense of elaborate measure. It is only to be carried to a certain point."² After disapproving the use of the heroic, the iambus and the trochee, Aristotle specially recommends the use of the paeon, "which Greek orators had employed from Thrasymachus

¹ F. BLASS, *Die rhythmische Komposition des Hebräerbriefes* (Theol. Stud. und Krit. (1902) 420-461. (*Barnabas*) Brief and die Hebräer. Text mit Angabe der Rhythmen (Halle, 1903); *Die Rhythmen der asianischen und römischen Kunstprosa* (Leipzig, 1905). I have read the two latter works but cannot claim to have any technical practice in the investigation of prose rhythms. Hence I am endeavouring extra-strictly in the present article to keep within the bounds of my knowledge.

² *Ars Rhetorica*, III, 1408, 1409, Ed. cit., pp. 189, 190: τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τῆς λέξεως δεῖ μῆτε ἔμμετρον εἶναι μῆτε ἄρρυθμον· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπίθανον, πεπλάσθαι γὰρ δοκεῖ, καὶ ἅμα καὶ ἐξίστησι· προσέχειν γὰρ ποιεῖ τῷ ὁμοίῳ, πότε πάλιν ἥξει... τὸ δὲ ἄρρυθμον ἀπεραντον, δεῖ δὲ πεπεράνθαι μὲν, μὴ μέτρω δὲ· ἀηδὲς γὰρ καὶ ἀγνωστον τὸ ἀπειρον. περαίνεται δὲ ἀριθμῷ πάντα· ὁ δὲ τοῦ σχήματος τῆς λέξεως ἀριθμὸς ῥυθμὸς ἐστίν, οὗ καὶ τὰ μέτρα τμητά. διὸ ρυθμὸν δεῖ ἔχειν τὸν λόγον, μέτρον δὲ μὴ. ποίημα γὰρ ἔσται. ῥυθμὸν δὲ μὴ ἀκριβῶς. τοῦτο δὲ ἔσται ἐάν μετρί του ᾖ,

down." The first paeon (a long followed by three short syllables) he considers more suitable as an initial rhythm, and the fourth paeon (three short syllables followed by a long) as a clausula,¹ the reason being that, whereas light syllables suggest continuation, a long one seems to mark a stop.

The period, as conceived by the Attic orators and Aristotle, consisted of two parallel members. According to Blass, the division of complete rhetorical units into *cola* and *commata* belongs to the Asiatic rhetoric of Hellenistic times. Several maior and minor pauses began to be observed within a period and these were rendered pleasant by rhythmic cadences. Cicero, it would seem, attributes this innovation to Theophrastus, the fluent Lesbian successor of Aristotle, as head of the peripatetic school,² but the founder of the system of Asiatic Rhetoric was—so Blass thinks—Hegesias of Magnesia, who flourished in the first half of the third century before Christ. With the change of sentence-structure advocated by this rhetorician came a change of rhythmic.³ The first thing that Blass notes, as he proceeds to examine some fragments of Hegesias, is his strict avoidance of hiatus, next the preference for ditrochaic clausulae, and further the rhythmic correspondence of consecutive cola as well as correspondence between the beginning and end of the same colon or of consecutive cola—in a word, a very elaborate system of rhythmic combinations. Metrical feet become abundant in this new Asiatic prose, for instance, the tribrach, the dichoree (*quem secuta est Asia quam maxime*, as Cicero says) and others besides. The philologist of Halle has no hesitation in asserting that the Epistle to the Hebrews is constructed on this Asiatic basis of cola and commata and a complex arrangement of rhythms.⁴ He notes that in our Epistle the begin-

¹ Aristotle and Cicero after him distinguish only two paeons: probatur autem ab eodem illo maxime paeon; qui est duplex (*De Oratore* 3, 47). But the paeon, being a tetrasyllabic foot of three short syllables and a long, is distinguished into first, second, third and fourth according to the position of the long syllable.

² *De Oratore*, III, 48. But in his *Orator* 52 Cicero writes "neminem in eo genere scientius versatum Isocrate, confitendum est: sed princeps inveniendi fuit Thrasymachus; cuius omnia nimis etiam extant scripta numerosa."

³ Blass writing of Hegesias' aversion to the old build of period says: "Immerhin nun ist in dieser veränderten Satzbildung zwar kein Zwang, aber doch ein Grund für veränderte Rhythmik" (*Die Rhythmen der asianischen und römischen Kunstprosa*, p. 18).

⁴ "Dahin gehört auch, dass der Verfasser nicht etwa bestimmte Formen der Klausel stark bevorzugt und immer wiederkehren lässt, an welchem Fehler die römische Kunstprosa leidet; der Lehrer des Verfassers muss auch einen geläuterten Geschmack gehabt haben, wenigstens hat ihn der Schüler." (*Vorrede zur Ausgabe* pp. 7, 8).

nings and ends of the cola are largely rhythmic, whereas the medial pauses are not very frequently so. A whole colon sometimes corresponds to another or part of another. Tribachs, dactyls, anapaests are profusely employed. They are employed, however, according to the exigencies of prose, for apart from the hexameter of 12. 13, as read in most of the great codices (ποιήσαντες not ποιούντες), *Hebrews* seems to have only two metrical verses, namely, the two consecutive trimeters found in 12. 14, these being obviously accidental. Thus the Epistle shows great perfection in the use of prose rhythm, a perfection which is also strikingly shown by the fact that the author avoids a fault from which Roman prose largely suffered, that is, uniformity in the clausulae.

Apart from the fact that Blass not infrequently interfered with the order or wording of the critically established text, when it failed to fit in with his hypothesis, the theory itself did not receive the favour of scholars. Adolf Deissman characterised it as "a venerable error"¹ and it has disappeared from the later editions of Blass's grammar prepared by Debrunner.

Even if the theory of Asiatic prose-rhythmic were proved for *Hebrews*, this would constitute no argument against its Pauline origin. The year after the appearance of Blass's rhythmical edition of our Epistle, Dr. Theodor Innitzer, now Cardinal Archbishop of Vienna, made a similar analysis of the exordium of Ephesians (*Der Hymnus im Epheserbriefe* [1. 3-14] *Zfkt*, 28 [1904] 612-621) and H. I. Cladder S. J. ventured a small essay in scansion for the beginning of St. James (*ibid.* p. 313). Rhythms, then, similar to those of our Epistle may be found elsewhere in the N. T. and notably in the Pauline Epistles. As a matter of fact, Blass wrote in his book of 1905: "Paul does not show any trace of Atticistic purism any more than the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews; if the author were Barnabas, one could conclude that the Atticistic School and its special grammar had no vogue either in Barnabas's native Cyprus or in Tarsus. However, the author of this Epistle must have had a rhetorician of fine taste as his master. Naturally there is nothing against such a supposition. But did Paul frequent a rhetor? The effects are really such that one

¹ Cited from a contribution of DEISSMANN to the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* (1906, 231-236) by Albert Debrunner in his foreword to the fourth edition of Blass's Grammar. Debrunner admits that he sometimes did not shrink from a small *sacrificium intellectus* in leaving some doubtful views of the author stand, but adds: "Nur im Kapitel *Prosarhythmus* reichte die Pietät nicht hin, um den von dem Gelehrtenwelt allgemein abgelehnten 'ehrwürdigen Irrtum' stehen zu lassen." (*Neutestamentliche Grammatik*, p. viii).

might suppose schooling and good schooling at that. Did Paul know rhythms and use them? Up to the present I did not believe that he did, because I did not presume such preparation in him and had found no proof of it either in Romans or in the beginning of first Corinthians, in spite of all the art displayed in this latter place. But these pieces are not the whole of Paul and, if I had sought in Galatians or in the later sections of first Corinthians, the result would have been different."¹ The 1905 book actually contained rhythmical analyses of the whole of Galatians pp. 43 ff. and Appendix 2, pp. 204 ff.), of first Thessalonians and some passages of first Corinthians, Romans, Philippians and first Timothy. After summing up his results (pp. 72-77), Blass further wrote: "We were not accustomed to consider Paul as an author who composed with such care and art. Certainly his capacity was always clear. This rhythmic is not possible without care" (p. 77). Admittedly then, in the matter of rhythms, whatever theory of rhetoric they may be said to represent, there is only a difference of degree of elaboration between Paul and the author of *Hebrews*.

That there is a systematic Asiatic rhythmic either in *Hebrews* or in the Pauline Epistles does not seem proved. There is, however, abundance of rhythm and one may assent in general to Dr. Moffat's assertion that "*πρὸς Ἑβραίους* is distinguished, among the prose works of the primitive church, by its rhythmical cadences."² This author thinks that the writer was acquainted with the oratorical rhythms popularised by Isocrates, his periods showing traces of the Athenian's rhetorical method. What Isocratean *σχήματα* are employed in our Epistle Dr. Moffat does not say except by reference to a correspondence of final rhythms in two antithetic members of the Prologue and a parallelism of cross cadences in the first verse of chapter eleven.³ Some of his facts I could not verify as, for instance, the rhythms assigned to 5. 12, 6. 4, to the clausula of 4. 11 and the initium of 4. 12, to the closing rhythms of 7. 28, 29; 11. 28, 12. 3. I failed also to detect the metrical character of 12. 26. Besides, although Dr. Moffat has gathered a good deal of interesting information into a few pages and obviously intends thereby to support the exclusion of *Hebrews* from the Corpus Paulinum, no definite conclusion seems to emerge from his exposition. We may, however, attempt

¹ *Die Rhythmen der asianischen und römischen Kunstprosa*, pp. 42, 43.

² *Commentary*. Introduction LVI under heading: *Style and Diction* (1).

³ He also makes the assertion that our author "is true to the ancient principle of Isocrates that prose should be mingled with rhythms of all sorts, especially iambic and trochaic."

a classification of his facts adding to them some observations on the same subject from the frequently cited article of Father Vitti.¹ The favourite initium of our author seems to be the fourth paeon, in contradiction to Aristotle's recommendation cited above. Several examples of this are very striking on account of their outstanding position at the beginning of solemn pieces, e. g. πολυμερῶς (1. 1), ὅθεν ἀδελφοί (3. 1), βλέπετε μὴ (12. 25) ὁ δὲ Θεός (13. 20). Akin to this is the anapaestic-iambic initium, for instance, διὸ τὰς | παρειμ- (12. 12). There are some other types such as a heavy tetrasyllable, a less ponderous intium consisting of two anapaests, and even occasionally an initium of three trochees. The standard Aristotelian clausula, namely the fourth paeon is wrongly said by Dr. Moffat to occur for the first time in 11. 3. Professor Vitti has counted thirty-five such paeonic clausulae altogether, his first example being taken from 7. 5. Taking into account the usualness of prolonging the last syllable, this clausula may be said to occur for the first time in the -κεν ὄνομα, with which the transitional verse of the Prologue ends (1. 4). The dichoree or its equivalent, namely, a tribrach followed by a choree (or spondee) is also a favourite ending. A good example of the first type is the end of 6. 17, ἐμεσί | τωσεν ὄρκῳ, and, of the second the clausula μὴ ποτε | παραρνῶμεν. The diiambic clausula is also considerably in evidence, e. g. οὐ ὅτερ | εἰς τροφῆς (5. 12), and a double anapaest terminates some carefully balanced sentences like 2. 16 (ἐπιλαμβάνεται). The combination of iambus and trochee known as the antispastic occurs, according to Father Vitti's calculation, nineteen times, e. g. τελειῶσαι (2. 10; cfr. 2. 18, 3. 14, 4. 3 etc.); the choriambic ending appears fifteen times, one example being εἰς μαρτύριον τῶν λαλῇ | θησομένων, (2. 5).² The dochmius, which is such a favourite of the Greek tragic chorus, has been counted sixteen times. We have it for instance, in the form of an iambus-cretic combination, in the words: λογίων τοῦ θεοῦ (5. 12). The cretic also is particularly frequent, sometimes preceding an anapaest as in the ending παρεμβολὰς ἔκ | λιναν ἀλλοτρίων, and sometimes combining with another cretic to form the dicretic rhythm so familiar to us from our Latin liturgical prayers, e. g. οὐκ ἐπαισχύνεται (2. 11).³

¹ *Le bellezze stilistiche della lettera agli Ebrei*, pp. 158, 159.

² It is necessary to note that in many cases the analysis may vary according to the number of syllables regarded as belonging to the clausula. For example, the verse νωθοὶ γηγόνετε ταῖς ἀκοαῖς (5. 11) may be regarded as ending choriambically (ταῖς ἀκοαῖς) or with a double anapaest ατε ταῖς | ἀκοαῖς.

³ I have not actually found a *major* dicretic clausula in our Epistle (but my observation may be imperfect). The simple cretic occurs three times in such a sentence as: ἄρα ἀπολείπεται σαββατισμὸς τῷ λαῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ (4. 9).

There are also examples of cross cadences as for instance:

ἔστιν δὲ πίστις ἐλπιζομένων ὑπόστασις
πραγμάτων ἔλεγχος οὐ βλεπομένων.

Here *-πιζομένων* and *βλεπομένων* are fourth paeons, while *ὑπόστασις* and *ἔλεγχος οὐ* scan as a dithyrambic metre. Rhythmic balancing is observable especially in the "peroration" of chapter eleven, for instance,

ἡργάσαντο δικαιοσύνην
ἐπέτυχον ἐπαγγελιών,

where the six last syllables scan as double anapaests. Dr. Moffat gives as an example of an initium chiming with a foregoing clausula the words of 11. 38, 39:

καὶ σπηλαίοις καὶ ταῖς ὀπαῖς τῆς γῆς
καὶ οὗτοι πάντες μαρτυρηθέντες ...

It will be observed that the ten syllables of each member are long with the exception of the seventh. The syllabic sequences, therefore, perfectly fit one another.

This review of the rhythmical facts, incomplete as it is, shows what considerable quantity and variety of rhythm are to be found in *Hebrews*. We may close it by attempting an analysis of one very carefully written piece, namely, the Prologue.

- a) πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως
- b) πάλαι ὁ θεὸς λαλήσας τοῖς πατέρας ἐν τοῖς προφήταις
- c) ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων ἐλάλησεν ἡμῖν ἐν ὑμῶ
- d) ὃν ἐθηκεν κληρόνομον πάντων
- e) δι' οὗ καὶ ἐποίησεν τοὺς αἰῶνας.
- f) ὃς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης
καὶ Χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ
- g) φέρων τε τὰ πάντα τῷ ρήματι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ
- h) καθαρισμὸν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ποιησάμενος
- i) ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν ὑψηλοῖς ...

In this piece a) may be regarded as a *comma* beginning and ending in the fourth paeon. The clausulae of b) and c) are rhythmically identical. There is no correspondence between d) and e), but Blass, with insufficient reason, adopted the word-order of the MSS which transfer *ἐποίησεν* to the end of e), thus establishing rhythmic correspondence. The next pair of *cola* f) and g) terminate identically in an anapaest and spondee, *-στάσεως αὐτοῦ* and *-νάμεως αὐτοῦ*, the initium of the following *colon* being made to repeat this rhythm, if we

adopt, as Blass does, the addition δι' ἑαυτοῦ placed by some MSS before καθαρισμόν. It is purely on rhythmical grounds also that Blass transposes the words τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν to the end of *h*) and adopts the addition ἡμῶν on the authority of inferior manuscripts. In this way a further rhythmic concord is obtained between -ων ἡμῶν and ἐν ὑψηλοῖς, that is, between the clausulae of *h*) and *i*). Since all the rectifications introduced by Blass are more than doubtful, the rhythmic facts for the Prologue are: a paeonic opening and correspondence between two pairs of *cola* in regard to their clausulae—which is certainly quite a respectable amount of prose rhythm in so short a passage.

It seems to be quite certain, therefore, that *Hebrews* is a rather rhythmical composition, but does this rhythm demand the authorship of a trained rhetorician as its only adequate explanation? To assume this would be equivalent to asserting that high literary art always presupposes high technical training. Rhythms particularly are a psychological element in prose-composition which must be predominantly native to the author. All good prose will be more or less rhythmical and its degree will depend more on two general factors than on any personal training, namely, the degree of the author's attunement to the current rhythms of the language which he uses and the power of a great subject over his soul. To these general factors two particular ones may be added, namely, the state of mind in which the author actually works and the amount of care which he bestows on his composition. Now St. Paul knew the Greek language well. It was really his native language and the music of the great Hellenic world of his apostolate took possession of him more and more, as the years passed. To what extent he had read Greek literature, prose or poetry, cannot be determined, but whatever his means of contact with the Hellenic Muse may have been, snatches of Greek verse found a place in his rhetorical repertoire, as his Athenian discourse (Acts 17. 29), the first to the Corinthians (15. 33) and the letter to Titus (1. 12) bear witness. With his undoubted mastery of the Greek language and sympathy with its genius, it is not surprising that the Apostle becomes strongly rhythmical, when a particularly sublime subject offers itself. The rhythmic quality of the charity-hymn in first Corinthians has been universally admired and it does not stand alone.¹ In estimating the origin of those rhythms

¹ No reader can fail to observe how rhythmical Philippians 4. 4-9 is. It will be noticed that the first two *cola* begin with a fourth paeon and end in a dactyl. τὸ ἐπιεικ- is also a paeon and the sentence, which it opens, closes with a cretic and a spondee (πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις). It could, perhaps, be proved that many of the

the Greek of the Septuagint has also to be taken into account and behind that the Hebrew Bible, familiarity with which formed a psychological disposition to rhythmic speech. Blass, who supposes Barnabas to be the author of our Epistle, considers that the Cyprian Levite's psalm-singing was an important factor in creating the rhythmic spirit in him. "Gerade wegen der Psalmen lagen ihm die Rhythmen besonders nahe."¹ Though Paul was no Levite, he must have come very much under the same literary influences as Barnabas with results all the more remarkable because of his surpassing genius and natural eloquence. To suppose that this "Hermes" from Tarsus had only an inferior gift of speech is to contradict the history of the first missionary expedition and especially the history of that celebrated missionary day at Lycaonian Lystra (Acts 14. 8-20) as well as the evidence of thirteen letters.

Let us suppose St. Paul, then, with his admittedly great command of the resources of colloquial Greek, resolved to write on such a great subject as the excellence of Christ and in circumstances which demanded a calm and studied composition, can anyone make bold to assert that such a cause is not equal to the effect which lies before us in the Epistle to the Hebrews? It is a mistake to look for the explanation of the rhetorical perfection of our Epistle in a technical training rather than in the natural capacity of the writer. With regard to rhythm in particular two points should be specially noted. Firstly, there is no evidence that the *auctor ad Hebraeos* was possessed of a theory of prose-rhythm such as that to which Cicero consecrates a third of his *Orator ad M. Brutum* (XLIX-LXXI). Secondly, there are deep psychological forces behind speech-rhythms, which it is exceedingly difficult or impossible to trace.² In the present case the facts, numerous though they be, do not postulate any preliminary acquaintance with Isocratean methods or with the devices of Asiatic rhetoric. Great thoughts summon rhythms to express themselves;

rhythms which frequently occur in *Hebrews* are embedded in the Pauline phraseology. For instance, the clausula consisting of an anapaest and a spondee would come very easily to a person continually using such phrases as ἐξ' ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν (Rom. 1. 4), ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν (1 Cor. 15. 21), τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ (Philipp. 3. 10), while the cretic ending is, as it were, fixed in the noun Θεός preceded by a long syllable, a final combination which occurs frequently.

¹ *Brief an die Hebräer*. Vorrede p. 9.

² I have heard on excellent authority that a first-class American philologist discovered whole blocks of Demosthenic rhythms in the writings of the English art critic, John Ruskin. Ruskin was a graduate of Oxford, but it seems very unlikely that reminiscence of the Athenian's rhythmic is the real explanation of the fact.

"ipsi inquam se offerent et respondebunt non vocati" (Cicero, *De Oratore* 3, 49). We may feel sure that St. Paul did not artificially introduce the final paeon into the verse which ends with κύμβαλον ἀλαλάζον nor studiously seek the other rhythms which occur in the charity-hymn of first Corinthians. Rhythms are more abundant in *Hebrews* than in the other Paulines because of the author's greater attention to word-order, and not because of a preconceived scheme of rhythm.

Stylistic Colour

The term "colour" transferred to the realm of literary style has a certain amount of vagueness about it. Nevertheless, ancient and modern usage has sanctioned its adoption. Clement of Alexandria was the first to use the expression in reference to our Epistle, observing that the alleged Greek translation of St. Paul's Aramaic original had the "same colour" as the Acts of the Apostles. Clement obviously meant that the vocabulary and phraseology showed a Lucan complexion. Here our intention is to apply the metaphor to that special peculiarity of chromatic tone which marks, as it were, the tonic tint of *Hebrews* among New Testament writings. For our present purpose colour and tone are synonymous. As a man's mind is said to be steeped in the colours of his trade, so a writing must be tinged with that particular blend of tones which a special subject, special psychological disposition and special milieu call forth from the mind of the writer. In what colours is the texture of our Epistle dyed?

The Jewish destination of this "word of exhortation" called for a style which should be not only biblical but in some measure synagogal. If we examine the discourses delivered to Jewish audiences in the Acts of the Apostles, we shall find that the forms of address and the terminology itself are steeped in the colours of a tradition belonging to a venerable and privileged race. The Apostle of the Gentiles did not depart from that traditional form of address when he spoke in the synagogues of the Diaspora nor when he spoke from the steps of the temple at Jerusalem or before the Sanhedrin. We find the first and most remarkable Pauline specimen of this style in the discourse of Pisidian Antioch. The Apostle's hearers are there called ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται καὶ οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν; God is "the God of this people Israel;" He chose "our fathers." The relations to Egypt and the years in the desert and the settlement in Canaan are all remembered. David and the seed of David are introduced, as it were, to bud forth the Saviour, the mention of whose ministry

is followed by a sentence which is impregnated with Hebrew colour: "Viri fratres, filii generis Abraham et qui in vobis timent Deum, vobis verbum salutis huius missum est."¹ "The voices of the prophets, which are read every sabbath day," were fulfilled by the action of the Jerusalemites and their Princes in regard to the crucifixion. The Apostles, who saw the risen Jesus, are now witnesses of him *πρὸς τὸν λαόν*. It is "the promise made to the fathers" that is henceforth announced as "fulfilled for their children" in the raising up of Jesus. "Be it known unto you, therefore, *ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί*, that through this man is preached unto you the remission of sins and in him every believer is justified from all those things from which ye could not be justified in the law of Moses. Beware, therefore, lest (*βλέπετε οὖν μὴ*) that come upon you which was spoken in the prophets."

This summary gives a faithful idea of the texture of the whole discourse and shows that it is coloured through and through by the grand protocol tones of a privileged past. The final words, especially, bring into relief the homiletic accent which joins itself to the forms of address and the historic phraseology to set the stamp of synagogal style on this piece of Pauline oratory. So was it meet to address a people of Abrahamite dignity, a people that had been the chosen depositary of glorious promises now fulfilled, a people whose life had been guided by the voices of prophets and whose past history was full of grave warning even for the children of the Messianic age.

There is no need to seek further parallels in the Acts nor to draw attention to the striking echoes of St. Stephen's *apologia* which are found in *Hebrews*. The letter is obviously so much a daughter of the preaching style which we have just heard in Antioch of Pisidia as to deserve the compliment: "O matre pulchra filia pulchrior."²

That *Hebrews* observes this manner is in fact sufficiently evident from what has been already said in the course of this essay. The tone is so clearly homiletic that critics have tried to prove that the writing is really a homily which was fashioned into an epistle by the hand of the author or by some later redactor.³ The author himself

¹ Acts 13. 26.

² HORACE, *Odes*, Book I, 16. 1.

³ WINDISCH, *Der Hebräerbrief*, p. 123, 124: "Von 1. 1 bis 13. 17 ist der Hebr. am besten als eine niedergeschriebene Predigt anzusehen, die im ganzen typisch gehalten, aber doch einer bestimmten Gemeinde zugeordnet ist... Hebr. ist eine Homilie die für eine dem Verfasser bekannte Gemeinde niedergeschrieben, ganz gelegentlich auch auf ihre konkreten Verhältnisse eingeht und schliesslich wie ein Gemeindebrief endet." This view of Windisch, namely, that the author of the homily originally gave it the form of a letter, is to be distinguished from the opinion of those who consider it as a homily actually delivered in a certain place and then

has expressly stated that he wished to write exactly the same sort of message as Paul was asked to give in the synagogue at Antioch, that is, a λόγος παρακλήσεως (Acts 13. 15, *Hebrews* 13. 22). That he maintained the same protocol style is evident not only from the dozen instances in which the addressees are styled "God's people," or called by the name of "holy brethren," or referred to as the "seed of Abraham," but even more especially because the warnings and arguments rest on such pillars as the solemn but still minor sanctions of the old angelic regime, the example of those whom infidelity excluded from the typological sabbath-rest of God's people, the efficacy of God's word spoken formerly by the prophets and now by the Son, the oath that was sworn to Abraham as a pledge of the certainty of Israel's hope. Only four times in the New Testament do the great progenitors of the chosen race receive the title "Patriarch," the fourth example being supplied by our Epistle applying to Abraham (7. 4) that same appellation given to David by St. Peter (Acts 2. 29) and to the fathers of the twelve tribes twice over by St. Stephen (7. 8, 9).¹ Thrice mention is made of "the fathers" (1. 2, 3. 9, 8. 9) and the voices of the prophets pervade the whole Epistle as the utterances of God Himself. As we have already said, so Israelite is the tone of our letter that the Gospel is an *ἐπαγγελία* and the Christian economy is *ἡ οἰκουμένη ἢ μέλλουσα*.

Not only is the colour of our Epistle eminently Israelitic and homiletic, but it is also liturgical and even hieratic. This fact has also been recognised and urged to support the claim of Barnabas as author or at least joint author of the Epistle. Barnabas was a Levite and would therefore have had a greater natural propensity to such a subject and such a style than the Benjaminite Paul.

The argument has, however, been used to cut both ways, in favour of Barnabas and against him. The Catholic commentator Dr. Ignaz Rohr, a Professor emeritus of Tübingen, thinks that a Levite could never have written the sentence (7. 27) in which the

adapted by the author as an Epistle for another community (R. Perdelwitz and E. Burggaller), also from the opinion of critics who regard the epistolary conclusion as a fiction whereby the author intended his homily to pass as a Pauline letter (Wendland, Torrey), and finally from the opinion of those who regard the conclusion as a later forgery to support the canonization of a Christian homily as a Pauline Epistle. This last is partially the position of W. Wrede (*Das literarische Rätsel des Hebräerbriefes*, Göttingen, 1906) who, however, regards our Epistle as "eine Mischung von Abhandlung und Predigt" (ibid. p. 73).

¹ In this connection Romans 4. 1 also deserves to be mentioned, because there St. Paul calls Abraham τὸν προπάτορα ἡμῶν, an expression which is found nowhere else in the New Testament.

Highpriest seems to be represented as offering a daily sacrifice, nor could he be responsible for a description (9. 4) which appears to place the altar of incense within the Holy of holies.¹ In both of these cases the *indefiniteness* of the author's phraseology may perhaps indicate that he was not a Levite by birth and profession but, in any case, that fact is sufficiently clear from the Epistle as a whole, there being no such obtrusion of levitical interest as colours a work like the two volumes of the Chronicler in the Old Testament (1 and 2 *Paralipomena*). The liturgical tone belongs rather to the subject matter, and since the sublime theme of the Priesthood of Christ is the central concern of the writer, the epistle comes thereby to be suffused with a solemn hieratic grandeur. Similar solemnity and similar liturgical colour are not alien to the mentality of St. Paul. The gravely solemn movement and the tone of worship which pervades the first half of Ephesians shows a marked affinity with *Hebrews*, in spite of such very considerable differences of style as seem to remove our Epistle as far from the Asiatic letter as this itself is removed from Romans. There is no better argument for the possible variations of St. Paul's stylistic capacity than a literary comparison of Romans and Ephesians. In the former letter the Apostle is keyed to a high tension of vivacity so that his language moved with the vigour of a military march, while on the other hand the writer of Ephesians moves in a deep vein of theological meditation which makes his advance more like that of a solemn procession.² There is really as

¹ *Die Heiligen Schriften des Neuen Testaments: Der Hebräerbrief*. Exkurs: *Der Hohepriester des A. T. und des N. T.* (p. 35). Having remarked that the participation of the Highpriest in the office of daily sacrifice was limited to Expiation Day, he adds: "So war die Ausdrucksweise von Hebr. 7. 27 immerhin möglich, aber nicht bei einem Schriftsteller, die den Opferkult aus eigener Anschauung kannte, wie etwa Barnabas, der Levite. Und wenn ein Heidenchrist die Angaben Sir. 45. 14 las, so konnte er darin eine Bestätigung für das tägliche Hohepriester-sühneopfer sehen. Hebr. 7. 27 ist also zugleich eine Instanz für einen Heidenchristen als Verfasser der Briefes." If the last two sentences suppose, as they seem to suppose, an erroneous interpretation of Ecclesiasticus 45. 14 to have found its way into *Hebrews* 7. 27, they cannot stand before the dogma of Scriptural inerrancy. It is also difficult to defend the following word of comment on *Hebrews* 9. 4: "Den Räucheraltar, der nach Ex. 30. 6 gleichfalls im Heiligtum stand, versetzt er ins Allerheiligste zur Bundeslade. Bei einem Heidenchristen, wie es der Verfasser ja war, kann das nicht auffallen, um so weniger als Ex 30. 6 immerhin so gedeutet werden konnte und die dem ntl. Zeitalter Baruchapokalypse 6. 7 dieselbe Anschauung vertritt" (ibid. pp. 39, 40).

² With some exaggeration but also with much felicity W. Sanday notes this difference of style in his Introduction to Romans (*International Critical Commentary*, Romans,⁵ 1908, p. iv.) "We shut the Epistle to the Romans and we open

wide a gulf between the style of Romans and Ephesians as between Romans and *Hebrews*, although, on the whole, Ephesians is the letter which most resembles *Hebrews*. However, what we are concerned with here is that the hieratic Paul shows himself in all three epistles only, indeed, in a few patches of Romans but in at least one half of Ephesians and in practically the whole of *Hebrews*. A few indications will suffice to place this assertion in evidence.

It is only a writer capable of high liturgical tones that could represent his apostolate in the Gospel of Christ in the magnificent hierurgical terms of Romans 15. 15 f. There St. Paul justifies the liberty of having written so boldly to the Romans by appeal to the grace which was given to him *εἰς τὸ εἶναί με λειτουργὸν Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, ἱεροουργούντα τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἵνα γένηται ἡ προσφορά τῶν ἐθνῶν εὐπρόσδεκτος, ἡγιασμένη ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ*. This is, perhaps, the passage of the Paulines which is most richly coloured with hieratic metaphor but it does not stand alone in Romans nor is it unparalleled in other Epistles. The doxologies are all liturgical and it is especially noteworthy that the *Gloria* at the end of the dogmatic section of Romans (11. 36) leads on to an exhortation which opens with a liturgical expression of Christian self-dedication, involving the presentation of the body as a living victim, holy and pleasing to God, *τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν ὑμῶν*.

This same idea of Christians being an offering to God had already made its appearance in the Apostle's earliest letters, for he asks the Thessalonians to be grateful that God chose them as "an offering of first-fruits (*ἀπαρχήν*) unto salvation in the hallowing of the Spirit" (2 Thess. 2. 13). It furthermore continues through all the groups of the Epistolary. The Corinthians are Paschal azyms (1 Cor. 5. 7); God has anointed them (2 Cor. 1. 21); and by the preaching of the Gospel the Apostle himself has become a sweet odour of Christ unto God amongst them, the term *εὐωδία* having sacrificial connotation (2 Cor. 2. 15). Similarly the collection sent by the Philippians to Rome to assist their Apostle, he regards as an *ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας θυσίαν δεκτὴν, εὐάρεστον τῷ Θεῷ* (Philipp. 4. 18). Finally, when the

that to the Ephesians, how great is the contrast! We cannot here speak of vivacity, hardly of energy; if there is energy, it is deep down below the surface. The rapid argumentative cut and thrust is gone. In its place we have a slowly-moving, onwards-advancing mass, like a glacier working its way inch by inch down the valley. The periods are of unwieldy length, the writer seems to stagger under his load. He has weighty truths to express, and he struggles to express them—not without success but certainly with little flexibility or ease of composition. The truths unfolded read like abstract truths, ideal verities laid up in the heavens rather than embodying themselves in the active controversies of earth."

last message to Timothy tells that martyrdom is near, the prisoner of Jesus Christ finds no more suitable name for himself than that of a libation ready to be poured out: "ego enim iam delibor" (Tim. 4. 6). Non-catholic commentators too easily forget that Paul the Benjaminite was a priest of the New Testament, and although he never calls himself by this name, he knew a table which was not the table of demons (1 Cor. 10. 21), "per mensam altare utrobique intelligens."¹ Over such a table he certainly was wont to preside (Acts 20. 7, and cfr. 1 Cor. 11. 20-34), so that the habitual consciousness of the Christian priesthood naturally coloured his language already impregnated with the sacerdotal terminology of the Old Testament.

But *Hebrews*, as has been said, finds the nearest of kin to its liturgical tone in the solemnity of the Epistle to the Ephesians. The majestic stateliness, but not the heavy movement, of the first three chapters is reflected in the general style of our Epistle, but above all we find the central theme and the liturgical colour of the latter writing in a sentence comparable, in view of hieratic developments, to the evangelical mustard seed. That sentence is as follows: "Christus... tradidit semetipsum pro nobis, oblationem et hostiam Deo in odorem suavitatis" (Eph. 5. 2). The potentiality of the statement here made is further foreshown in the description of the fruits of Christ's sacrifice in the Church: "Seipsum tradidit pro ea, ut illam sanctificaret, mundans lavacro aquae in verbo vitae, ut exhiberet ipse sibi gloriosam Ecclesiam, non habentem maculam, aut rugam, aut aliquid huiusmodi, sed ut sit sancta et immaculata" (5. 26, 27). The tonality and colour of *Hebrews* is already sown and forecasted in such magnificent words as these.

External Literary Influences

So perfect a style as that of the Epistle to the Hebrews must have very considerable shaping forces behind it. The author's literary environment is, of course, one of those forces. The question therefore arises whether we can trace the influence of certain known varieties of style upon him. In this connection the first influence that naturally suggests itself to an investigator is that of the Alexandrian Bible. That the writer was well acquainted with the Greek Scriptures, whose use spread from Alexandria to the whole Hellenistic Diaspora, is so overwhelmingly certain that it has been even doubted whether he had ever read a Hebrew roll. With one possible exception (Deut. 32. 35; *Hebrews* 10. 30), he never seems to take his biblical

¹ Conc. Trid. Sess. XXII, cap. 1. DENZINGER-BANNWART, *Enchiridion*, 939.

citations from any other source. But has he also derived part of his vocabulary, some of his phraseology and certain points of structure from the same literary fount? This question requires an affirmative answer which, however, must be strictly limited. Apart from citations and some phrases that are verbally taken over from certain biblical pages which he lays under contribution, and also several reminiscences of biblical expressions, the style of our Epistle cannot be described as biblico-Alexandrian. A fairly considerable coincidence of vocabulary has been already noted, but the author does not at all manifest a strong tendency to express himself in phrases borrowed from the Old Testament. He has not cultivated a biblical style in any such sense as we associate, for instance, with St. Bernard of Clairvaux. Just like St. Paul, our author says things in his own personal way, even when the thoughts which he expresses ultimately flow from the ancient biblical fount. The diction of this master of the Old Testament books is his own, even when words and images from the Septuagint crowd in abundantly upon him.¹

Although in point of style the Septuagint cannot be spoken of as a literary unity, since it contains books translated by different hands, at different times and with very different degrees of skill, and comprises besides two original Greek books, namely, the very slightly stylised compilation known as the second Maccabees and a literary masterpiece called the Wisdom of Solomon, nevertheless, there is one general quality of the Alexandrian Bible to which our Epistle conforms, that is, an Hebraic simplicity very different even from the products of the literary *κοινή* whether these come from the hand of a Jew like Philo or a Greek like Plutarch. As we saw, the tendency to periodism in our author, must be regarded as very slight and in this we cannot regard *Hebrews* as an exception to the common New Testament style nor to the literary tradition created by the Alexandrian Bible. But the simplicity of the N. T. style is not artless. No book is written without some degree of art and, consequently, when the colloquial Greek of the day was pressed into service to translate the grand Scriptures of the Hebrew people or to communicate the still grander revelation of the New Testament, it thereby became an artistic literary medium. The fact that literature thus gets into closer contact with the language of the people only renews its youth and vigour.² In the case of average groups

¹ VON SODEN, *Handcommentar*, p. 7. Cfr. NAIRNE, *The Epistle of Priesthood*. Chapter VIII: The Epistle and the Old Testament, p. 280.

² Harnack has drawn attention to the impression which the form of the Greek Bible made even upon a man of Greek culture like Tatian. "Die mächtige Sprache

like the ordinary run of Hebrews in the Diaspora, the general absence of such deep Hellenic culture as a particular individual like Philo possessed, would leave persons more open to the influence of the Septuagint model. This is particularly observable in the Greek-speaking author of Wisdom, whose style is largely dominated by the Hebraic system of parallelism. It is also observable in a less degree, but still very palpably evident, in the general stylistic manner of our author. It is a mistake to see in him a product of a Greek rhetorical school.

Such general influence of the Greek Bible on the style of our Epistle will be readily admitted by anyone who is acquainted with the relative documents. A sufficiently good parallel may perhaps be found in the influence of the King James' Bible on John Milton and indeed on a great mass of English prose and poetry written during the last three centuries. The use of the Authorised Version in Great Britain was so constant and intense that through it Hebraic rhythm and even a biblical cast of phrase became part and parcel of the English language.¹ Something similar happened throughout Hellenistic Judaism. What we really witness in the New Testament—the Epistle to the Hebrews being no exception—is the creation of a new style through the powerful ferment of Apostolic inspiration working on the linguistic lump of colloquial Greek which was already partially standardised in Jewish circles under the influence of the Alexandrian Bible.²

In detail it is just as difficult to detect the shaping influences of particular books of the Old Testament in *Hebrews* as it is in the letters of St Paul. Apart from the passages touched in argument or in narrative, the detailed influence of the Alexandrian Bible does not seem to be any more in evidence throughout *Hebrews* than throughout

der Propheten und Psalmisten entzuckte den Mann, der durch die Rhetoren- und Philosophenschulen gegangen war. Kraft gepaart mit Einfachheit—das war es, was ihm das Buch so ganz anders erscheinen liess als jene ungeheuren Buchrollen, in denen sich die Autoren mühsam abqualten, über die höchsten Fragen ins Klare zu kommen" (*Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*⁴, 1924, Vol. I, p. 290). Tatian saw in these "barbaric books" what he describes as "τῶν λέξεων τὸ ἄτυπον καὶ τῶν εἰπόντων τὸ ἀνεπιτήδευτον καὶ τῶν μελλόντων τὸ προγνωστικὸν καὶ τῶν παραγεμάτων τὸ ἐξαισίον καὶ τῶν ὄλων τὸ μοναρχικόν" (*Oratio adversus Graecos*, 29. — P. G., VI, 868).

¹ See *The Legacy of Israel*, Oxford, 1927. Essay by L. MAGNUS entitled: "The Legacy in Modern Literature," pp. 483-505.

² Nairne, from whom I have taken the substance of the ideas expressed above, notes that this style lingers in the Apostolic Fathers, especially in Ignatius, but did not survive the triumph of Atticism, except perhaps in the beautiful language of the Greek Liturgies (o. c., pp. 288, 28).

the Paulines. Even where contacts are most frequent, as for instance, between our Epistle and the Pentateuch or Psalter, an influence extending to particularities of phraseology can seldom be detected. In searching for literary contacts, I was particularly surprised to find so few echoes of the Psalter. Apart from less than a dozen citations and a conspicuously dominant influence of Psalms 2. 8 and 109 upon three considerable sections of the Epistle, verses of the Psalms seem to have floated very seldom before the mind of our author.

Slight literary contacts with the Pentateuch are more frequent, but the other historical books, the prophetic rolls and Job seem to have shaped only a very small fraction of our author's language.¹

The writer's acquaintance with the later sapiential literature seems tolerably certain as far as the Alexandrian Book known as "the Wisdom of Solomon" is concerned, and perhaps probable as regards the Palestinian Wisdom of Sirach. The combination *παρεμείνας χεῖρας* (Heb. 12. 12) instead of *ἀνεμείνας* (Is 35. 3) is probably a reminiscence of Sirach (25. 23), but, as far as I know, this phrase together with the rather technical word *ἔξις* (Heb. 6. 14, Prologue of Siracides) is the only striking contact between our Epistle and the Greek Prologue and version of that Palestinian Book. The Alexandrian Book of Wisdom seems much better represented. The use of the adjective *εὐάρεστος* (13. 21) found only in our Epistle and the Paulines is proper in the Alexandrian Bible to Wisdom (4. 10, 9. 10) and the use of such words as *ἐκβάσις* (2. 17), *τελείω* (4. 13) *παραβολή* (5. 4), *παραπίπτω* (6. 9), *ἀπαύγασμα* (7. 26), *κατασκευάζω* (13. 4), *ὑπόστασις* (16. 21) in their respective contexts is sufficiently close to the use of the same words in our Epistle to justify the assumption of reminiscence. The expression *μετανοίας τόπος* is also striking enough to call attention to the parallel between Wisdom 12. 10 and Hebrews 12. 17 (cfr. Acts 25. 16), while a general parallelism of thought between Hebrews 11. 1-3 and Wisdom 13. 7-9 recalls how this

¹ Detailed proof of the assertions made in this paragraph would require an examination of many tiny strokes of parallelism, which cannot find place here. I therefore content myself with recording the result of a personal search for literary derivations, knowing very well that I may have missed very many subtle points of reminiscence, whereby ideas, images and rhythms of the Septuagint have perhaps found their way into our Epistle. However, a few examples may be mentioned. Genesis 1. 12 and 3. 17, 18 were obviously floating in the mind of our author, as he wrote Hebrews 6. 7, 8. Numbers 27. 16 probably determined the phrase "patri spirituum" in Hebrews 12. 9. Psalm 33. 14 is likely to be the source of the phrase *εἰρήνην δώκειν*, which is common to both *Hebrews* and *Romans* (cfr. 1 Petr. 3. 11). The twain *δείσεις τε καὶ ἱκετηρίας* (5. 7) may be a borrowing from Job 40. 27.

same chapter of Wisdom influenced the language of St. Paul, as he wrote his indictment of paganism to the Romans (1. 18 ff.). The discipline-passage in *Hebrews* (12. 4-13) presents similarity of ideas with Wisdom 6. 7, 8, and also with Sirach 7. 25, 30. 1, but perhaps the similarity is too general to found a supposition that these passages really contributed any thing to the writer's phraseology.

The discernment of some definite biblico-Alexandrian influences on *Hebrews* leads on to the further question of the writer's dependence on Judeo-Alexandrian thought as represented by the works of Philo. A certain generic kinship between Philo and the author of our Epistle or St. Paul has long been admitted, though not very much exegetical use was made of the kinship till the publication at Helmstedt in 1750 of a volume of *Sacrae Exercitationes in S. Paulli Epistolam ad Hebraeos ex Philone Alexandrino*. The author of this work was the philosopher and Hellenist, Johann Benedikt Carpzov, the fifth of his name.¹ Carpzov indeed held the Epistle to the Hebrews to be the work of St. Paul written under divine inspiration and under no direct influence of Philo's writings, which the Apostle, in his opinion, had never read.² Whatever Alexandrian learning the author had would have been derived from intercourse with Alexandrine Jews in Italy and at Rome.³ With few exceptions the rationalistic critics of the nineteenth century saw Alexandrinism written all over our Epistle. Baur regarded the writing as a Judeo-Christian product intermixed with Paulinism and spiritualised by an Alexandrian mentality.⁴ The other representatives of the neo-Tübingen school followed him and even the opponents of Tübingen ideas regarded the author of *Hebrews* as a man of distinctly Alexandrine formation. Alexandrine features have been admitted by such a mod-

¹ St. John Damascene in the eighth century introduces some passages from Philo into his *Parallela Sacra* (*Parallela Rupefucaldina*, 748 and 752; P. G. XCVI, 468, 476) but in his short commentary on *Hebrews*, he seems to use no other source but Chrysostom. In the *Catenae* edited by Cramer two short passages from Philo figure in the supplementary chain on *Hebrews* (*Supp. ex cod. Paris.*, 238, vol. VII, pp. 549, 580). Carpzov mentions in his preface some scholars who had before him annotated the N. T. from Philo (Grotius etc.) and makes special reference to the comparisons instituted between the language of Philo and that of the N. T. by Thomas Mangey, the English editor of Philo's Works (London 1742). Wetstenius also laid Philo under contribution in the rich collection of parallels which he added to his edition of the N. T. (Amsterdam, 1751, 1752).

² See *Philonianorum*, I. VI, cap. 2, p. LXXXVI: "Nos igitur, non quidem ob temporis rationem, fieri negamus potuisse, ut Paulus Philonem legerit, legisse autem fatemur cum Tuellio, nec certum esse atque etiam ne verisimile quidem."

³ *Ibid.*, page C.

⁴ JACQUIER, I, p. 478.

erate scholar as Westcott, who says that "the style of the Book is characteristically Hellenistic, perhaps we may say, as far as our scanty evidence goes, Alexandrine;"¹ also by Catholics like Jacquier, who writes: "S'il n'a pas connu les écrits de Philon, il a tout au moins été élevé à la même école que lui. Son éducation a été alexandrine et pas palestinienne".² Regarding this problem four different opinions may be distinguished, namely 1) the view which holds for direct influence due to the author having read some of Philo's works, 2) the view that the author had moved in a circle in which Philo's ideas were current, 3) the view that he had come under a simpler but definitely Hellenic kind of Alexandrian influence, 4) the view which reduces Alexandrian influence to a minimum resulting from little or nothing more than acquaintance with the Alexandrian Bible. Though we are here concerned mainly with the question of style, a word will have to be said on the relation of our author's thought to that of Philo.

The points in *Hebrews* which are regarded as reflecting Philonic mentality are chiefly connected with the following categories: 1) Christ figuring as the image of God like the Logos of Philo (1. 3); 2) Christ assuming the cosmic functions of the Philonian Logos (Prologue); 3) Christ characterised by the attributes of the Philonian Logos as firstborn (1. 6), as superior to the angels (1. 4-14), as Highpriest (1. 3), as suppliant (5. 7), as sharp penetrator of hidden things (4. 12); 3) Moses and Melchisedech similarly viewed by both authors (3. 1 ff. and 7 4 ff.); 4) identical use of Scripture as plenarily inspired (*passim*); 5) the

¹ O. c. Introduction, LXI.

² DBV. 3, 544. Cfr. *Histoire des livres du N. T.*, I, p. 482. Alexandrian influence directly due to acquaintance with Philo's writing is supposed by the Dutch theologian Clericus (*Bibliothèque choisie*, 1703-1718, Tome IV, p. 410), by Mangey (*Praef. ad Philonem*, p. 17), by Bleek (*Commentar*, I, 398) and, according to Holtzmann (*Neutestamentliche Theologie*, II, p. 329) by Hilgenfeld, Wendland (*Hellenistisch-römische Kultur*, p. 119), Hollmann and Völter. Von Soden and Wrede follow the same view, for which Siegfried's work *Philo von Alexandria als Ausleger des A. T.* (Jena 1875) had obtained very wide circulation. Moffat declares that a prolonged study of Philo has not allowed him to escape the conclusion that the auctor ad Hebraeos had read some of Philo's works (LXI, LXII). On the other hand, the denial of direct influence, which we have already seen enunciated by Carpsov, and the assumption of indirect influence resulting from an Alexandrian training are found in the works of many scholars, who have occupied themselves with the Epistle. These include amongst others Riehm (*Lehrbegriff des Hebräerbriefes*, I, 259: "es ist möglich, dass der Vf. des Hebräerbriefes ein Mann von alexandrinischer Bildung war") and Windisch, who supposes a simpler Judeo-Alexandrian influence than that of Philo and definitely states: "Dass er philonische Traktate gelesen haben sollte, ist ausgeschlossen." (O. c., p. 134).

common idea of God swearing by Himself (6. 13 ff.); 6) agreement in regard to certain particulars of Jewish ritual (7. 27, 10. 3); 7) the typical character of Mosaic institutions (8. 5); 8) the notion of faith (11. 1).¹ We shall consider these eight points as briefly as possible.

1. None of the texts cited from Philo as parallels to the description of the Son in *Hebrews* 1. 3: ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτήρ τῆς υποστάσεως αὐτοῦ, bears such a resemblance to our author's thought as *Wisdom* 7. 26. Philo speaks of the rational soul impressed with the seal of God ἡς (σφραγίδος) χαρακτήρ ἐστὶν αἰδιος λόγος (*De plantatione* 18). Elsewhere every man, in view of his intelligence, is said to resemble the divine Word, τῆς μακαρίας Φύσεως ἐκμαγεῖον ἢ ἀπόσπασμα ἢ ἀπαύγασμα γεγονώς (*De opificio mundi*, 146). In the treatise *Quod deterius potiori insidiari soleat* (83) Philo calls the human πνεῦμα τύπον τινὰ καὶ χαρακτῆρα Θείας δυνάμεως. In none of these passages is the Word itself described as a flashing-forth or as an express image of the divinity. Our author's language is therefore nearer to the above-mentioned sentence of *Wisdom*. The general thought, however, is not absent from Philo. Speaking in the treatise *de fuga et inventione* (101) of the mercy-seat and the Cherubim overshadowing it, he says that the divine Word, which is above these, did not come to be visibly expressed, inasmuch as it is not similar to any object of sense, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς εἰκὼν ὑπάρχων Θεοῦ. The same expression occurs in *de confusione linguarum* (147) where it is said that if we are not yet fit to be considered the children of God, nevertheless we are of His eternal image, namely, His most sacred Word: Θεοῦ γὰρ εἰκὼν λόγος ὁ πρεσβύτατος. In the same book (97) the ideal of every earnest aspirant to knowledge is placed in the vision of the essential Being, a lower stage of knowledge being to contemplate τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ τὸν ιερώτατον λόγον. Again, a striking passage in the section *de sacerdotio* of Philo's first book *de specialibus legibus* ascends from the precept regarding the bodily purity required in a priest to the immortal soul fashioned κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ὄντος, to which phrase is added the explanation: λόγος δὲ ἐστὶν εἰκὼν Θεοῦ δι' οὗ σύμπας ὁ κόσμος ἐδημιουργεῖτο (81). It is to the Logos that the

¹ For further details and a fuller discussion of the above matters, see BLEEK, pp. 398-402; SIEGFRIED, pp. 321-330; HOLTZMANN, pp. 329-335; WINDISCH, pp. 131-135 (*Der hellenistische Einschlag im Hebr.*); JACQUIER, pp. 478-482; and especially the excellent pages of LAGRANGE, *Le Judaïsme avant Jésus-Christ*, chap. XX, Philon d'Alexandrie, pp. 542-581, and Note G in the splendid work of LEBRETON, *Histoire du dogme de la Trinité*, Vol. I, pp. 616-627: "La doctrine du Logos chez Philon et la doctrine du Fils dans l'Épître aux Hébreux." Also J. DRUMMUND's two very readable volumes: *Philo Judæus or the Jewish Alexandrian Philosopher*, London, 1888.

term "image" applies in all these texts, but what we might call Philo's "iconology" is of very much wider application. For instance the genesiac heptaameron or hebdomad is an archetype of the two beautiful ways of life to which we must always look, so as to engrave their images (εἰκόνας) and forms (τύπους) on our intellects (*de decalogo*, 101).

From Philo's language and from an Egyptian parallel which is two hundred years older than Philo, namely the description of Ptolemy V Epiphanes (205-181 B. C.) as εἰκὼν ζωσα τοῦ Διός,¹ we may justly conclude that exemplarism of this sort was familiar to Hellenistic Egypt. Whether it was a peculiar Alexandrian favourite one cannot say, but at least it is certain that St. Paul stands nearer to the terminology of Philo than the author of *Hebrews*, if we only consider the use which he makes of the word εἰκὼν. Twice in the Epistles (2 Cor. 4. 4, and Col. 1. 15) Christ is said to be the image of God; twice man is spoken of as formed or reformed in the image of his Creator (1 Cor. 11. 7, and Col. 3. 10); three times conformation to the image of Christ is held up as the Christian ideal (1 Cor. 15. 49; 2 Cor. 3. 18; Rom. 8. 29).² It cannot, of course, be proved that there is any influence other than that of the first and fifth chapters of Genesis and of the seventh chapter of Wisdom at work here, but if Philonian ideas are held responsible for this category of thought, then St. Paul is more a Philonian than the auctor ad Hebraeos.

2. Again, if the cosmic mediatorship of the Son is Philonic because Philo's Logos figures as the medium δι' οὗ σύμπας ὁ κόσμος ἐδημιουργεῖτο (*de spec. leg.*, I, 81), we shall have to admit Philonism in first Corinthians 8. 6 and in Colossians 1. 16 as well as in Hebrews 1. 3. The truth is, however, that the mediatorial roles of Christ the Son and of Philo's Logos in creation are poles apart. As a text of *de Cherubim* (125, 126) clearly shows, the Platonic philosophoumenon which Philo calls Logos plays only a subordinate and instrumental part in creation. God uses the Logos as a tool (ἐργάλειον) or implement—ὄργανον δὲ λόγον δι' οὗ κατεσκευάσθη (ὁ κόσμος)—while the three N. T. texts just mentioned describe a person who is a creative agent, a person who is not only the δι' οὗ but also the εἰς ὃν and the ἐν ᾧ of all things (Colossians 1. c.) and "who carries all things by the word of his power" (Heb. 1. c.).³ As far as I know, Philo does not represent

¹ The Rosetta inscription dated 196 B. C. (OGIS, 90, cited by Lebreton).

² The word also occurs in its ordinary sense in Romans 1. 23. Cfr. BOVER, *Imaginis notio apud B. Paulum*, Biblica 4 (1923), pp. 174-179.

³ Lebreton together with Lightfoot (Colossians, p. 153) remarks that the Alexandrian Jew frequently and consistently used the simple instrumental dative

the Logos as carrying all things, nor does he ordinarily speak of the Logos steering all things in the quality of a supreme helmsman, as Moffat asserts, wrongly citing a passage from *de migratione Abraham* (6) in which the phrase κυβερνήτης πηδαλιουχεί τὰ συμπάντα really refers to God using the Logos as a rudder.¹ Unless we admit that Philo contradicts himself, it is doubtless in this instrumental meaning that the Logos in one place comes to be called ὁ δίοπος καὶ κυβερνήτης τοῦ παντός (*de Cherubim*, 36). At any rate, φέρω regularly has a creative sense in Philo and belongs to God (e. g. *Quis rerum divinarum heres*, 36, ὁ τὰ μὴ ὄντα φέρων καὶ τὰ πάντα γεννῶν; *de mutatione nominum*, 256, πάντα φέρων σπουδαῖα ὁ Θεός). The Alexandrian Jew could never speak of his Logos as "carrying all things by the word of his power."

3. The Logos is regarded by Philo as God's eldest son, πρωτόγονος (*de confusione linguarum*, 63) or πρωτόγονος υἱός (*de agricultura*, 51) or πρωτόγονος αὐτοῦ λόγος (*de confusione linguarum*, 146) but always in a purely philosophical sense as being a cosmological principle senior to the world. Thus in *de fuga*, 109, the Logos receives birth from God, the Father of all things, its mother being wisdom," through which everything came to birth." On the other hand St. Paul (Rom. 8. 29; Col. 1. 15, 18) and the author of *Hebrews*, using the term πρωτότοκος to which Psalm 88. 28 had given Messianic consecration, joined this messianic sense to a cosmic one already foreshadowed in the eighth chapter of Proverbs, because the synthesis was realised in Christ.

The angelic world of Philo is likewise a system of metaphysical abstractions for which, by allegorisation, the angels of the Bible serve as symbols. The Logos is, in this sense, the supreme Archangel (*de confusione linguarum*, 146): τὸν ἀγγέλων πρεσβύτατον, ὡς ἂν ἀρχ-ἀγγελον πολυώνυμον ὑπάρχοντα. Hence, whenever a single angel comes before him in the Bible, Philo mostly substitutes the Logos (e. g. the angel of Agar, *de fuga*, 5; the angel of Balaam, *Quod Deus immutabilis*, 182, in which latter passage identity is established between the prophet's conscience and the divine Word, ἄγγελος ποδηγετῶν). Our author, on the other hand, is one with St. Paul in placing the historical Christ not merely above certain metaphysical abstrac-

φ̄ to describe the relation of the Word to the Creator, a mode of speaking which is nowhere found in the N. T. See *Legum Allegoriae*, I, 21: III, 96 (σκιά Θεοῦ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν φ̄ καθάπερ ὄργάνῳ προσχρησάμενος ἐκσομοποιεῖ and for a clear indication of Philo's meaning compare the whole of paragraph 57 in *Quod Deus sit immutabilis*).

¹ Commentary on Hebrews 1. 3, p. 7.

tions but above those living spiritual creatures known in the Jewish revelation as angels. In *Hebrews* the angels do not stand in the relation of cosmological subordination to the Son but in the attitude of adoration (1. 6).

The attribution of highpriestly qualities to the Philonian Logos is an equally flimsy motive for asserting intellectual similarity between the Alexandrian and our author. By cosmological and psychological allegorisation Philo transfers to the cosmic and psychological sphere what he reads of the Jewish Highpriest in the Pentateuch. The death of the Highpriest mentioned in the legislation regarding the cities of refuge (Numbers 35. 28) supplies him with an occasion for a long train of such allegory. The Highpriest is not a man but the divine Logos, "entirely immune from all sins either wilful or unwilful." In accordance with Leviticus 21. 11, he is undefiled by contact with the dead bodies of either father (*ὁ πατήρ*) or mother (*ἡ μήτηρ*) because of his pure parentage, his father being God and his mother Wisdom. His head is anointed with oil, inasmuch as the governing part (*ἡγεμονικόν*) is radiant with brilliant light. The full sense of the sacerdotal vestments is that the Logos clothes himself with the world consisting of the four elements, a partial meaning of the same vestments being found in the soul clothed with the body or the mind clothed with virtues. The Highpriest never takes off his mitre which is the symbol of his cosmic dignity; he does not rend his garment because "the Word of Him Who is, being the bond of all, keeps all together." He marries a virgin of priestly race, namely, "incorruptible judgment" (*de fuga*, 106-118). Thus everything is allegorised and a sacerdotal investiture bestowed on the Logos which is merely symbolic and has nothing whatever to do with the central act of priesthood, that is, the offering of sacrifice. Consequently, there stands between the *λόγος ἀρχιερεύς* of Philo and the Highpriest of *Hebrews* a chasm so great that it is only very superficial scholarship that would dream of trying to bridge it.

Connected with the idea of highpriesthood is the function of the word as *ικέτης*. Here the priestly idea of intercession is really absent from Philo. In reference to the cry of the children of Israel ascending to heaven (Exodus 2. 23) God is said by him to have graciously called to Himself the suppliant word. Otherwise it could not have ascended. (*Leg. Allegor*, III, 214). Here the *λόγος ἱκέτης* is simply the cry of human beings under oppression. It is to human supplication also that the term applies in the treatise *de sacrificiis Abelis et Caini* (119)—*ὁ καταπεφευγὼς ἐπὶ Θεὸν καὶ ἱκέτης αὐτοῦ γεγονὼς λόγος ὀνομάζεται Λευίτης*. The suppliant word is a Levite as

being out of the most central and sovereign portion of the soul and therefore endowed with a privilege of primogeniture such as Levi held by substitution for the firstborn. Elsewhere (*de migratione Abrahami* 122) God is said not to turn away from the Word which supplicated Him (τον ικέτην ἑαυτοῦ λόγον), as is shown by the example of Moses (Numbers 14. 20). It is indeed affirmed in another place (*Quis rerum divinarum heres*, 205) that "to the archangel and eldest Word the Father who begot everything gave a special gift, that standing on the borders he should separate the created from the Creator. This Word is surely a suppliant of the mortal always anxious for incorruption, and an ambassador of the sovereign to the subject." Drummond seems to give a very satisfactory explanation of this passage, by supposing that the twofold function of human reason, as an ambassador to intimate the will of God and a suppliant to voice the travail of the material order, is extended to assume the role of universal reason. In this we have a remarkably bold personification but the personification does not stand as an intercessor, since the word *ικέτης* has not that meaning. The Word is the suppliant voice of the world for itself and not a mediator of reconciliation between God and the human race. It seems that the *λόγος ικέτης πρεσβευτής* stands in the middle between the two extremes as a pledge to both, guaranteeing on the one hand the permanence of God's care for His work and on the other the permanence of a suppliant aspiration of the whole world after its ideal. Reason descends in the guise of an ambassador of God and ascends in the guise of a suppliant.¹

Again, the setting of the "living and operative word of God *τομώτερος ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν μάχαιραν δίστομον*" beside the *λόγος τομεύς* of Philo (*Quis rerum divinarum heres*, 130-140)² rests on a certain similarity of vocabulary, but the ideas are far apart. Philo's "cutter" is Reason dividing out all the elements of the universe—in other words, a principle of differentiation and classification. Our author's *λόγος* is the revealed teaching inasmuch as it distinguishes and judges the moral activity of man. When Philo attributes an ethical

¹ See DRUMMOND, *Philo Iudaeus*, Vol. II, pp. 236, 239, and LEBRETON, o. c., pp. 624, 625. "To find in this anything but poetical personification, and make the Logos here an individual person seems to me quite bewildering" (Drummond, *ibidem*).

² This long passage, especially the concluding sentence of 140: ὁ Θεὸς ἀκοησάμενος τὸν τομέα τῶν συμπάντων αὐτοῦ λόγον διήρει τὴν τε ἄμορφον καὶ ἀποιον τῶν ὄλων οὐσίαν καὶ τὰ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀποκριθέντα τέτταρα τοῦ κόσμου στοιχεῖα καὶ τὰ διὰ τούτων παγέντα ζῷα τε αὐτὰ καὶ φυτὰ is commonly cited as a classic parallel of *Hebrews* 4. 12. The idea is often repeated by Philo, e. g. *ibid.* 235; *de mutatione nominum*, 108 etc.

function to λόγος, he always speaks either of human reason, as for instance when he says that growing malice "is cut (away) by the λόγος τομῇ τῷ κατ' ἐπιστήμην" (*quod deter. potiori insidiari soleat*, 110) or of cosmic reason, as when he says that the flaming sword between the two Cherubim of Genesis (3. 24) is "the hot and fiery λόγος in the middle of things, never ceasing to move with all zeal, with a view to the choice of good and the avoidance of the contrary" (*de Cherubim*, 30). As Drummond observes, Stoicism is at the back of this thought of world-reason or world-law (vol. II, p. 168). The personification which we have in *Hebrews* is, on the other hand, essentially a λόγος κριτικός, such as we find in a discourse of our Lord in St. John's Gospel (12. 48). It has its equivalent in the Old Testament, namely, in the instrument of judgment proceeding from the mouth of the Scion of Jesse (Is. 11. 4; cfr. Apocalypse 19. 15) and in the avenging word of Wisdom 18. 15, which is described as "all-powerful" and as "a sharp sword." The elements of the metaphor are really frequent in the Old Testament, for Jeremias compares the word of God to "a hammer that breaketh the rock" (23. 28), and the Messiah speaking in Isaias 49. 2 says: "The Lord... has made my mouth like a sharp sword." Besides, in Proverbs 5. 4 the sweet speech of a bad woman's mouth is said to be "sharper than a two-edged sword." As we have already seen, St. Paul also had seized on the metaphor: "the sword of the spirit which is the word of God" (Eph. 6. 17) and attributed judicial functions to revelation, for prophetic speech as a "discerner of men's thoughts" figures very strikingly in I Cor. 14. 24, 25. We may further add that "nakedness of all things before the eyes of God" might well be borrowed from a sentence of Job: "nudus infernus coram illo" (26. 6; cfr. Ps. 138, 12 and Proverbs 15. 11).

4. Philo calls Moses a Highpriest (*De vita Mosis*, II, 66, and *de praemiis et poenis*, 55, 56) but the Epistle to the Hebrews does not. Siegfried (p. 327) supposes that the Philonic denomination is connected with the comparison of Christ and Moses in *Hebrews* 3. 1 f., but it is evident that the comparison is not worked out under this aspect. The two are compared as Apostles. That both our author and Philo should stress the fidelity of Moses in the house of God in the terms of Numbers 12. 7 is not surprising, because the divine testimony there given to Moses, especially when taken in its circumstances, was a very solemn testimony to the greatness of the prophet, and must have impressed itself deeply on the Jewish imagination. Westcott observes that the words were much discussed by Rabbinical writers who found various deeper meanings in the Hebrew word for

"faithful." That the phrase μέγας ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς ὁμολογίας occurs in Philo (*de somniis*, I, 219) is more [than doubtful].¹ This reading is rejected by Wendland. There is therefore no solid reason for admitting echoes of Philo in the verses which open the third chapter of *Hebrews*.

The treatment of Melchisedech in the two author's (*Hebrews* 7 and *Leg. Alleg.*, III, 79-82) also furnishes only superficial resemblances. Philo seizes on Melchisedech's royalty of peace and justice and on the bread and wine which he brought Abraham, making these symbols of his λόγος ἱερεὺς. As usual it is the rule and benefits of right reason which are considered and nothing specially sacerdotal.

5. Philo and the author of *Hebrews* further agree, it is contended, in their view of the Scriptures, both admitting their plenary inspiration. This is simply true, for both men were Jews, and if we must still keep up the critical fiction of distinguishing the author of *Hebrews* from St Paul, we must also say that the Apostle of the Gentiles is likewise at one with Philo on this point.² That our author's manner of citing Scripture is nearer to Philo than to St. Paul may also be freely admitted, in so far as the mere process of allegation is concerned; but the exegesis of the two authors, in spite of occasional coincidences, belongs to entirely different worlds.³ The proofs of the two latter points belong to later sections of this work.

6. It is puerile to make out a case of dependence from the simple fact that our author, like Philo, draws a proof of the firmness of God's promise from the oath which he swore by Himself to Abraham (Gen. 22. 16, 17). It is true that *Hebrews* describes the divine oath in a way rather similar to Philo's description. The main Philonic parallel is from the *Allegories of the Holy Laws* (III, 203-208), but

¹ Cfr. SIEGFRIED'S note p. 326. Merkwürdig wäre das Zusammentreffen von Hebr. 3. 1 ἀρχιερέα τῆς ὁμολογίας mit *de somn.*, I 38 (I, 654 Mangey's edition) ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγας ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς ὁμολογίας, wenn nicht die beiden letzten Worte in cod. Med. fehlten und sich ausserdem als sinnstörender Zusatz erwiesen. Mit Recht vermutet daher Mangey z. d. St. dass hier ein aus dem Hebräerbrief geflossenes Glossen vorliege."

² See ROHR, o. c., 3. *Der Alexandrismus im Hebräerbrief*, p. 5. "Als charakteristisch für Philo und die Alexandriner bezeichnet man den strengen Inspirationsbegriff. Dabei ist jedoch zu beachten, dass der Inspirationsbegriff Philos sich von dem der palästinensischen Synagoge kaum wesentlich unterscheidet, sein Einfluss in Hebr. also noch keine Abhängigkeit von Philo bedeutet."

³ Siegfried notes especially that our author follows four of the canons of Philonic exegesis, namely: a) the abandonment of the historical sense of some passages, b) argument from Scriptural silence, c) pressing the meaning of a word, d) the use of etymology. But in spite of his partiality for the thesis of Philonic influence, he admits that the points of view are altogether different (o. c., p. 324).

Philo returns to the subject of God swearing in *de sacrificiis Abelis et Caini* (91-96) and in *de Abrahamo* (273). Of course, the mere reference to the oath "which God swore to Abraham our father" is not any more peculiar in *Hebrews* than it is in the *Benedictus* (Luke 1. 73). It is rather the following points of coincidence in the two descriptions which are urged: *a*) the mention that God had no one better than Himself to swear by (*Alleg.* 203), *b*) the confirmatory character of the oath (*ibid.*), *c*) the efficaciousness of an oath to end all controversy (*de somniis*, I, 12, with reference to the oath-bound pact at Beersabee, (Gen. 26. 26-33). These points are, however, obvious thoughts on which any two minds might coincide. But taking the treatment of this same subject by the two writers as a whole, the difference is greater than the similarity. Our author deals altogether more simply and strongly than Philo with the realism of Genesis 22. 16. The double certainty of the promise based on God's word and God's oath is very boldly brought out, and contrasts strikingly with the long discussions which Philo enters upon.

7. Some resemblances in the ritual conceptions of the two writers are also pointed out. The mention of a yearly ἀνάμνησις ἁμαρτιῶν in connection with the inefficaciousness of the Mosaic sacrifices (*Hebrews* 10. 3) is said to recall the assertion of Philo that "if the sacrificer be ignorant and wicked, his sacrifices are no sacrifices, his holy services are unholy, his vows are nonsense, certain to come to nothing; for even when they appear to be realised, οὐ λύσιν ἁμαρτιῶν ἀλλὰ ὑπόμνησιν ἐργάζονται (*de vita Mosi*, III, 107). It should be remembered, however, that Philo is, according to his custom, allegorising the ritual institutions of Mosaism and speaking of the spiritual acts of ignorant and wicked worshippers. Their religious services are irreligious and only remind God of their sin. Philo follows a still more symbolic conception, when he proceeds to explain why the lobe of the liver and the kidneys and fat of victims rather than the brain or heart were placed on the altar. He observes that one or other of these is the seat of government in man (τὸ ἡγεμονικόν), and that as sin is a failure on the part of the government, it would not be proper to offer on the altar, since by the altar sins are remitted, the vessel in which the mind did wrong. "It would be absurd," he says, "that sacrifices should work the remembrance of sins rather than the oblivion of them (*de victimis*, 8, otherwise, *de specialibus legibus*, I, 215). Consequently, as Moffat observes, what Philo declares absurd in any sin-offering, our author declares to be inevitable in the annual sacrifice of Expiation day. There is, however, a further difference, for, whereas Philo thinks in these two passages, as also

in *de plantatione*, 108 (with express reference to the jealousy sacrifice (Numbers 5. 15)¹ of unholy sacrifices reminding God of the worshipper's sins, he neglects rather than denies the objective value of the literal Hebrew sacrifices, being chiefly occupied with the mystic sacrifice of the senses, while our Epistle declares the inefficacy of the Hebrew sacrifices and finds the really efficacious sacrifice not in a purely spiritual and internal immolation but in the shedding of his blood by Christ.

Some other instances of agreement between the two authors in rather exceptional ritual views may be dismissed very briefly. In *Hebrews* 7. 27 there seems to be mention of daily sacrifices of the Highpriest and in Philo the Highpriest similarly appears *εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας τελῶν καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν* (*de specialibus legibus*, III, 131). Both writers seem to make a statement which has no Scriptural warrant; hence the conjecture that the author of *Hebrews* borrowed from Philo seems in place, especially if we suppose with Moffat that our author could not have thus interpreted Leviticus 6. 19-23 (Rahlf's 6. 12-16), because it was not in his copy of Leviticus, and that he knew nothing of later Jewish ritual, which prescribed a daily offering of meal by the Highpriest.² Both these suppositions are, however, unproven, while on the other hand the following facts need to be carefully considered. It must be remembered that the interpretation of *Hebrews* 7. 27 is a disputed point. Christ is said to be such a priest *ὃς οὐκ ἔχει καθ' ἡμέραν ἀνάγκην, ὥσπερ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς, πρότερον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδίων ἁμαρτιῶν θυσίας ἀναφέρειν, ἔπειτα τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ*. Heigl (o. c., p. 128) with much reason declares that, in view of the insistence on the "Einmaligkeit" of the Highpriest's expiatory offering in 9. 7, it is unthinkable that he should be here represented as making a daily offering for his own and the people's sins. He insists on the word-order as well as on the perpetual intercession of the living Christ enunciated in verse 25 and urges these as reasons for regarding the daily offering being declared needful to Christ, if

¹ MOFFAT, o. c., p. 137, thinks that our author possibly echoes the words of Numbers 5. 13, wherein the jealousy offering is described as *θυσία μνημοσύνου ἀναμνησκουσα ἁμαρτίαν*. But perhaps it is preferable to see here an echo of Numbers 10. 10. The yearly kippur was an annual trumpeting of sin that was committed and could not be remitted by the Mosaic sacrifices. At least, the *ἀνάμνησις* meant a public confession of sin unremitted.

² With calm assurance, as if both points were scientifically proved, Dr. Moffat, whose wide scholarship is on the whole so worthy of admiration, takes for granted that our author read his Greek Bible in a Manuscript belonging to the same group as the Codex Alexandrinus and that he had no knowledge of contemporary Jewish ritual (p. 102).

he were like the O. T. Highpriests. In that case his ministry would require a daily sacrifice. But he is not in the same category as the Hebrew Highpriests, for he has done his work once for all by one sacrifice.¹ Westcott had already given substantially the same interpretation but had supplemented it by two additional points. The complete interpretation he proposes to find in paralleling the daily offering which Christ has no need to make with the *toties quoties* fulfilment of their obligation by the Highpriests and in further regarding the daily sacrifices of the temple, in which the Highpriests occasionally took part, "as a significant memorial of the conditions of the High-priestly intercession on the one day of Atonement." Theodoretus takes ἀρχιερεῖς to include the whole priestly body, observing that the Apostle wants to exclude two things, namely, an offering of Christ for Himself and, besides, a repetition of the offering which he made once only on behalf of the people.²

Should one insist, however, that a daily offering by the Highpriest is at least supposed, there is still no reason to have recourse to an influence of Philo on our author. The Mishna (Tractate *Tamid*, 7. 3) speaks of the Highpriest taking part in the daily sacrifice, when he wished to do so, and even regards the Highpriest's part in it as the ordinary practice (*Yoma*, 2. 4).³ Josephus bears witness at least to the occasional participation of the Highpriest on sabbaths, neomeniae, national holidays and the great annual festivities.⁴ It seems, indeed, that a highpriestly offering of baked flour (חֲמֵץ) was regarded as an integral part of the daily *Tamid*, so that nine priests were required for the full daily office of sacrifice, although only eight were strictly necessary. It is therefore conceivable that in common parlance the offering of daily sacrifice could be associated with the Highpriest's functions.⁵ As a matter of fact, the bake-offering, which Aaron

¹ Es ist nicht gesagt, dass er nicht zu tun braucht, was die Hohenpriester all-täglich tun müssen, was weder die Wortstellung erlaubt noch der Kontext, indem es sich um die Begründung des V. 25 handelt (vgl. das γὰρ in V. 26) die mit der Frage, ob er so oft wie die alttestamentlichen Hohenpriester die hohepriesterliche Pflicht zu erfüllen habe, gar nichts zu tun hat."

² P. G., LXXXII, 733. See. A. M. VITTI, (*L'ambiente* etc., p. 270, Note), He adds to the interpretations of Heigl and Theodoretus that of Calmet who takes *quotidie* in a wide sense: *quoties postulabat necessitas*.

³ See SURENHUSIUS, *De die Expiationis*, II, p. 215, and *De sacrificio iugi*, V, 309; also STRACK-BILLERBECK, Vol. III on Ep. to Hebrews 7. 27.

⁴ *De Bello Iudaico*, V. 5, 7 Ed. Havercamp-Oberthür, vol. 3, p. 860.

⁵ STRACK-BILLERBECK, l. c. The view here set forth is adopted by Lebreton, who concludes: "Rien n'indique donc que cette donnée a été ici empruntée à Philon, et non à l'observation directe d'un usage alors existant" (p. 625 Note). It

and his successors were to make according to the terms of Leviticus 6. 19-23, is prescribed as a perpetual oblation and is undoubtedly what Sirach refers to in his eulogy of Aaron: *θυσία αὐτοῦ καρποθήσονται καθ' ἡμέραν ἐνδελεχῶς δὲ* (45. 14). Therefore, even if Philo and the author of *Hebrews* both agree in supposing a highpriestly sacrifice every day, it cannot be assumed that they were both in error.

Hebrews is also represented as uniting with Philo in the assertion of one sole entrance of the Highpriest into the Holy of holies on Expiation Day (Hebr. 9. 7 and Philo: *de specialibus legibus*, I, 72; *Legatio ad Gaium*, II, 59; *de gigantibus*, 51; *de ebrietate*, 136). *Hebrews* says: "semel in anno solus sacerdos" and Philo insists on the "once" so much that in the above-mentioned passage of the *Legatio* he mentions the death-sentence as due even to the Highpriest "if he were to enter on two days of the year or on the same day three or four times." On the other hand, Leviticus 6. 12 ff. prescribes at least two entrances and the tradition registered in the Mishnaic Tractate *Yoma* 5. 1-4 definitely says three, namely, with the incense, with the blood of the bullock, with the blood of the he-goat.¹ Our author and Philo could, of course, agree on regarding these two, three or even four entrances as one, because they belonged to one occasion or one ceremony of expiation. Thus the two writers do not unite in contradicting either Leviticus or Levitical custom but in using the expression *ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ* in an ordinary human way.

8. With regard to the relations existing between the typology of the Epistle and the typology of Philo, one can only express surprise that they were ever classed together. The view-points of the two writers are fundamentally different. Philo is wholly intent on philosophical speculation and concerned only with the allegorisation of the biblical texts into harmony with the eclectic philosophical tenets which he had drawn from Platonism, Stoicism and other systems. He makes a noble and a very ingenious attempt to set up Moses as the original teacher of whatever physical, metaphysical or moral

seems very probable that the *Minchah* of the Highpriest prescribed in Leviticus 6. 19 ff. and translated *θυσία* by the Septuagint in both of the texts above cited from Leviticus and Sirach (see Hebrew text of Sirach in NORBERT PEETERS, *Der Hebräische Text des Buches Ecclesiasticus*, p. 410) was ordinarily regarded as forming one sacrificial course with the daily *Tamid* of the community. In this way the Highpriest becomes identified with the offering of a daily sacrifice of expiation.

¹ STRACK-BILLERBECK on Heb. 9. 7. Here there is also mention of a Midrashic text which says that the Highpriest entered four times. "Auffallenderweise heisst es dagegen Nu. R 7 (148 a): Der Hohepriester ist in das Allerheiligste viermal am Versöhnungstage hineingegangen."

truth he found in Hellenic philosophy. Consequently biblical history as such has no interest for him, prophecy as a vision of providential developments in the future lies outside his field, his Messianism is so attenuated as to be little more than a mildly enthusiastic piece of Jewish patriotism. He does not contemplate, except perhaps in the vaguest way, a personal Messiah nor a Messianic Kingdom. As Lagrange has well said: "Philon ne s'intéressait ni aux histoires du passé ni aux prophéties de l'avenir. Ce qu'il rencontrait d'historique dans la Loi, il l'interprétait des destinées de l'âme. Quel rang pouvait tenir le Messie dans cette combinaison philosophique? Aussi le messianisme occupe-t-il une très petite place dans les écrits de Philon. On l'y rencontre cependant dans les écrits plus teintés de nationalisme...¹ Il a transposé l'histoire dans le domaine de la philosophie religieuse. Il ne l'a pas volatilisée jusqu'à nier son existence. Mais la principale leçon de l'histoire devenait un enseignement moral. Au lieu de conduire par la révélation les destinées d'Israël vers le Messianisme, Dieu montrait qu'il veillait à la perfection de chaque âme en particulier. Par conséquent, dans l'ordre pratique Philon barrait la route au Messianisme, quel qu'il fût. Il n'en conservait qu'une image affaiblie où le héros se dessinait à peine dans un avenir glorieux, non pas cause efficiente d'une vie meilleure, mais instrument de Dieu pour faire régner les saints."² This kingdom of the saints, however, was only a philosophic blend of the idyllic peace of Isaiah 11. 6-9 (without the personal Rod from the Root of Jesse), of the Stoic Cosmopolis, in which the Sage should reign, and of Platonic contemplation. Philo hoped that men would somehow improve and bring in a philosophic golden age.

The absence of Messianism from the pages of Philo excludes the very idea of typology. He is certainly an allegorist and symbolist of the first water. He finds everywhere images and symbols of an ideal metaphysical and physical world as well as of a moral world of virtues, but prophetic types of things which are to be in an institutional and eschatological world of the future he simply does not recognise. For the author of *Hebrews* on the contrary the Messianic

¹ Philo's belief in Providence was undoubtedly strong and it included a firm conviction regarding the indestructibility of his people always protected by a special Providence. He believed, moreover, that the Jews had a universal mission to fulfil, a priestly mission, in fact. Yet he never thinks of a Saviour arising out of Israel. See TREITEL, *Gesamte Theologie und Philosophie Philos von Alexandria*. Chapter VIII, Mission des jüdischen Volkes: die messianischen Hoffnungen bei Philo, pp. 114-118. "Im einzelnen weiss Philo nichts von einer Person des Messias, weder im geschichtlichen, noch im dogmatischen Sinne" (p. 116).

² O. c., pp. 572, 579.

world in its institutional and eschatological phases is "ἡ οἰκουμένη ἡ μέλλουσα about which we are speaking" (2.5), the world "of the good things to come" (9.11), which the preceding age by God's "prevision" (11.40) foreshadowed and prefigured. The passage of our Epistle which is most abused as a proof of the Alexandrian viewpoint, is *Hebrews* 8.2-5. There the author says that "Christ seated at the right hand of the throne of majesty in heaven is a minister of the sanctuary and of the perfect tabernacle which God pitched and not man. If he were on earth he should not be a priest, seeing that there are priests who offer gifts according to the law. These serve the copy and shadow of heavenly things—as Moses was divinely instructed when about to make the tabernacle, for God said to him: See that thou make everything according to the pattern shown to thee on the mountain." Dr. Moffat's comment on the passage may be taken as typical. "The ideal," he says, "was current in Alexandrian Judaism, under the influence of Platonism that this σκηνή on earth had been but a reproduction of the pre-existent heavenly sanctuary. Thus the author of *Wisdom* makes Solomon remind God that he had been told to build the temple... as μῦγμα σκηνῆς ἁγίας ἣν προητοίμασας ἀπ' ἀρχῆς (9.8), where σκηνή ἁγία is plainly the heavenly sanctuary as the eternal archetype. This idealism determines the thought of our writer... Above the shows and shadows of material things he sees the real order of being, and it is most real to him because of Jesus being there, for the entire relationship between God and man depends upon this function and vocation of Jesus in the eternal sanctuary."¹ Following this view, Dr. Moffat

¹ O. c., p. 106. Dr. Moffat seems to modify this statement somewhat by granting that our author's thought is deeper than the theory of invisible Platonic patterns as set forth for instance by Seneca (*Ep.* 58) and Cicero (*Tusc.*, III, 2, 3; *de Off.*, II, 17), but he persists in saying that our author thinks in terms of Alexandrian philosophy, elaborating a conception which is not only Platonic but Sumerian "in an altogether new form which goes far beyond Philo." Anyone who takes the trouble to read with critical attention the special pages which Dr. Moffat devotes to the Platonism or Alexandrinism of our Epistle (o. c. XXXI-XXXIV) will find it difficult to absolve him from a certain amount of self-contradiction. It is no wonder, for he is really trying the impossible task of bringing a purely Judeo-Palestinian and Christian exposition of the significance of the Incarnation into a sphere to which it does not belong. Windisch's note 3 (p. 133) is, however, a much more extraordinary piece of exegesis. He first traces to Hellenistic influence the alleged dualistic Weltanschauung of *Hebrews*, recognises the Philonic character of the great cleft opened between the sensible and the heavenly and then admits that both the heavenly sanctuary and the heavenly city are Jewish conceptions. He furthermore makes the queer statement that the Hellenism which worked on the author only strengthened the eschatological tendency in him.

takes the description of the Jewish sanctuary as ἀντίτυπα τῶν ἀληθινῶν (9. 24) to mean "a counterpart of reality" (p. 132), Moses having been shown a τύπος on the mountain corresponding to which he constructed the tabernacle as an ἀντίτυπος. Consequently, the thought of *Hebrews* is fundamentally identical with the thought of Philo, who in his remarks on the self-same verse of Exodus (25. 40) says that "Moses fashioned the archetypes and Beseleel their imitations:" Μωσῆς μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἀρχέτυπα τεχνιτεύει, βεσελεὴλ δὲ τὰ τούτων μιμήματα (*Leg. Allegor.*, III, 102). Elsewhere (*de somniiis*, I, 206) he describes Beseleel, according to the etymology of his name (*in umbra Dei*), delineating shadow, while Moses made the archetype essences (τὰ ἀρχετύπους ἐδημιουργεῖτο φύσεις). Still more remarkably Platonic is the statement in the *Life of Moses*, 74, to the effect that Moses saw on the mountain "the incorporeal ideas of the corporeal things to be constructed, according to which ideas, as from an archetype design and intellectual patterns, sensible imitations were to be modelled."

Our author would certainly not reject Philo's idea that Moses saw an archetype of the tabernacle, as he communed with God on the mountain, but the thought of the Epistle is not centred on archetypes in the Philonic sense but on types and antitypes in the historico-theological or Messianic sense. We ought at least to recognise that the author of *Hebrews* has the gift of thinking coherently. His mind is set as fixedly as St. Paul's ever was on "Christ and on his Church." Melchisedech, according to him "was made like to the Son of God." Hence Christ the eternal priest was at once the archetype and the antitype of Melchisedech. Similarly with the vision which Moses saw. What he had shown to him on the mountain was not just a design of the tabernacle outlined on the clouds, such as we sometimes see in pictures—a matter of mere linear measure. Nor was it an idea standing as a subsistent pattern in the supramundane sphere of ideal essences. It was, in some sense which we cannot determine, a prophetic image of Christ and of his Church.¹ In other words,

¹ St. John Chrysostom with his usual insight brings out this point (*In Heb.* Hom. XIV, P. G. 63, 112): "Was it then only what concerned the furniture of the temple that he saw, or was it also what related to the sacrifices, and *all the rest*? Nay, one would not be wrong in saying even this; for the Church is heavenly and is nothing else than Heaven." See also Cornelius a Lapide in h. l.: "Significat hoc loco Apostolus tum etiam ostensam fuisse Mosi ideam seu exemplar allegoricum et anagogicum, res videlicet caelestes, puta tabernaculum spirituale, scilicet Christi Ecclesiam tam militantem quam triumphantem, quae hoc materiali Mosaico tabernaculo significabatur."

it was not a cosmological emblem that Moses was commanded to construct. The sanctuary which he commissioned Beseleel to set up should be " a shadow and copy of the heavenly things " (8. 5) which Moses himself had seen in vision. These heavenly things belonged to the future, and consequently the Mosaic law was to have in its sanctuary " a shadow of the good things to come " (10. 1). The perfect sanctuary was the one which Jesus was to enter. Moses saw it imaged before him in a prophetic vision and consequently the Israelite tabernacle can be called an antitype of the type-sanctuary of the vision. This is equivalent to saying that the " type " which impressed itself on the mind of the Hebrew Leader on Sinai was an archetype, but only in the same sense as Tertullian asserted the archetypal character of the Word Incarnate in a wonderfully magnificent sentence on the creation of Adam: " Quodcunque limus exprimebatur Christus cogitabatur homo futurus." ¹ The real and mystic Christ of the fulness of time was in God's foreknowledge the ideal archetype to which all Old Testament types showed some shadowy feature of resemblance. When the great Archetype himself appeared, he was the Antitype of all those partial types. When the " body " came to be present, the " shadows " cast by various progressive flashes of prophetic inspiration disclosed their meaning.

We may sum up the whole case against the alleged Alexandrinism of the sanctuary-passage by saying that to regard the description of the tabernacle in *Hebrews* as Philonic is to take it completely out of its context. The tabernacle is a prophetic-religious type of a heavenly sanctuary, and this heavenly sanctuary which it typifies stands in the same line of thought as the world to come (2. 5), the house which we are (3. 6), the sabbatism left for the people of God (4. 9), the Melchisedechian priesthood (7. 1-28), the new testament (8. 13), the good things to come (9. 11, 10. 1), the second order of sacrifice which supplants the first (10. 9) the heavenly fatherland of the Patriarchs (11. 13-16), Mount Sion and the City of the living God, the Heavenly Jerusalem (12. 22), the immovable Kingdom (12. 28). All through, the author's view is Messianic and Messianico-eschatological. ² His thought is the full development of a Palestinian inheritance in the light of the final message which God has now spoken " in His Son. "

9. The last of the major points in which the Epistle to the Hebrews is supposed to betray intellectual dependence on Philo is the

¹ *De resurrectionis carnis*, IV; P. L., II, 802.

² " The good things to come " in their final consummation are for our author τὰ πράγματα of which the Church on earth has τὴν εἰκόνα, whereas the Law had only a σκιά (10. 1).

notion of faith given in chapter eleven and elsewhere throughout the text.

In the preceding chapter we have seen that Pauline faith and the faith spoken of in *Hebrews* are not two different concepts but the same concept under different nuances of colour and from a different angle of view. In our Epistle the intellectual side of faith is more emphasised and its continual relation to future promises sets upon it the colours of hope. This intellectualism and aspirational tendency of our author are, no doubt, the ground of certain affinities which have been noticed between his view of faith and that of Philo. The Alexandrian's psychological reflexions on faith are mostly drawn from his own experience of that virtue. Unfortunately it is very difficult for us to say what Philo's faith meant and its panegyrists such as Bousset¹ do not give us a definition of what they include in the ambit of the term "Philonic faith." Apparently faith means the whole attitude of soul which a believer, a philosopher and a mystic holds towards the unseen world, even when that world is a philosophical figment and no divine revelation at all. The Scriptures, which Philo venerated so highly and made the basis of nearly all his writings, contained a body of truth which because it was revealed by God, is an object of faith. Philo, who was a faithful Jew, treated those books as prophetic writings and consequently accepted their teachings on the authority of God revealing. To that extent Philo was a believer. But are his writings documents of faith in the same sense as St. Augustine's *De genesi ad litteram* is a document of faith? Certainly they are not, because Philo's thinking had no relation to the real object of faith which the sacred books had set before the Jewish people. As an exegete, if we can really call him by that name,

¹ See *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter*², p. 194. Speaking of the central place which faith and its profession found in the Jewish Diaspora and particularly at Alexandria, Bousset writes: "So ist es nicht uberraschend, wenn wir in dieser Umgebung bei Philo eine ausserordentlich fein ausgebildete Psychologie des Glaubens finden. Für ihn ist der Glaube—das Hindurchdringen durch diese sichtbare und greifbare, aber so ungewisse, unzuverlässige und vergängliche Welt zu dem unsichtbaren, ewigen, allein vertrauenswürdigen Gott, als dem Allergewissesten—der Eckstein aller Frömmigkeit. Er tut überraschend feine Blicke in das Seelenleben des Glaubenden. Seine Ausführungen über den Glauben sind das Schönste was er geschrieben, und sichern ihm einen ehrenvollen Platz in der Religionsgeschichte. Durch seine Schule und nicht durch die des Paulus ist der Verfasser des Hebräerbriefes hindurchgegangen. Im elften Kapitel des Briefes wirkt philonischer Geist nach. Es ist kein Wunder, bei Philo, bei dem die jüdische Religion am meisten von aller nationalen Bedingtheit losgelöst erscheint, ist auch der Begriff des Glaubens am reinsten und deutlichsten."

Philo did not elaborate a sacred doctrine at all but an eclectic philosophy profoundly permeated with the idea of the one true God. It seems, however, that he regarded himself as inspired, at least sometimes,¹ but he cannot have regarded all that he wrote as an being of divine authority. The truth is that by displacing the Messianic centre of gravity and drawing the whole content of Scripture into a cosmic and ethical order, he substituted a philosophical system for the truth taught by God. If he called his adherence to his own system faith, then he must have been sufficiently conscious of the true state of affairs not to conceive faith in the same way as the author of *Hebrews* conceives it. Where the conditions are so different, we cannot expect to find the same notion. Philo does not lean on the word of God and His promises in the same manner as our author does. The object of hope for Philo, namely, moral purification and high intellectual contemplation was not guaranteed in the same way as the entrance behind the veil for the Christian Hebrews nor did his certainty of the invisible rest on the same clear voice of God now finally and most magnificently speaking in his Son. Consequently, although both authors base their faith on the unfailing word of God there seems to be a gnostic element in Philo's faith, which is absent from our Epistle. The Alexandrian speaking of the capital text of Genesis 15. 6: *Abraham credidit Deo*, requires a purification as a necessary condition for the act of faith. "On account of kinship with this mortal nature to which we are closely united and which tells us to trust money and honour and power and friends, health also and bodily well-being and many other things, it is not easy to believe God alone without any other additional support. To wash oneself free from every one of these, to mistrust the creature as being entirely untrustworthy and trust to God who alone is really trustworthy, that is the work of a great and olympian mind, of a mind no longer enticed by those things that surround us."² This identical notion of faith, as trust in God rather than in public authority or fame or honour or riches or bodily qualities is attached to the same text of

¹ The chief text in which he mentions his personal inspiration is *De migratione Abrahami*, 35, where he speaks of sterile effort suddenly yielding place to an extraordinary fulness and a corybantic enthusiasm as through he was divinely possessed, being at the same time unconscious of himself and his activity.

² *Quis rerum divinarum est heres*, 92, 93. μόνῳ Θεῷ χωρὶς ἐτέρου προσπαρλήψεως οὐ ῥάδιον πιστεῦσαι διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ Θνητὸν ᾧ συνεζεύγμεθα συγγένειαν ὅπερ ἡμᾶς καὶ χρήμασι καὶ δόξῃ καὶ ἀρχῇ καὶ φίλοις ὑγείᾳ τε καὶ ρώμῃ σώματος καὶ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς ἀναπέθεσι πεπιστευμένοι. τὸ δὲ ἐκνίψασθαι τούτων ἕκαστον καὶ ἀπιστῆσαι γενέσκει τῇ πάντα ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ἀπίστῳ, μόνῳ δὲ πιστεῦσαι Θεῷ τῷ καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν μόνῳ πιστῷ μεγάλης καὶ ὀλυμπίου ἔργον διανοίας ἐστὶ, οὐκ ἐτι πρὸς οὐδενὸς δελεαζομένης τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν.

Genesis in *de Abrahamo*, 262 ff., the conclusion here being that " faith towards God is the sole trustworthy and reliable good, the consolation of life, the fulfilment of good hopes (a blessing), sterile of evil and fruitful of good, the renunciation of the bad genius, the science of piety, a happy lot, the soul's improvement in every respect, inasmuch as it is thereby firmly set upon the cause of all things, upon Him Who can do all things and wills the best " (ibid. 268). To learn on God rather than on creatures is what characterises this " queen of the virtues " (270). It gives stability to life and sets the soul like Abraham (Gen. 18. 22) standing before the Lord, " seeing Him and seen by Him " (*de somniis*, II, 226). Thus the element of vision as well as reliance enters into the concept and we have in Philo the essentials of the definition of faith given in *Hebrews* 11. 1. As far as the truths of God's existence and His Providence were concerned Philo was a faithful Jew. The gnostic element in his concept of the virtue of faith attaches itself to the idea that it is dependent on a purgation of the soul. Although Philo firmly adheres to the authority of God and appeals to the testimony which God has given about Himself (*Legum Alleg.*, III, 208), he distinguishes three ways of arriving at the goal of wisdom, namely, by learning, by intuitive vision and by ascetic practice. These three ways are symbolised by the three great Patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. It is not easy to grasp Philo's precise thought, but he seems to regard Abraham as having gone through a process of education which resulted in " his leaving mortal things " and acquiring faith. Abraham represents the very considerable number of those who " learn from hearing and guidance." They are simply called by the name of " the people " (Gen. 25. 8) and are to be distinguished from those men who have left guidances behind and, having become naturally able pupils of God, take hold of science without effort and join not " the people " but " the offspring " (τὸ γένος Gen. 35. 29). They belong to Isaac's company, for he by laborious exercise left what was worse and acceded to what was better.¹ Philo apparently is only adapting these biblical personages to the three pedagogical conditions mentioned by Aristotle: *φύσις*, *μάθησις*, *ἄσκησις* (Diogenes Laertius, V, 18) or as the Philosopher calls them in the Nichomachean Ethics: *φύσις*, *ἔθος*, *διδασχί*. The Alexandrian's exposition

¹ See the full text, from which the above is taken, in *de sacrificiis Abelis et Caini*, 5 ff. Also Drummond's exposition in the second volume of his *Philo Judaeus*, p. 320 f. Further light on Philo's thought may be sought in *Leg. Alleg.*, III, 144 f.; *quod deterius potiori insidiari soleat* 27-31; *quis rerum divinarum heres* 274. A particularly important text on faith is that in *de migratione Abrahami*, 43 ff.

at least proves that "fides quaerens intellectum" does not entirely fit the Philonic conception of the wise man but that his faith is really tinged with a gnostic ingredient. Lagrange is surely right when he attributes to Philo, in quite another way from Rabbinism, "an exaggerated cult of knowledge which was bound to mark him out as a predecessor of Gnosticism."¹ Whatever, then, may be the basic and really Jewish affinities of Philo and the author of *Hebrews* in regard to the notion of faith, we are bound to admit that in this point as in so many others the writers' mentalities are too far removed to be more than distant cousins.

The trend of the comparison we have just made is to show that the assumption of Philonic influence on our author's mentality has not been supported by any solid arguments. Undoubtedly there is parallelism of thought, which would well repay a careful study of the two authors, but the parallelism has not been proved specifically Alexandrian. We must be careful to keep in mind that Philo and the auctor ad Hebraeos were both Jews.

But, even if our author is not doctrinally indebted to the school of Philo, may he not have enriched his vocabulary and phraseology by reading some of Philo's works? As has been briefly indicated higher up, such a supposition cannot be excluded on chronological grounds. Since Philo was already an old man when he took part in the Jewish embassy to Gaius Caligula in 39, all or nearly all of his books had been in circulation for over twenty years before the Epistle to the Hebrews was written. Although these books were not written for a very wide public, they probably passed into the hands of learned men in many cities and countries of the Jewish Diaspora. There was an Alexandrine community at Jerusalem frequenting a special synagogue (Acts 6. 9) and among the many Alexandrians who flocked to Rome² there would certainly be a number of Jews. Copies of some of Philo's books could thus have easily found their way to Jerusalem, to Rome and to other places, notably to the island of Cyprus, whose Jewish communities had, owing to historical circumstances, long been in close relations with the Jews of Egypt.³ Through Cyprus Alexandrian writings might

¹ *Le Judaïsme* etc., p. 579.

² STRABO, *Geographica*, 673, Teubner Edition (A. Meineke, 1866) III, p. 941.

³ I am referring to the facts that Cyprus belonged to the kingdom of the Ptolomies from 294-58 B. C. and was again held by Cleopatra and Ptolemaïd Princes during the fifteen years which preceded the battle of Actium. In 117 A. D. the Jews of Cyprus rose in fury against the Romans in an insurrection which synchronised with the rising of their Egyptian and Cyrenian connationals.

easily have found their way to the intellectual city of Tarsus also. The activity of the Alexandrian Jew Apollos at Ephesus and Corinth in the middle of the sixth decade of the first Christian century shows us the possibility of such works obtaining circulation even in Greece and Proconsular Asia. As far as possibilities are concerned, therefore, there is no denying that St. Paul or the author of *Hebrews* might have read one or other or many of Philo's writings. There being no antecedent impossibility, the question of fact deserves examination. Have we reason to believe that there is some literary relation between Philo and our Epistle?

A number of lexical affinities have been pointed out and certain authors have asserted with apparent confidence that the vocabulary of *Hebrews* is partly Alexandrine, which is taken to mean the same as Philonic. Let us examine a few of those lexical parallels.

Siegfried's chapter on Philo's language (pp. 31-137) furnishes only a partial Philonian lexicon including words common to the Alexandrian writer and Plato, certain Aristotelian, Attic and Homeric expressions, a specimen of a comparative Philonico-Plutarchian word-list, a collection of hapaxlegomena, a *Glossarium Philoneum* offered as a contribution to supplement current dictionaries, a list of favourite synonyms and some additional remarks on etymologies, word-play and style. The impression which one gets after working through this mass of material is that Philo and our author really have no very considerable lexical peculiarities in common. I have had to mark the name of Paul much more often on the margin of my copy than *Hebrews*. That is, however, no ground for a decisive verdict, because Siegfried's material is only a small gleanings from Philo's dictionary. But it can be confidently asserted that the lists of words and phrases which have been adduced as proof of our Epistle's literary dependence on Philo do not go very far towards achieving the intention of their compilers. Firstly the Septuagint could have supplied many of these words or phrases and secondly no sufficient evidence is forthcoming that the others were pure Alexandrinisms. For instance, the following list looks imposing, until its items are examined one by one. It contains words and phrases which our Epistle has in common with Philo, and, without the observations affixed to each of them hereunder, might seem impressive.

Words: αἰσθητήριον (found also in Jeremiah 4. 19); ἀλυσιτελής (the verb λυσιτελέω occurs in Luke 17. 2); ἀμήτωρ, ἀπάτωρ (both words of fairly wide-spread usage since Attic times, cfr. Bauer's *Wörterbuch* sub vocibus); ἀνακάμπτειν (found over a dozen times in LXX); ἀπαύγασμα (Wisdom 7. 26); ἄπειρος (5 examples in LXX);

ἀπόλαυσις (1 Timothy 6. 17; verb: ἀπολάνω Prov. 7. 18, Wisdom 2. 6); ἀπολείπεσθαι (in special meaning of *Hebrews* 4. 6 etc. not found in LXX, but the same usage is attested for the Hellenistic world generally by the non-Alexandrian Polybius and earlier still by the Cilician Diogenes Laertius); ἀστέιος (Exodus 2. 2, and 5 other instances in LXX); δημιουργός (the noun in 2 Macc. 4. 1, the verb in Wisdom 15. 13 and 2 Macc. 10. 2); εἰσφέρειν (used in technical sense of *Hebrews* 13. 11 a half-dozen times in Leviticus alone); ἐκουσίως (4 times in LXX; also 1 Petr. 5. 2; and for adjective see Philemon 14); ἔλεγχος (too frequent in Attic, the κοινή generally and LXX to need any special remark; cfr. especially Job. 23. 7); ἐνοχλεῖν (word very common both in classical Greek and the κοινή, found also some seven times in the LXX as well as in Luke 6. 18);¹ ἔξις (Sirach, Prologue 10); καταβάλλεσθαι (2 Macc. 2. 13, also Dionysius of Halicarnassus); μετριοπαθεῖν (a Stoic term probably as current in Tarsus as at Alexandria); ὄγκος (neither in N. T. nor LXX, but widely used in Attic and Hellenistic Greek and even received as a loan-word into rabbinical Hebrew); πανηγυρίς (4 times in LXX; also in Iosephus); προσαγορεύειν (same sense 5 times in Wisdom, 1 Macc., 2 Macc.); προσέρχεσθαι (in religious sense found in LXX, especially Jeremiah 7. 16; Sirach 1. 27); συνεπιμαρτυρεῖν (not an Alexandrinism as its use by Polybius and Pseudo-Aristotle *de mundo* attests); σχεδόν (2 Macc. 5. 2; also Iosephus); τεχνίτης (frequent in LXX of human artificers; of God in Wisdom 13. 1); τραχηλίζομαι (use attested by Theophrastus and Teles from the third century B. C.); ὑπαρξίς (over a dozen examples in LXX); χαρακτήρ (frequent in Greek authors from Herodotus and Aeschylus down; used in different senses in Leviticus 13. 28; 2 Macc. 4. 10); θυμιατήριον (Philo, *de vita Mosis*, 9, 4, but also Josephus *Antiq.* 3, 6, 8 and in the sense of "thurible:" 2 Chron. 26. 19, Ezekiel 8. 11).

The foregoing is a representative catalogue of the words on which the suspicion of Alexandrinism has especially fallen. The remarks appended to each item show either that the word in question could have become familiar to the writer of *Hebrews* from the Alexandrian Bible or that the term was by no means so localised as to reveal an Alexandrian schooling in the person who used it.²

Phrases. The short groups of words, which we call phrases, may

¹ The Greek text of Deuteronomy 29. 18 is cited according to the form exhibited by Codex A, but I am not aware that Philo has cited the same text.

² From the fact that Philo is the only author from the Jewish Diaspora who has left us an extensive literary output, he risks being very much over-rated as a standard of Judeo-Alexandrinism.

possibly give better grounds for admitting the linguistic influence of the Hellenistic metropolis of Egypt. We shall follow the order of the chapters and consider a dozen or more of those so-called Alexandrian usages.

In 2. 3 the words ἀρχὴν λαβοῦσα λαλεῖσθαι as well as the phrase πείραν λαμβάνειν in 11. 29, 36 have been set down as an echo of Alexandria. The former expression is, however, found in non-Alexandrian authors like Polybius, and the second is a classical phrase which appears also in Deuteronomy 29. 56. Similar N. T. combinations like St. Paul's ὑπόμνησιν λαμβάνειν (2 Tim. 1. 5) and St. Peter's λήθην λαμβάνειν (1 Petr. 1. 9) forbid us to localise this type of expression at Alexandria. The phrase or rather compound particle καθ' ὅσον (3. 3, 7. 20, 9. 27), not employed elsewhere in the N. T., occurs in the Greek translation of Sirach 43. 30. The apparently very ordinary καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν (3. 13), which is also marked out by the detectives, turns up no less than four times in the Greek Psalter. The rather elegant opening of an exhortation with the words περὶ οὗ πολλὸς ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος (5. 11) is probably nothing more than a reminiscence of a common literary phrase (cfr. Lysias in *Pantheonem*, 11). In the following chapter καλὸν γευσσάμενους Θεοῦ ῥῆμα obviously ought not to be connected with such passages of Philo as *de Abrahamo*, 89, *de somniis*, I, 165, but with Psalm 33. 8.

The catalogue further contains the following items: εἶχε μὲν οὖν καὶ (9. 1), κατὰ μέρος (9. 5), τοῦτο μὲν ... τοῦτο δὲ (10. 33). It is difficult to see what is so very remarkable in the first phrase; the second is employed twice in the second Book of Maccabees; the third is just a good classical idiom frequent in Greek writers from Demosthenes down (Moffat and Westcott in h. l.).

Chapter XI is naturally asked to furnish its quota. The sentence παρόφησεν εἰς γῆν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ὡς ἀλλοτρίαν (11. 9) is suspected, as well as εἰς καταβολὴν σπέρματος (11. 11), ἐπιλείπει με διηγούμενον ὁ χρόνος (11. 32) and even the tiny ἔτι δὲ in the middle of verse 36.

Of these four the first is absolutely biblical (Gen. 23. 4; Exodus 2. 22, 18. 3; Psalm 104. 23 etc.); the second is an exceptional expression for which I know no parallel; the third is " one form of a common classical phrase " which must have been used in speeches everywhere; the little climactic ἔτι δὲ stands not only in a *locus classicus* of the Psalter (15. 9) but is comparatively frequent in the New Testament.

The mere fact that some or many of the above words or phrases are frequent in Philo's works and happen to be common to Philo and *Hebrews* does not constitute any proof of literary relationship, since it can be shown that a man of Tarsian or Ephesian or Athenian or

Roman education, who was as well acquainted with the Greek Bible as our author was, could use any one of them. There may, however, be some subtle indications of literary dependence in the relative parallel contexts, but I have to say personally, that after examining scores of the parallels given by Carpzov, Bleek and Moffat, I have seen only one text of Philo which might justify a conjecture that our author had read it. It is one of the many places in the Alexandrian author where the phrase *ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν* occurs. It will be remembered that this phrase stands as a hapaxlegomenon in *Hebrews* 7. 9, that is, in the Melchisedech chapter, which also has the rare words ἀπάτωρ, ἀμήτωρ, ἀγενεαλόγητος. The expression *ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν* is not itself an indication of any particular degree or quality of education. It was so common with Greek orators that any average man might have picked it up in any part of the Greco-Roman world.¹ Besides, cognate phrases occur in the Pauline Epistles, e. g. 2 Cor. 2. 5 and Philemon 19. But the somewhat impressive fact is that, while the phrase occurs in *Hebrews* within fifteen lines of the word ἀμήτωρ, the same lexical pair stand in Philo's *de ebrietate* within less than fifty lines of each other (sections 51 and 61). This fact becomes more remarkable still, when we find the same treatise *de ebrietate* furnishing the following verbal parallels with our Epistle:² a) δι' ἣν αἰτίαν 9; b) ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης λαβόντας, 15; c) ἀλυσιτελής 16, 20; d) παντελής 21, 29, 84, 111, e) citation of Genesis 14. 17, N. 24; f) δημιουργός 30; g) ἀποστῆναι 38; h) a citation from Genesis 20. 12 under the formula εἶπε γὰρ πού τις, 61, that is, immediately following ἀμήτωρ; i) εἰρηνικός 76; j) τελειότης, 82; k) πολύτροπος, 86; l) ὄγκος and χαρακτήρ in the same sentences, 88; m) πολυτρόποις καὶ πολυμόρφοις, 170; n) αἰσθητήριον, 201; o) ὄγκος repeated in 128 and 231. It seems difficult to admit that the one or two major and over a dozen minor coincidences just indicated between *Hebrews* and a book, which is little more than twice its length, can be entirely accidental. But while looking for these contacts between Philo's treatise and *Hebrews*, I also noticed five parallels between *de ebrietate* and the Pauline letters—contacts which are not altogether insignificant. The little phrase *εἰ τύχοι*, which St. Paul alone of N.T. writers uses twice in first Corinthians 14. 10, 15. 37, figures in section 17; the same citation of Proverbs 3. 4 appears in paragraph 84 and Romans 12. 17

¹ See the copious collection of examples from Attic, Hellenistic, and Atticistic authors given by Bleek, *Commentar*, Vol. II, pp. 343-345.

² See *Hebrews*: a) 2. 11; cfr. 2 Tim. 1. 6, 12; Tit. 1. 13; b) 2. 3; c) 13. 17; d) 7. 25; cfr. Luke 13. 11; e) 7. 1; f) 11. 10; g) 3. 12; h) 2. 6; 4. 4; i) 12. 11. cfr. James 3. 17; j) 6. 1; cfr. Col. 3. 14; k) 1. 1; l) 12. 1; 1. 1; m) 1. 1; n) 5. 14; o) 12. 1.

(a neighbouring text, 3. 11, being found in *Hebrews* 12. 5 f.); διὰ τὸ ὑπερβάλλον in 119 reminds one not only of Ephesians 2. 7 but also of St. Paul's monopoly of the verb ὑπερβάλλω (2 Cor. 3. 10; 9. 14; Eph. 1. 19; 3. 19); the adjective ὁλόκληρος proper to first Thessalonians 5. 3 and James 1. 4 occurs three times in the Philonic treatise (135, 156, 201); and, finally, the hapaxlegomenon ἀψευδής of Titus 1. 2 stands in paragraph 139. To this list we must add three other terms already mentioned, and common to Paul, *Hebrews* and this treatise of Philo. These are ἀπίσθημι, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν and τελειότης (g. a, j). Such coincidences, when taken together with a certain common tendency to cite Proverbs 3, at least open the door to the conjecture that St. Paul had read this particular book of Philo. Really, the evidence that the Apostle was actually acquainted with the literary output of the Jewish writer of Alexandria is not very considerable and scarcely allows a conclusive judgment, unless a very thorough study of the two writers reveal further contacts. Of some thirty parallels given by Siegfried (pp. 304-310), I have only found two that have any semblance of probability,¹ but H. Vollmer makes a much better case for a few texts of Philo in the appendix to his little work on Old Testament citations in Paul.² Many of his parallels are indeed worthless, but in the case of the Corinthian letters a few coincidences with Philo do not seem to be entirely negligible. Such for instance is the phrase χρώμενοι τὸν κόσμον ὡς μὴ καταχρώμενοι (1 Cor. 7. 31) placed beside Χρῶ μὴ παραχρώμενος in a really noble passage of the work *de Josepho* (144), secondly the connection of ισότης (2 Cor. 8. 15) with the text of Exodus 16. 18 (*Quis rerum divinarum heres* 191), and thirdly the similarity of the phrase πρὸς καθαίρεσιν ὀχυρωμάτων (2 Cor. 10. 4) and πρὸς γε τὴν τοῦ ὀχυρώματος τούτου καθαίρεσιν (*de confusione linguarum*, 130).

The presence of linguistic Philonisms in the Corinthian letters, if it can be really proved, would perhaps give a degree of plausibility to the conjecture that St. Paul, during his third missionary journey, took some cognizance of Judeo-Alexandrian literature in the Apollonic circles which we know to have existed at Ephesus (Acts 18. 24-28) and Corinth (*ibid.* 19. 1). The great Apostle was interested in books

¹ These will be found on page 309; Romans 2. 4 τοῦ πλούτου τῆς χρηστότητος αὐτοῦ is certainly not unlike τοῦ πλούτου καὶ τῆς ἀγαθότητος αὐτοῦ (*Leg. Alleg.* I, 34) but the joining of πλοῦτος with δόξα, χάρις and other excellent things is so frequent in St. Paul that we can hardly suppose a reminiscence. The idea of our knowledge of God here being mirror knowledge (1 Cor. 13. 12) meets a similar expression in *de decalogo*, 105.

² VOLLMER H., *Die alttestamentlichen Citate bei Paulus*, Anhang, 84-98.

as in every work of the human spirit, and may well have looked into other works besides the little traveller's library—"the books, especially the parchments"—which we afterwards find him so desirous to have brought to him at Rome from the house of Carpus at Troas. It may be presumed that he was specially concerned with such things at Ephesus, for it was there that censorship of religious books first appears in ecclesiastical history as a tremendously real fact resulting in the burning of superstitious writings up to the value of nearly 50,000 francs. For the later Epistles of St. Paul Wetstenius and others have noted parallels with Philo especially in one or other of the Pastoral Epistles, and in an article of the Expository Times Dr. J. Rendel Harris has discussed an interesting one in second Timothy 3. 4. The Apostle speaks of the perilous times which shall come at the end. "Men shall be lovers of their own selves (*φιλαῖτοι*), money-lovers (*φιλάργυροι*) and—after a list of fourteen other vices—pleasure-lovers (*φιλήδονοι*) rather than God-lovers (*φιλόθεοι*)." Wetstein had here noted an incomplete coincidence with a passage of Philo's *de agricultura*, 88, which speaks of the people of the exodus that longed to return to Egypt, that is, to the body. Such a course as they contemplated would have made the people *φιλήδονον καὶ φιλοπαθῆ μᾶλλον ἢ φιλάρετον καὶ φιλόθεον*. Dr. Harris adds the coupling of the first and last words of the Pauline group by citing *φιλαῖτοι μᾶλλον ἢ φιλόθεοι* from *de fuga et inventione*, 81. In view, however, of the popularity of these combinations, such as may be noted in a similar parallel from the gnomic collection of Demophilus the Pythagorician cited by Wetstenius, one cannot regard the Philonism of the phrase as sufficiently substantiated,¹ but the question of parallels between St. Paul and the Alexandrian writer deserves further attention.

As a matter of ordinary experience we must admit that coincidences of vocabulary and phrase need very cautious consideration. Neither Philo's thought nor his language is so extraordinarily original that he and he alone must be the source of whatever in St. Paul resembles his writings. Many phrases had passed to him from the schools of Plato and Zeno and from some fifty or more classical authors whom he cites or alludes to.² Lists of vices and combinations of adjectives denoting qualities had obtained some sort of fixed currency

¹ It should be observed that the trend of this article as a whole *The influence of Philo on the New Testament* Exp. Times 37 (Sept. 1926), p. 565, is to discount the influence of Philo's thought on the N. T.

² SIEGFRIED, O. C., p. 137: "Philo war in den classischen Schriftstellen sehr belesen. Von der Ausdehnung seiner Kenntnis derselben gibt die Aufzählung der

in Stoic circles and may have been heard by St. Paul at Tarsus at the time that Philo, some twenty-five years his senior, was using them at Alexandria. The fact that St. Paul was "a citizen of no mean city" (Acts 21. 39) stands behind many of those coincidences which may be noted between his language and that of earlier or contemporary writers. His education was indeed rabbinical, but he lived in an intensely intellectual Hellenic atmosphere. To show this it is sufficient to cite what Strabo says about the city on the Cydnus, as he saw it perhaps about the time that Saul was born. "In that place" he says, "men have such great zeal for philosophy and every branch of general learning that they actually surpass Athens and Alexandria and any other place that one could mention."¹ The Apostle's own readiness to pick up every current piece of human wit is evidenced by the fact that he was able to cite, when the occasion demanded, a verse of the astronomical poem of Aratus (probably a favourite among Stoics at Tarsus), a trimeter of the New Comedy of Athens and a hexameter of the Cretan seer Epimenides. To the great river of this divine orator's language probably many a rivulet contributed, and possibly some of Philo's words and phrases directly or indirectly enriched his vocabulary.

It seems, therefore, that, if there is some literary infiltration from Alexandria in the Epistle to the Hebrews, this constitutes no argument against its Pauline authorship. The writer is under no debt to Philo for his ideas, and, as far as lexical contacts are concerned, some of the Epistles of St. Paul, notably those to the Corinthians, seem to present nearly as many. Alexandrinism as a specific type of intellectual formation is no more present in *Hebrews* than in the thirteen Paulines. Equally with the greatest of the Paulines, it is a work of a magnificently original genius, and in the external literary influences, which are traceable in it with more or less probability, there is nothing ostensibly alien to a man who really seems to have had an infinite capacity of tuning his speech to the needs of the moment. Paul the Apostle of Jesus Christ was by no means such a definitely circumscribed psychological type and such a limited master of the Greek language as critics have often made him.

bei ihm vorkommenden Namen der griechischen Classiker Zeugnis, welche Grossmann, quaest. Phil. I, p. 5 veranstaltet. Dieselben belaufen sich auf nicht weniger als 64.

¹ *Geographica*, 673. Ed. Meineke, III, 939.

Conclusion

This lengthy chapter on the literary form of *Hebrews* may be allowed to speak for itself. In it a conscientious effort has been made to estimate such facts of vocabulary, phraseology, sentence-building, stylistic graces, imagery, artistic and dialectic structure, affective movement, rhythmic characteristics, peculiar stylistic colour and external literary influences as may be detected in our Epistle. Under none of these headings have grounds been discovered to establish a verdict contrary to the tradition of Pauline authorship. It seems probable, however, that the mode of composition was not that of running dictation such as we may presume to be the process by which the Epistle to the Romans left the hand of Tertius. Either St. Paul wrote the letter with his own hand or he employed an amanuensis who collaborated with him in the style of the document. The former hypothesis of an autograph letter has something to recommend it. We know for instance that St. Paul, though ordinarily accustomed to sign his letters only, wrote some part of Galatians with his own hand. He has not told us how much, but it has occurred to me that a change from dictation to autograph writing may explain the differences in style which are observable in the Epistle. The admirably close reasoning and stylistic regularity of the last four chapters seem to contrast with the less careful style of what precedes. The first half of the second chapter for instance hardly finds another piece in the whole epistolary to outrival its anacolutha. If St. Paul took the pen at the words: *O insensati Galatae*, and wrote with the additional precision which a man with a pen mostly assumes, we should have a good explanation of the really remarkable dialectic of chapters three and four. The same process of autograph writing may be reasonably supposed for the beautiful letter to Philemon, and it does not seem rash to think likewise of Philippians, a letter which seems to stand next to *Hebrews* in sustained regularity and literary grace. It certainly should not shock anyone acquainted with the possibilities of St. Paul's style to be told that the Apostle wrote this letter with his own hand and thereby gave it that excellence of order and finish which a dictated composition cannot so well attain. The length of the letter would, however, suggest that St. Paul followed his usual custom of employing an amanuensis, in which case the special excellence of form would be the result of collaboration, but of a collaboration in which Paul was predominant. The difference from his other letters would be that he was now using a secretary of greater literary ability. This theory is, of course, what a writer in the *Expo-*

sitory Times contemptuously calls "the old cliché of different secretaries."¹ Even so, the fact that an opinion is old does not damn it. It is new opinions that we mostly see taking their definite place on the scrap-heap. A return to reliable historical tradition is wisdom in biblical criticism, as experience is surely showing. Tradition, clearly voiced at Alexandria by Pantaenus and the elders whose lives went back before the middle of the second century, asserted that the letter had Paul for its author. Such was the primitive Eastern tradition. Catholic scholarship throughout thirteen centuries, while following this tradition, also easily accepted the suggestion of a literary critic, Clement of Alexandria, that the present stylistic form of the letter may be traced to another hand. But catholic scholarship neglected the suggestion of Origen that the hypothetical second hand was even a redactor of Pauline thoughts. I believe that a thorough comparative examination of *Hebrews* and the Paulines should also lead any judicious critic to neglect and reject Origen's hypothesis. On the other hand the hypothesis of an able secretary seems reasonable. The prophetic inspiration, to which the Epistle is primarily due, does not eliminate the human struggle to find the best mode of expression, and there is no reason why we should exclude the literary cooperation of a secretary in the work of stylistic arrangement, choice of words, cutting and filing of phrases that finally resulted in a Scripture, which is one of the great jewels of sacred literature.

Who the amanuensis was no one can really say. Clement of Alexandria connected the name of Luke with the Epistle; Origen knew that some regarded Luke as having a part in it, while others named Clement. Eastern commentators kept to these two names. In the West the solitary voice of Tertullian names Barnabas, on what authority it is impossible to say. In modern times other names have been added to the list of conjectures and chiefly the name of Apollos. To discuss the merits of the claims put forward in favour of each of these does not belong to here. In favour of Clement his anonymous use of the Epistle and a certain similarity of style have been urged, but the similarity of style really cannot be maintained. The assumption of Apollos would explain that *Alexandrinitas quaedam* which has been discovered in the letter, but we have seen how insignificant that Alexandrinity is. Besides there is no evidence that Apollos ever was in Italy whence the Epistle to the Hebrews was written. Barnabas has in his favour that, being a Cypriote, he

¹ Review of Dr. Boylan's annotated translation of the Epistle to the Hebrews, *Expository Times*, 26 (Nov. 1924), p. 62.

was open to Alexandrian influences and, on account of his being a Levite and a man of standing at Jerusalem, could have written in levitical colours " a word of consolation " such as should be in keeping with the interpretation of his name as given in Acts 4. 36 and also sure of a favourable reception by the Mother Church. There is even the positive testimony of Tertullian in his favour. But Tertullian's ascription of the writing to Barnabas found no echo either in Cyprian or Augustine or any other writer in his own Africa and otherwise we know absolutely nothing of Barnabas's ability as an author. The attribution of an apocryphal Epistle to him is no evidence that he occupied himself with the pen. A better case can, perhaps, be made for St. Luke. His writings have at least a small lexical factor in common with *Hebrews*. The Prologue of his Gospel and his two books generally show that he could write elegantly. We may regard it as highly probable that he was with the Apostle after his first captivity and, seeing that the " dear physician " had already two beautiful books to his credit, St. Paul may have employed his services as an amanuensis in the preparation of his " word of consolation " to Jerusalem. Let us, however, keep within the bounds of our knowledge. Fair criticism confirms the testimony of history that the Epistle is of Paul. But as to the penman, τὸ ἀληθὲς Θεὸς οἶδεν.

IV

SCRIPTURAL MATERIAL OF "HEBREWS"

The theme of the Epistle to the Hebrews is, as we have seen, the excellence of Christ and therewith the excellence of the dispensation of which he is the Mediator. His superiority over all the mediatorial agencies of the old dispensation—Angels, Moses, the Aaronic Priesthood—is rooted in his unique dignity as Son of God. The Most High has delivered His final revelation through this "Apostle of our Creed," fulfilling and crowning in him all the words, which in ages past He spoke, piece by piece, and according to various modes of communication, through His prophets. In the manhood of Jesus, humbled and consequently exalted, all the insufficiency of the Old Covenant has yielded place to the absolute sufficiency of the New. The purification of sin being the kernel of God's plan of human restoration and ennoblement, once that was accomplished, Christ could assume the double crown of royalty and priesthood¹ and take his place at the right hand of Majesty on high, until the day that the completion of the work of salvation, whereof his sacrifice is the all-sufficient fount, calls him from heaven to gather his sanctified elect into the salvation of blessedness. It is in Christ and in his work that God has spoken His final word, but many partial words preceded that final word. The prophets announced in a long series of piece-meal messages and with the imperfect shadowiness of their limited knowledge the good things which were to come. It was moreover not only through the spoken utterances of the Prophets that God revealed His counsels but also through the institutions on which the religious life of Israel was based. These had a divine meaning also, and delivered a prophetic message. Furthermore, the history of God's chosen people was speckled with persons and things and events which were not to offer the full interpretation of their providential meaning till the Messianic age. The veils that hid their wonderful signific-

¹ Compare Zachary 6. 11-13. *Et sumes aurum et argentum et facies coronas et pones in capite Iesu (Josue) filii Iosedec sacerdotis magni et loqueris ad eum dicens: Ecce vir, Oriens nomen eius, et subter eum orietur et aedificabit templum Domino. Et ipse extruet templum Domino et ipse portabit gloriam, et sedebit et dominabitur super solio suo, et erit Sacerdos super solio suo, et consilium pacis erit inter illos duos.*

ance were to be taken away only in the epiphany of the Son of God as Saviour. The Christ's final word, which consisted in the revelation of himself and his work and his victory, should be a word of salvation, or, as *Hebrews* says, "a salvation" for the world.

The author of our Epistle neither intends nor attempts to prove that Jesus of Nazareth is the Messiah of Israelitic prophecy. He takes that for granted, and he also fully takes for granted that Jesus is all that he claimed to be, namely, the Son of the living God. The whole Epistle builds on this foundation. The Old Testament is not, therefore, requisitioned to show that "Jesus is the Christ" (Acts 18.28). It being presupposed that the Scriptures speak of him, they are asked to reveal the supereminent dignity, which sets him and his covenant immeasurably above the administration committed to the care of angels, of Moses and of the House of Aaron. Seven great ideas may be said to dominate the Epistle. We see the Sonship of Christ making his message the seal of all prophecy, making his human priesthood the cause of an absolute purgation of sins, making his consummation in priestly royalty the anchor of hope for all those sons whom God will lead to salvation. With this triad of notions centred in the person of the Saviour two others are essential to the Epistle, namely, that of the persistence of the promise made "to Abraham and his seed for ever," and the permanence of "the sabbath-rest left for the people of God," which is both an antitype of the rest of Canaan and a participation in the archetypal rest of God on the seventh day. Add to these five the threat of consequences involved in apostasy, as well as exhortations to virtues in view of the final sabbath-rest, and we have seven categories under which all the O. T. texts, which are either formally quoted or tacitly adduced or clearly referred to, may be conveniently classed. For the sake of brevity we may call them 1) dignity texts, 2) priestly texts, 3) exaltation texts, 4) promise texts, 5) eschatological texts, 6) comminatory texts, 7) exhortatory texts. Further, using a combination of terms which will be readily understood, the first three classes may be called simply Christological; the fourth anagogico-tropological, as involving both a future reward and the virtue of persevering hope; the fifth simply anagogical, and the sixth and seventh simply tropological. These categories do not, of course, constitute watertight compartments. Some texts belong, in different degrees, to more than one category. It is not possible for instance, to mark sharp dividing-lines between the first three, especially between the dignity texts and the exaltation texts. No special category is assigned to historical passages or to historical examples from the Old Testament,

for it will be found that all such passages or examples serve the special purpose of this "word of exhortation," either as literal prophecies, or as types, or as moral and anagogical warnings.

It is not only according to the variety of scope, which the author had before him in using Old Testament materials, that these materials should be classified. The mode which he follows in using them must also be a principle of classification. Texts are sometimes quoted formally, divine authority being expressly attributed to them by the use of some special formula of citation; sometimes they are tacitly adduced as a basis of argument or exposition, the context leaving no doubt that the author wished to urge their authoritative force; sometimes again a Scriptural fact is referred to and its lesson urged without actually using the words of the sacred text; sometimes the reference to the Old Testament is only by way of allusion; and, finally, there are cases of mere literary reminiscence. According to these different uses we distinguish formal citation, tacit citation, virtual citation, allusion and reminiscence. The first three are obviously the most important, because allusion and reminiscence have rhetorical rather than logical force.

It is also well to recall here that a text may be used in its literal and historical sense or in a typical sense, or only in an accommodated meaning.

Distribution of Scripture in the Epistle

A reading of the text of *Hebrews* will show that the Scriptural materials which have contributed to its making are very considerable, but are much thicker in some parts than in others. By far the greatest cluster of formal citations belongs to the section that deals with Christ's superiority over the Angels (1.4-2.18). Numerically, more than a third of the express quotations from Scripture are found in these two chapters. As one would expect, these citations chiefly give prominence to Christ's dignity. In fact, out of the eleven texts used in these chapters, only three have reference to the earthly status of Christ in the fellowship of mortality with the race that he redeemed, and these serve only to point out the need of the incarnation by establishing the divine plan of brotherhood between the Sanctifier and the sanctified. Since God decreed to bring many to glory as sons, it was necessary that the Son should stand in the midst of the human race and call men his brethren. For the purpose of expressing this truth the writer uses the verse which opens the triumphal part of the great Passion Psalm (21. 22): "I will announce

thy name to my brethren, in the midst of the congregation will I praise thee." The solidarity of the Redeemer with the redeemed, which is here announced, is further expressed by the typical person of Isaias proclaiming his confidence in God (8. 17) and presenting himself and the two children with the famous prophetic names as a single group representative of the Israel of God. "I and the children whom God gave me" (8. 18) signifies such a community of blood and charity as requires the Messiah typified by the Prophet to be a partner in flesh and blood with the children that are to be brought into supernatural partnership with him.

These texts really pave the way for the first mention of Christ's priesthood, into which the quality of sympathy is to enter so notably. At the same time they conclude a subsection in which the incarnation is shown to be no bar to the Saviour's superiority over the Angels. That subsection begins with a Psalm-citation. In Psalm 8 man is seen endowed with a universal sovereignty, "crowned with glory and honour and set over the works of God's hand, everything being put in subjection under his feet." It is quite evident that man does not yet actually exercise such an unlimited sovereignty, but the full attainment of the Psalmist's vision is shown in "Jesus crowned with glory and honour." It is in Jesus that man wins his destined royalty, for on account of suffering death God crowned the man Jesus with glory and honour, that by the grace of God he might taste death for every man.

Thus, in a passage, which fixes our eyes chiefly on the humanity of Christ, we find two extracts from the Psalter, one telling us of the super-angelic sovereignty of the Messianic world attained by Jesus through death, and the other asserting the redemptive brotherhood which is the *raison d'être* of the incarnation—the latter Psalmic testimony being supplemented by two words found side by side in the Prophet Isaiás. As two distinct points of argument are involved, we ought to count a single quotation from the eighth Psalm and a group consisting of one text from the Book of Psalms and two from the Book of the Prophets that is, a triple testimony consisting of a combination of passages from the Ketubim and Nebiim (KN). From these we may go back to a still more extensive series of seven citations, which fill the whole first chapter from the end of the Prologue.¹

The scope of these is clearly indicated by their connection with verse four, which proclaims the Son to be "so much better than the

¹ See Westcott's Additional Note on 2. 13. Quotations from the Old Testament in cc. I, II, o. c., pp. 68-71.

angels as he has inherited a more excellent name than they." Six of them show the higher dignity of the Son and one the lower position of the Angels. Following the formulae which introduce these texts, they group themselves in a series of three, a second three, and one. In the first group two texts show the name "Son" both directly and typallly given to the Messias in such a way that no single Angel could claim to have been so addressed; the third places the Angels in adoration before the First-born, when he comes to judge the earth. These three seem to have been chronologically connected in the mind of the author, as belonging to the Davidic age. The words: "Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee," are from a Davidic Psalm (2. 7). The second testimony: "I will be to him a father and he shall be to me a son" (2 Samuel 7. 14) is from an oracle of the prophet Nathan to the same David. Although the wording of the third: "And let all the angels of God adore him" would seem to favour the view that our author cited the end of the great Canticle of Moses according to the Septuagint text of Deuteronomy (32. 43), nevertheless, the scene of the First-born entering the world, perhaps for the second time, suggests Psalm 96. 7. This hymn, the fourth of the "Royal Psalter" (92-99), is very definitely attributed to David by the Septuagint title, and clearly welcomes Yahweh as a Saviour-Judge into the world. In any case, it is probably from this Psalm that the verse, with a slight modification of form, migrated into the Greek text of the Mosaic Canticle. There is even a strong probability against the supposition that our author read "angels of God" and not "sons of God" in his Greek Deuteronomy 32. 43.¹ Consequently, in the first place, on account of the introductory description of the verse as an exhortation to welcome Yahweh's coming, secondly, on account of its textual form, thirdly, on account of the otherwise exclusive use of oracles from the Psalter and the Davidic cycle in this chapter, it seems preferable to regard this particular testimony as a Psalm-text, although its form may have been modified in citation by a remembrance of the Greek text of the Canticle of Moses.² We therefore regard it as unlikely that we have here a combination of Ketubim, Nebiim, Torah (KNT).

¹ It is true that St. Justin (Dialogue 130, 1) reads "angels of God" instead of "sons of God," but the latter reading is given by the great codices, including the Alexandrinus. Codex F (Ambrosianus) supports the former reading, which, however, is indicated by Dittmar as a Lucianean correction. "Angels of God" is the undisputed reading of the Greek Psalm.

² So St. Thomas, a Lapide, Zill, Graf, while the Deuteronomic provenance of the text is assumed by Schäfer, Westcott, Moffat etc.

The remaining four citations are all from the Psalms. Against a Psalm-text which shows the Angels as servants and creatures, our author sets two other citations from the same book, in order to show him as a Divine King and as the unchanging Creator of the changeable world. Thus we have a second group of three, which forms a sort of chiasmus with the preceding group. The chiasmic arrangement will be easily discerned by setting down the main idea of each citation. The second Psalm directly declares Christ the Son of God, the Nathanic oracle declares *Christ* Son of God through the type of Solomon, the ninety-sixth Psalm presents him as the object of *Angels'* adoration; the *Angels* who adore the First-born are next described on the authority of Psalm 103, as ministers on the same creature level as winds and flaming fire, while the *Christ* stands out in divine royalty from the nuptial Ode, Psalm 44, with a throne which is eternal and a sceptre which is a supreme emblem of rectitude, and *he* is subsequently addressed, with the concluding strophe of Psalm 101, as Eternal Creator of heaven and earth. The application to the Messias of an afflicted exile's address to Yahweh, as he pines in exile for the restoration of Sion, involves a problem of exegesis which need not be considered in this place. We are at present concerned only with the Scriptural materials and their place in the organic arrangement of the Epistle. The seventh and last text, which is introduced by a new formula, refers to the exalted Messias, but again the point which our author wishes to urge is the dignity of the one thus invited to sit at the right hand of God (Psalm 109. 1) as against the inferiority of the angels, to whom no such word has ever been said by the Almighty.

The remarkable thing about this array of seven texts is that it is almost entirely from the Psalter. No citation is inserted from any one of the literary Prophets of Israel. Besides, when the position of the angels is finally summed up in a rhetorical question, the terms of Psalm 103 are once more adopted and the author asks: οὐχὶ πάντες εἰσὶν λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα In the first two chapters the Psalter certainly has the chief role, for out of eleven citations it supplies eight. Besides these formal citations there is only an allusion to Isaiah 41. 8, in the phrase σπέρματος Ἀβραάμ ἐπιλαμβάνεται (2. 16) and a literary reminiscence of Wisdom 7. 25, in the use of the term ἀπαύγασμα (1. 3).

Christ and Moses

The next section, which comprises a comparison of Christ and Moses (3. 1-6) and an exhortation to press on towards the promised rest, which the Mosaic generation missed through infidelity (3. 7-4. 13) has only two formal citations and one tacit citation, the comparison of Christ and Moses turning on some words tacitly taken from God's eulogy of the Prophet at the time that Aaron and Mary rebelled against him (Numbers 12. 7), and the great exhortation being a halachic midrash on the two final strophes of Psalm 94, a sentence from Genesis (2. 2) being also formally introduced to explain the nature of the sabbath-rest. In the homiletic development of the Psalm-text reference to the Book of Numbers does not go the length of virtual citation, except in the case of one phrase: "whose carcases fell in the wilderness" (Numbers 19. 29 and 12. 32). A few literary reminiscences, which occur only in the description of the word of God (4. 12, 13), have been pointed out in the preceding chapter.

The scope of the Scriptural materials of this section is, firstly, to point out the superiority of Christ over Moses by comparing in the terms of Numbers 12. 7 their fidelity in the House of God and then contrasting creatorship and sonship, which sums up Christ's relationship to the House, with Moses' position as only belonging to the House and as being a servant in it. The text here adduced tells only of the dignity of Moses but offers an occasion for pointing out, by double contrast, the supereminent dignity of "the Apostle of our confession."

The extract from the ninety-fourth Psalm, which is formally regarded as the word of the Holy Ghost (3. 7) and of God (4. 3) has what we have called an anagogico-tropological purpose, being used, in conjunction with the text of Genesis, to declare the end of the people's existence and the necessity of adhering to God's promise by faith. Although a sentence from the Pentateuch stands with the Psalm-text in the exhortation, there seems to be no intention on the author's part to corroborate a text from the Ketubim by a word from the Torah (KT).

Christ the Priest

The comparison of Christ's priestly person with the Aaronic priesthood really extends, in two parts (4. 14-5. 10 and 7. 1-7. 28), from the end of chapter 4 to the end of chapter 7, a solemn warning

being intercalated between the two parts (5. 11-6. 20) as is done in the first section of the Epistle. In stating the general conditions of priesthood, the author simply takes a description of a Highpriest from his Jewish experience. He refers to the priest's double duty of offering for his own sins and those of the people, without borrowing any phrase directly from either of the passages of Leviticus (9. 7; 6. 16) where this duty is spoken of. He also mentions the call of Aaron without any verbal reminiscence of Exodus 28. But in asserting the sacerdotal vocation of Christ he appeals to Scripture, citing once more the great oracle of divine filiation from the second Psalm and the respective words of the oracle which proclaims the Messias " a priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedech," that is, the second hemistich of verse 4 from the hundred and ninth Psalm. Thus the Psalter once more supplies the testimonials of the dignity which sets Christ eminently above the Aaronic Priesthood. The Melchisedechian character of the Priest-Messias is the key to his superiority. What that character involves has to be shown by examination of the Genesiac account of Melchisedech, but before our author approaches this part of his subject, he speaks a word of reprimand and warning and exhortation, which once more has an anagogico-tropological purpose. The reprimand (5. 11-14) and warning (6. 1-9) contain only a few biblical allusions and verbal reminiscences, which have been already pointed out, but the highly encouraging exhortation (6. 9-20) fixes the aspirations of the addressees on Jesus " entering," according to the language of Leviticus (16. 2, 12) " into the inner sanctuary behind the veil," Abraham having been previously proposed as an example of firm adhesion by faith to the hope promised by God.

The sworn word of God cited with slight textual modification from Genesis 22. 16 has definite anagogico-tropological force, being directed to show the doubly solemn firmness of the promise made to the Patriarch, so that those who have set themselves to seize the hope held out to them in the blessing of Abraham and the multiplication of his seed,¹ may have the strong comfort of God establishing their hope in two ways, that is, by His unlying word and by His oath. Such a sworn promise has forged an anchor that is fixed behind the veil, in the sanctuary which Jesus has entered as a Forerunner on our behalf. It is to be noted that this promise, made in order to

¹ The comprehensiveness of the promise made to Abraham is well expressed in the liturgical phrase: "Lux sancta... vita, quam olim Abrahae promisisti et semini eius."

reward Abraham's generous readiness to sacrifice his son Isaac, is formally quoted as a divine oath in our Epistle.

No formula of citation introduces the Genesiac passage regarding Melchisedech (*Hebrews* 7.1, 2), but there is no doubt that the author meant to quote. He reproduces the condensed substance of four verses, with only one verbal change, and that of no consequence (*ἐμέριον* for *ἔδωκεν*). The purpose of the quotation is evident from the sequel. It is a priestly text and furnishes a number of positive and negative points which declare, by typological assimilation, the superiority of Christ, a Priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedech, over the order of Aaron. More than a third of the extremely important seventh chapter is occupied with the exegesis of this text, the author subsequently returning to Psalm 109, for the purpose of declaring the significance of the terms: 1) order of Melchisedech, 2) priest for ever, and 3) of the hemistich *Iuravit Dominus et non poenitebit eum*, now introduced for the first time. Because the new priesthood is Melchisedechian, eternal, and established by a divine oath, it abolishes the Levitical priesthood as well as the Law, which made no provision for transference of priesthood to a Judahite; it supplants a fleshly line which was weak and inefficacious, thus introducing a better hope; its oath-confirmed stability redounds on the testament of which Jesus is the guarantor. In a fourth argument concerning the future untransferableness of the priesthood the writer has recourse once more to the phrase: *in aeternum*, to show that Jesus is a perpetual Saviour, always living to make intercession for those who approach God through him.

The assertion in verse 14 that "our Lord manifestly has arisen out of Judah" is possibly an allusion to the prophecy of the dying Jacob (*Genesis* 49. 10) and its wording suggests a reminiscence of Balaam's: "*Orietur stella ex Jacob*" (*Numbers* 24.17). The reference in verse 27 to the daily necessity which the Highpriests were under first to offer for their own sins and then for those of the people rests, indeed, on *Leviticus* 6. 12-16 and *Leviticus* 16. 6, 15, but the immediate source is probably the author's personal knowledge of Levitical custom. The noteworthy scriptural materials of chapter 7 are, therefore, reducible to a citation from *Genesis* and a Psalm-passage (TK). The Psalter is here seen to predominate once more, because the key to the whole development of the author's thought is the Melchisedechian character of Christ's priesthood asserted by the Psalmist.

Christ's Priestly Work

The summing-up of the priestly superiority of Christ from the point of view of efficacy has relation above all to the superiority of the covenant which he mediates. This idea pervades the whole section 8. 1-10. 18. A ministry which places the minister on a throne in heaven at God's right hand is a better ministry, as being connected with a better sanctuary¹ and a better covenant. The inferiority of the old *sanctuary* is shown by a Scripture which declares it to be a copy of a heavenly pattern, while the inferiority of the ancient *covenant* is set forth in a long biblical passage announcing its abolition and the introduction in its stead of a new covenant with altogether better promises. The two texts are formally quoted, the sanctuary-text being taken from an oracle of God to Moses in Exodus 25. 40: " See, saith he, thou shalt make everything according to the pattern shown to thee on the mountain," while the covenant-text is a long passage expressly cited as a divine censure on the Old Covenant from the great Jeremian series of Messianic oracles (Jer. 31. 31-34): " For, finding fault with them, he says: Behold the days shall come, saith the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah etc."

These two texts from the Law and the Prophets (TN) are basic in regard to the whole argument which follows. The priestly ministries of the Old Testament and the New are first treated in reference to their relative sanctuaries, one a secular, shadowy copy, the other the greater and more perfect reality (9. 1-14). The descriptions of the Mosaic sanctuary (9. 1-5), of its general ministry carried on by the officiating priests in the Holy (9. 6), as also of the annual ministry of the Highpriest in the Holy of the holies (9. 7) are, of course, biblical. The condensed phrases describing the sanctuary may be traced to chapters 25 and 26 of Exodus, and as regards certain points, such as the pot of manna, the rod of Aaron and the tables of the covenant, they are traceable to Exodus 16. 33., Numbers 17. 24, 25 (LXX), Exodus 34. 28 together with Deuteronomy 9. 9 and 10. 5. Access to the Holy as something belonging to the ordinary ministry of officiating priests is supposed by Leviticus 4. 6 and by several other texts, while the entrance of the Highpriest into the Holy of the holies only once a year figures at the end of the ritual prescriptions for Ex-

¹ This better sanctuary is described as " the true tabernacle which the Lord fixed, not man," the italicized words being from the third prophecy of Balaam (Numbers 24. 6).

piation Day in the sixteenth chapter of Leviticus.¹ It is probable, however, that in these descriptions the author relied on his personal knowledge of traditional Israelite worship. It is not the letter of the Mosaic Code that counts here but the typo-prophetic import of the ancient Hebrew liturgy. The outer sanctuary was an emblematic representation (*παραβολή*) of the religious condition of the people under the former covenant. The Holy Ghost, to Whom the whole arrangement of worship is attributed, set the daily ministry in that outer tabernacle as a picture of "a present time" that is, of a period of external ritual purity, on a level with the laws of food and drink and lustral washings destined to last until "the time of complete correction" (9. 10).

The Holy Ghost further showed that the annual ministry of the Highpriest did not open the way to the Holy of holies. Hence, against the typical entrance of the Israelite Highpriest into the sacred cube our author sets the entrance of Christ into the perfect Sanctuary with a blood which purifies not merely bodies but consciences. In stating the purificatory power of Christ's sacrifice, reference is made to Hebrew sacrifice in general and to the ashes of the Red Heifer (Numbers 19). The new purification, being purification not from corporeal stains but from dead works, secures the desired worship of the living God.

On account of the blood, with which he entered the Holy of holies, after having found an eternal redemption, Christ is the Mediator of a New Covenant. Against this covenant, sealed and ratified as a testamentary transaction by the death of the Testator, our author sets the figurative blood of bullocks and goats, which sealed the Sinaitic Covenant. The description of the ceremonial of the Alliance at the foot of Sinai brings us once more to the pages of the Old Testament (*Hebrews* 9. 18-22). The words used by Moses in sprinkling the blood are expressly quoted (Exodus 24. 8) but the author, relying no doubt on Jewish tradition, mentions a number of ceremonial details which are not found in Exodus. They are, however, analogous to ritual observances found elsewhere in the Pentateuch. Thus the blood sprinkled is not only that of the twelve oxen sacrificed by the young men who were chosen out of the tribes (Exodus 24. 5), but also the blood of goats, on the analogy of Expiation Day (Leviti-

¹ As there is mention in Exodus 30. 10 of an annual expiation by blood on the horns of the Altar of incense, this special relation of the Altar to the Holy of holies on the great day of Expiation, as well as the fact that it was against the veil of the Holy of holies, may have determined our author to connect the Altar of incense, by means of the loose expression *ἐχούσα* with the inner sanctuary.

cus 16). Water is also employed, on the analogy of the lustral water made with the ashes of the Red Heifer (Numbers 19. 9) and that used in the cleansing of a leper (Leviticus 14. 5). The sprinkler consists of scarlet wool and hyssop as suggested by the ceremonial for cleansing a person cured of leprosy (Leviticus 14. 4); though it is not there said that the scarlet material must be wool. Among the Israelites, however, this material must have been invariably used. *Hebrews* further says that Moses sprinkled not only the people but the book of the Covenant, a detail not mentioned in Exodus. He also adds that the Hebrew Legislator sprinkled the tabernacle and all the utensils of worship¹ with blood, whereas the Scripture only mentions an anointing of the tabernacle and its utensils with oil (Exodus 40. 9; cfr. 30. 26 and Leviticus 8. 10). In this the author cannot be accused of adding unauthentic particulars. As the use of blood accompanied anointing with oil in the consecration of Aaron and his sons, it is to be presumed that blood was used also in the other consecrations. The Holy Ghost has in this passage of *Hebrews* guaranteed (9. 19-22) the truth of some very reasonable inferences from the sacred text, which had established themselves in Jewish tradition.² The author is also in perfect harmony with the biblical record, when he enunciates the general proposition that “almost everything is cleansed with blood according to the law, and without shedding of blood no remission takes place” (9. 22). This concluding dictum: *Sine sanguinis effusione non fit remissio* is solidly founded on the second sentence of the great blood-prohibition in Leviticus 17. 10-12: “Anima carnis in sanguine est, et ego dedi illum vobis, ut super altare in eo expietis pro animabus vestris, et sanguis pro animae piaculo sit.” Exceptions such as that of Leviticus 5. 11 (a sin-offering of meal for the poor) do not affect the general principle, which is found enunciated in identical words by the Rabbis: *Non est expiatio nisi per sanguinem*.³

In the paragraph of *Hebrews* which follows (9. 23-28) the words: *statutum est hominibus semel mori* is an allusion to Genesis 3. 19 and,

¹ The expression τὰ σκεύη τὰ λειτουργικά occurs in Numbers 4. 12, 26 (cfr. Exodus 39. 12) but the actual expression used in *Hebrews*, namely, τὰ σκεύη τῆς λειτουργίας is found only in Chronicles 7. 28.

² Josephus also refers to the consecration of the tabernacle and its appurtenances not only with oil but with blood (*Antiquitates*, 3, 8, 6. Ed. cit. I, p. 295).

³ The Hebrew text of this Rabbinical Mashal כפרה אלם בדם is given by Bleek and by Westcott, but I have not been able to verify the references to the Tractates *Yoma*, *Menachoth* and *Zebachim* given by Weltstenius and Bleek in h. 1. Their references seem to be not to the Mishna but to the Gemara, or possibly, to the Tosefta.

in the same sentence there is at least a reminiscence of Isaias 53. 12, three important words of the Greek version: (*eis tò*) πολλῶν ἀνανεγκεῖν ἁμαρτίας being employed in a way which leaves little doubt that the great prophecy of the suffering servant of Yahweh came before the author's mind at this point. In the following paragraph (10. 1-10) the expression αἷμα τάυρων καὶ τράγων also seems, on account of the similitude of thought (there being question of the uselessness of the Israelite sacrifices) to be an echo of the same Prophet (1. 11). This idea of the inefficaciousness of Israelite offerings is closely connected with their abolition. Hence the Messiah appears immediately, with the words of a Psalmist on his lips, declaring these old sacrifices unpleasing and henceforth to be supplanted by an act of obedience. The particular strophe of the thirty-ninth Psalm (39. 7-9) is cited almost in its entirety and according to the Septuagint text. Our author makes the Messiah use it as his programmatic word as he comes into the world: "Hostiam et oblationem noluit: corpus autem aptasti mihi: holocaustomata (et) pro peccato non tibi placuerunt. Tunc dixi: Ecce venio: in capite libri scriptum est de me: ut faciam, Deus, voluntatem tuam."

Without entering into a full discussion of this text as it stands in *Hebrews*, we must say here that the context forbids us to regard it as an accommodation of Scriptural words to a sense which they did not originally have. The writer expounds it in such a manner that his inferences would seem to lose all their force, if these words were merely appropriated to the Messiah. There is insistence on the fact that the Messiah says the words (λέγει, λέγων, εἶρηκεν) and by his twofold utterance, namely: "sacrifices... thou wouldest not" and "Behold, I come," he takes away the first in order to establish the second. There is, therefore, in this place an explicit citation of a Psalm text, the speaker being not God as the inspirer of Scripture, but the Messiah typified by the royal Psalmist.

There is no new citation in the concluding paragraph (10. 11-18) of this great κεφάλαιον concerning Christ's priestly ministry. The correlatives of the Melchisedechian Priesthood have been shown to be a New Covenant, one eternally redemptive Sacrifice, a heavenly Sanctuary. These three are again summed up at the end by repeating two texts already quoted (Ps. 109. 10 and Jeremias 31. 33). "Having offered for sins one sacrifice in perpetuity Jesus sat down at the right hand of God waiting henceforth till his enemies be made his footstool. For by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified. (Of this) the Holy Ghost also bears witness to us; for after having said: *This is the covenant that I will make with them*

after those days, saith the Lord, I will put my laws in their hearts, and in their minds will I write them (He further bears witness) and their sins and iniquities will I remember no longer."

It will be observed that the series of quotations in this section (8. 1-10. 18) represents the coupling TN, TK, KN, the sequence being Exodus-Jeremias, Exodus-Psalms, Psalms-Jeremias.

Paraenetic Part

The great exhortation (10. 19-12. 29) divides itself into three main parts, two encouraging and threatening pieces (10. 19-39 and 12. 1-29) being separated from each other by the great Martyrology (11. 1-40). There is an abundance of scriptural material in these chapters, comprising several formal quotations and a still greater mass of tacit and virtual citation as well as allusion and reminiscence.

The "great priest over the house of God," who is held up as a guarantee of bold hope in 10. 21 has the above description from a combination of words already mentioned, that is, "great priest" from Zachary 6. 11 and "house of God" from Numbers 12. 7. They convey a significant allusion to Moses and an Aaronic Pontiff. The description of the baptismal laver as "clean water" goes back to Ezekiel 36. 25.

In the threatening paragraph which follows (10. 26-31) the Old Testament is strongly represented by two considerable phrases, one of which amounts to a tacit quotation, by another short but solemnly sacred phrase, and by two formal citations. From the Septuagint text of Isaiah 26. 11 our author takes the thought and almost the entire vocabulary of "wrath of fire about to devour the adversaries,"¹ alluding, perhaps, at the same time, to the divine vengeance that fell on the associates of Core, Dathan and Abiron (Numbers 16. 35) as well as to the similar fate that befell Nadab and Abihu (Leviticus 10. 2; Numbers 16. 35). The reference to the severe sanction attached to contempt of the Old Law, that is, death without mercy for one convicted of contemptuously violating it, contains a verbal citation of the legal clause regarding the number of witnesses required in a capital accusation: "He that sets Moses' law at nought dies without mercy under two or three witnesses." The passage from which the words are almost literally taken is that of Deuteronomy on the punishment of idolaters (Deut. 17. 6). It is to be noted that the same regulation of two witnesses as a general law is tacitly adopted by our Lord (Matth. 18. 16) and St. Paul (2 Cor. 13. 1) and comes in this latter form from

¹ Compare Psalm 78. 5; Sophonias 1. 18; 3. 18.

Deuteronomy 19. 15.¹ Besides these notable borrowings from the Greek Isaias and Deuteronomy, the solemn phrase τὸ αἶμα τῆς διαθήκης is an echo of Exodus 24. 8. (Cfr. Zachary 9. 11).

The two express citations are made from contiguous verses of the great Canticle of Moses (Deut. 32. 35, 36) and stand in our Epistle immediately after the threat of greater punishment for him who has trodden under foot the Son of God, and has counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was sanctified, a profane thing, and has outraged the Spirit of grace. "Scimus enim qui dixit: *Mihi vindicta, (et) ego retribuam.* Et iterum: (Quia) *iudicabit Dominus populum suum.*"²

The letter of the first of those sayings and the legitimacy of the sense attributed to the second will be considered later on. The context in which they stand leaves no doubt that both of them are meant to be comminatory. The sentence which immediately follows on the two quotations concludes the whole severe paragraph and is certainly calculated to inspire terror. "It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God" (10. 32).

An encouraging exhortation, based on an appeal to the first fervour of the community, leads to a text which inculcates the need of holding on patiently to the common hope. The citation is introduced tacitly, without any formula beyond a connecting ἔτι γὰρ. It is slightly composite, since a short phrase from Isaias 26. 20 is set before the Septuagintal wording of Habacuc 2. 3, 4. It reads as follows:

"For yet a little while (literally a little so much, so much, Is. 26. 20).

And he that shall come will come
and will not delay.

Now my just man shall live by faith
and if he withdraw, my soul finds no pleasure in him" (Hab. 2. 3, 4). The purpose of the prophetic words here cited with unimportant changes from the Septuagint is twofold. Faith must be kept fixed on the promise, namely, the bringing of the soul to safety (10. 36^b, 10. 39^b), and patient adherence to the afflicted community is likewise necessary (10. 25, 36^a, 10. 39^a). Consequently they combine tropology and anagogy. The chiasmic arrangement of the ideas may be noted once again: ὑπομονή, ἐπαγγελία: πίστις, ὑποστείλῃται: ὑποστολή, πίστις.

¹ For the severe formulation of the death penalty see Numbers 15. 30, and for the absolute demand of capital punishment against a murderer convicted on the testimony of more than one witness see Numbers 35. 30 f.

² The bracketed words are added by the Vulgate. *Iudicabit Dominus populum suum* is also found in the cento Psalm 134. 14.

In the great Martyrology (11. 1-40) otherwise called the encomium of faith, there is one citation under a definite formula (Gen. 21. 12 in 11. 18, 19) and one which falls little short of a formal citation (Gen. 5. 24^a in 11. 7^c). All the other Scriptural materials, with which the chapter is speckled, are either virtual citations or allusions. There are scarcely any examples of purely literary reminiscence.

As is well known, this is the chapter beginning with the descriptive definition of faith, which is followed by eighteen encomia of that virtue all beginning with the anaphora *πίστει*. The peroration (11. 32-40) subjoins a series of miscellaneous examples of faith, all of which it is not easy to trace to their biblical sources. The chapter is at least ninety-five per cent Scriptural.

The faith which certifies the creation of the visible universe from an invisible nothing understands everything to have been made by the original word of God. There is therefore a reference to the *Dixit* of Genesis (3, 6, 9, 11, 14, 20, 24, 26).¹ The faith of Abel is brought into relation with a divine acceptance of his sacrifice rather than the sacrifice of Cain (Genesis 4. 4) as well as to the voice of his blood speaking even when Abel was dead (4. 10). The faith of Enoch was the meritorious cause of his disappearance by a privileged translation. Our author, practically making formal quotation, says: "*ante translationem enim testimonium habuit placuisse Deo*" (5. 24). It is the Septuagint that supplies the italicized words, for the Hebrew reads: *walked with God*. The faith of Noe appears in relation to the oracle of God addressed to the Patriarch (6. 13-21) and his reverent obedience (6. 22), for by his faith he continued to stand out as having found grace with God and by the contrast of his example he stood to condemn the world (6. 5-8). Although the substance of Genesis 6. 5-22 is condensed into one sentence, the two passages have no word in common except "Noe" and "Ark" and a verbal reference to Noe as being called "just."

No less than four of the encomia of faith pertain to Abraham (11. 8-19), the third of them being separated from the fourth by a long parenthesis (11. 13-16). Praise is bestowed upon his obedience in going out of his native country into the unknown land of Canaan (Genesis 12. 1, 4, 5), upon his pilgrim life there (*παράκησεν*, cfr. Genesis 23. 4), and upon his continuing to live in tents even after the birth of Isaac and Jacob. coheirs of the promise.² This reference

¹ In the phrase *μὴ ἐκ Φαινομένων* there is possibly a reminiscence of the *ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων* of the mother of the Maccabees (2 Macc. 7. 28).

² Abraham's tent is mentioned several times in Genesis (12. 8; 13. 3, (5); 18. 1, 2, 6, 9, 10); also that of Isaac 26. 25. Jacob built a house for himself and huts

to the Patriarch is given a very anagogic turn by the observation: "For he looked for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God" (*Hebrews* 11. 10). The praise of the faith which gave fecundity to Sara not only contains a reference to the histories of the promise (Genesis 17. 19; 18. 10) and its fulfilment (21. 2) as well as to the age of the parents (18. 11), but, moreover, ends in a lengthy sentence from the final promise made to Abraham: "[I will multiply thy seed] as the stars of the sky (in multitude) and as the sand which is by the lip of the sea (innumerable)." These words are borrowed not in the form which they have in Genesis 22. 17, but rather in that of Moses' prayer for idolatrous Israel in Exodus 32. 13 (cfr. Daniel 3. 36). The phrase in square brackets drops out; "in multitude" is inserted by Moses; and "innumerable" is an addition of our author. This last addition may be a reminiscence of the Septuagint, but it is difficult to say what passage may have contributed it.¹

The parenthesis (11. 13-16) is full of the anagogical idea presented by the spectacle of those great Patriarchs living and dying with their thoughts set by faith on a fatherland of the future. Apart, however, from mention of the fact that they left their homeland and never thought of using an easy opportunity of returning to it, there are only two pointed references to the pages of the Old Testament. These Patriarchs, looking from afar and saluting from a distance promises which God laid up in the future, proclaimed that they were *foreigners and sojourners upon the earth* and on account of this heroic faith God was not ashamed of them nor ashamed to be called *their God*. The phrase *πάροικος καὶ παρεπίδημος* occurs in Genesis 23. 4, Abraham thus describing himself to the sons of Heth.² Our author substitutes *ξένος* for the first term, joining *ξένοι καὶ παρεπίδημοι* in much the same way as *ξένοι καὶ πάροικοι* are joined in Ephesians 2. 19. The words "in the earth" (here, "on the earth") are more than once found with *πάροικος* in the Old Testament Psalms (cfr. 38. 13B; 118. 19). When the writer of *Hebrews* says that God was not ashamed to be called *their God*, he would undoubtedly have had in

for his cattle at Succoth (33. 17) but we read of his tent once more at Migdal Geder 35. 17 (21).

¹ It occurs in about a dozen places in the Septuagint. For the sake of complete accuracy, it should be further noted that in regard to the word for "star" our author does not follow the text of Genesis but the parallel passages of Exodus 32. 13., Sirach 44. 21 and Daniel 3. 36 (*ἀστὴρ* instead of *ἀστὴρ*).

² Cfr. Jacob's words about himself before Pharaoh (Genesis 47. 9) and the repetition of the combination *πάροικος* and *παρεπίδημος* in Psalm 38. 13.

mind the very solemn acknowledgment of this style made by God Himself, as he commissioned Moses to go as the envoy of the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob (Exodus 3. 15; cfr. Genesis 26. 24).

On resuming the anaphora *πίστει* (11. 17), our author summarises in a few words the famous trial of Abraham's faith (Genesis 22). "By faith Abraham, when he was tried offered up Isaac, and he that had received the promises proceeded to offer up his only-begotten." The only express and formal citation in the chapter appears here. Abraham, who stood ready to sacrifice Isaac, was the Patriarch to whom it was said that "in Isaac shall thy seed be called" (Gen. 21. 12). The purpose of the quotation is obviously tropological, namely, to commend the faith of the man who believed, that God could realise his promise, even in spite of the death of the boy on whom the realisation of that promise certainly depended. His faith went so far as trusting that he could have Isaac back by resurrection, in order that God's unfailing word might come true.

The ninth encomium of faith has reference to the prophetic blessings given by Isaac to Jacob and Esau (Genesis 27. 27-29; 27. 39, 40). The tenth refers to the blessing bestowed by Jacob, likewise with prophetic foresight, on the sons of Joseph, that is, Ephraim and Manasses (Genesis 48. 13-20). The phrase: "he bowed in worship over the top of his staff" borrowed verbally from the Septuagint (Genesis 47. 31) does not refer to the above occasion, but to the act of adoration which the old Patriarch made, after he had received a sworn assurance from Joseph that he should be buried with his fathers in Canaan. The Masoretic pointing of the word *מִטָּה* namely, *mit-tah* instead of *matteh*, gives the sense that Jacob bowed in reverence "on the head of his bed." There seem to be very good reasons for giving the preference to the Septuagint reading. It had not been yet mentioned in the text of Genesis that Jacob had taken to his bed; in fact the bedside scenes begin only in the following chapter. The alleged parallel of David bowing himself on his *mishkab* in answer to a congratulatory blessing (1 Kings 1. 47) is not to the point. The action of bowing on the head of a bed is much more difficult to conceive than bowing on the supporting top of a staff. Jacob was certainly seated at the moment that he adjured Joseph. The competent Alexandrian translators of Genesis are more likely to have had a correct vocalization than rabbinical scholars of the Christian era.¹

¹ It is impossible to accept the suggestion of Cornelius a Lapide that through the ambiguous consonantal text the Holy Ghost intended both meanings. "Nimirum usus est Spiritus Sanctus hac Linguae Hebraeae amplitudine, ut plura iisdem

The encomium of Jacob's faith is followed by that of Joseph, who was mindful of the future exodus of Israel from Egypt and gave orders that his bones should then be carried to the land of his fathers (Genesis 50. 24).

The faith which distinguished the life of Moses is the theme of four special encomia (*Hebrews* 11. 23-28). The praise of faith is first due to the parents, by whom the infant was hidden for three months, because they saw that he was comely and seemed marked by Providence for something great. Strictly speaking the only verbal borrowings from Exodus 2. 2 are the words *saw* and *comely*, but ἐκρύβη and τριμήνον are taken with merely grammatical modification from the text. "By faith Moses *having come to years* refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter." The italicized phrase is from Exodus 2. 11. Moses' conduct, as subsequently described in Exodus 2. 11 ff., shows that he renounced the honour of adopted son of the Egyptian Princess, which is mentioned in 2. 10. The Hebrew hero, we are further told, chose the opprobrium of Christ (Psalm 68. 10). It seems altogether better with a Lapide, Schäfer, Zill, Graf, Bleek, Westcott, to take the fearless abandonment of Egypt by Moses (11. 27) as referring to his conduct in regard to the exodus, according to the description given in chapters 11 and 12 of the second Book of Moses. Our author's reference to the previous celebration of the Pasch is dependent on the Septuagint only for one notable term: ὁ λοθρέων (Exodus 12. 23).

Two further encomia regard the faith of the whole people under the leadership, first of Moses and later of Josue. The crossing of the Red Sea by the Israelites dryshod and the swallowing-up of the Egyptians (Exodus 14. 22, 27) are mentioned with only slight verbal reminiscence of Exodus 15. 4. Similarly the description of the collapse of the walls of Jericho very slightly touches the Book of Josue in 6. 7, 20. The reference to Rahab's merit is even more independent of the letter of that Book (2. 1-22; 6. 22-25).

The Book of Judges and the Books of Samuel supply only a list of six names. The order is peculiar, namely that of three pairs of names arranged in the order of time, but the second hero of each pair is the predecessor of his companion. Thus, in the book of Judges, Gedeon immediately succeeds Barac; Samson succeeds Jeph-

verbis significaret. Inde enim provenit diversitas versionum Aquilae, Symmachi, Theodotionis, Hieronymi et aliorum. Voluit ergo Spiritus Sanctus legi hic tam *mitta*, id est lectulum, quomodo legit et vertit Noster in Genesi, cum Aquila et Symmacho, quam *matte*, id est virgam, quomodo legerunt Septuaginta et ex iis S. Paulus hic."

the, with the three unimportant judicatures of Abesan, Ahialon and Abdon intervening; David, as narrated by first Samuel, is introduced into Israelite history by Samuel. With these the Prophets are mentioned generically.

The five Judges and David and the Prophets are described as having exemplified nine exploits, either of successful action or of miraculous favour, all of which testified to the power of faith. Each of these exploits or favours may be traced to one or more of the personages mentioned, that is, the six expressly named and those included under the comprehensive name of Prophets. The Judges and David overcame kingdoms; many wrought justice either as administrators, vindicators of right, or good-living men; at least David obtained promises; Samson, David and Daniel stopped the mouth of lions; the three young men, inspired to sing the canticle of their deliverance in the fiery furnace, had quenched the energy of fire; David and others escaped the edge of the sword; Ezechias, whom an inspired canticle entitles to be called a Prophet, recovered strength from sickness; the Judges and David became valiant in fight; the Judges and David also turned the armies of foreigners to flight. It will be noticed that, with two exceptions from the Book of Daniel, the examples range through the Books of Judges, Samuel and Kings. Then, as a woman figured in the last of the eighteen encomia, so here a tenth testimony of the power of faith is drawn from the example of women who "received back their dead by resurrection." The reference is to the miracles wrought for the widow of Sarepta by Elias (1 Kings 17. 17-24) and for the Sunamite by Elisaeus (2 Kings 4. 18-37). Up to this point, the Books which are referred to in chapter 11 are Genesis, Exodus, Josue, Judges, first and second Samuel, first and second Kings, and Daniel.

The short piece, which might be called the Passion-section of the Hebrew Martyrology, draws its materials from Books written later than first Samuel and also from Jewish tradition. The Passion of Eleazar fits the category of those who "were racked, refusing to accept release, that they might obtain a better resurrection." (35^b). The tympanum figures as the instrument of torture in the account of Eleazar's martyrdom (2 Macc. 19, 28) and he expressly rejected an unworthy proposal of release. Because of the special mention of the hope of resurrection, the tortures endured by the seven Maccabean martyrs are apparently included with the "tympanization" of Eleazar. Eleazar does not speak of resurrection, but the second (2 Macc. 7. 9) third (7. 11) and fourth martyr (7. 14), their wonderful mother (7. 23, 29) and her youngest son (7. 36) all clearly proclaim

their faith in this truth. In usage the word *ἐτυμπανίσθησαν* is general enough to cover the tortures which the seven brothers underwent.

The category of these who were subjected to mockery is no doubt represented by Eliseus, made the butt of malicious jeering by little boys (2 Kings 2. 23). Those who had to endure flagellation are not easy to find in the pages of the Old Testament, but Jeremias is probably an example. Not only was the Prophet struck by the Priest Phassur (Jeremias 20. 2) but also on another occasion the Jewish Princes subjected him to a beating (37. 14; LXX, 44. 15). On both occasions he was thrown into prison, Phassur likewise ordering him to be put in the stocks, so that he stands as a conspicuous example of those "who had trial of stripes, yea, furthermore of fetters and imprisonment" (11. 36). In those who "were stoned" we should find a reference to Zachary the son of Joiada (2 Chronicles 24. 21) rather than to Naboth the Jezrahelite (1 Kings 21. 13). Zachary spoke in the spirit of the Lord and remained famous as the one "who had been slain between the sanctuary and the altar" (Matt. 23. 35; Luke 11. 51). Many were tried (if *ἐπειράσθησαν* be the true reading and not *ἐτυράσθησαν* or some one of the many conjectural emendations mentioned by Bleek), but there is no mention anywhere in the inspired text of a holy man who was sawn asunder, though this cruel way of exterminating enemies conquered in war figures in the Septuagint version of Amos 1. 3. Where the Vulgate, together with the Masoretic text, has: "The (Damascenes) have threshed Galaad with threshing instruments of iron," the Alexandrian reads: "They sawed with iron saws the women who were with child amongst the Galaadites." A Jewish tradition asserted that sawing in two was the death which Isaias met by order of Manasses.¹ Our author may have had this tradition in mind here. That many Prophets "died by the death of the sword" is evident from the complaint of Elias in 1 Kings 19. 14, where he says: "The children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, thrown down thine altars, and slain thy prophets with the sword." The word used is *ρομφαία* but, if the word used in *Hebrews* is to be traced to the LXX, Joakim slew Urias, the supporter of Jeremias with the sword (*ἐν μαχαίρῃ* Jeremias LXX, 33. 23) and the phrase *φόνῳ μαχαίρας* is fairly frequent in the Septuagint.²

¹ *Ascensio Isaiae*, 5. 1-14. P. RIESSLER, *Altjüdisches Schrifttum ausserhalb der Bibel* (Augsburg, 1928) pp. 483f.; St. JUSTIN, *Dialogus*, 12; TERTULLIAN, *De patientia*, 14. P. L., I., 1270: "His patientiae viribus secatur Isaias, et de Domino non tacet."

² Exodus 17. 13; Numbers 21. 24; Deut. 13. 15; 20. 13.

The picture of the sufferings endured by men of faith in regard to external habit, personal condition, and habitation only offers two traits, which are definitely recognisable as biblical. In those that went about clad in sheepskins and goatskins we recognise the typical figure of Elias the Thesbite, "a hairy man girded with a girdle of leather about his loins" (2 Kings 1. 8) and in those who "wandered in desert places, in mountains, and in caves, and in holes of the earth" we may see the hundred Prophets whom Abdias hid by fifty from Jezabel and Achab in a cave and fed them with bread and water (1 Kings 18. 4, 13).

The Passion-section of the Martyrology, therefore, shows that not only the Books of Kings but also very probably the Books of Chronicles and even the latter historical Books of the Maccabees were known to our author. At the same time it is clear that he drew on Jewish tradition as well as on the biblical sources.

The continuation of the great paraenetic section (12. 1-29) presents a series of nearly a dozen Scriptural patches. Four texts only are introduced by a formula which ascribes the words to a scriptural source. Three or four are so verbally identical with passages of the Septuagint that they are virtually citations. The rest are historical references or reminiscences, which do not amount to citations.

The spectacle of Jesus suffering and then seated at the right of God recalls Psalm 109 once more. In the "contradiction of sinners against Jesus"¹ there is no doubt an allusion to the rebellion of Core, Dathan and Abiron. Moreover the Israelites' conduct towards Moses or God is often described as an *ἀντιλογία*.² In the face of such contradiction endured by the Saviour the resistance of the Hebrews seems little, and so feeble that they appear to have forgotten a consolation of Scripture which the author personifies and introduces "speaking to you as to children: "

"My son, despise not the discipline of the Lord
nor lose courage when rebuked by him,
For whom the Lord loveth he disciplineth
and he scourgeth every son whom he receiveth "

(Prov. 3. 11, 12)

This text gives rise to a number of reflexions on discipline and the peaceful fruit of justice, which it brings to those who have been exercised by it. Therefore, says the author, in words of Isaias 35. 3, slightly modified by a reminiscence of Sirach (25. 23): "Brace up the

¹ Numbers 17. 3 (16. 38).

² Numbers 20. 13; 27. 14; Pss. 80.8; 105. 32.

hands that hang faint and the knees that are tottering"; and joining to this appeal an exhortation from the Book of Proverbs he continues: "And make right paths for your feet" (Proverbs 4. 26). It is to be noticed that while the Isaian passage has the grammatical form of the Hebrew text (confortate manus dissolutas et genua debilia roborate, the Greek being: Confortamini manus dissolutae etc.), the words from Proverbs, though somewhat modified, are closer to the Septuagint. Both sentences are virtual citations.

Pacem sequimini is just an echo of Psalm 33. 15, but the clause *nequa radix amaritudinis sursum germinans impediatur* is plainly transferred with only slight omission from a particular reading of the Greek text of Deuteronomy 29. 18. The Hebrew (29. 17) reads: "Lest there should be among you a root bearing poison and wormwood." The Septuagint as represented by Codex B substantially translates this wording: "Lest there be among you a root springing up in gall (ἐν χολῇ) and bitterness," but copies of the Septuagint belonging to the type of the Alexandrinus (A) and Ambrosianus (F) inserted after "root" the qualifying genitive *πικρίας* and scribal negligence made ἐν χολῇ into the verb ἐνοχλῇ which is the original reading of A and a later correction in B and F. Either the Alexandrinus is conformed to the reading of *Hebrews* or the author of *Hebrews* and the scribe of the Alexandrinus are both dependent on the same type of Septuagint text. This reading is obviously a mistake, but the general sense is not substantially changed. In any case, the author of *Hebrews* merely adopts biblical words to express an idea of his own. Verbal accuracy is of no particular account. In a warning against infection by uncleanness or by a profane spirit, Esau is held up as a deterrent example. "Let there be no fornicator or profane person as Esau, who for one meal sold his birthright." The reference to Genesis 25. 33 is verbal. The three words ἀπέδοτο τὰ πρωτοτόκια are identical in the critically established texts of Greek Genesis and *Hebrews*. There is a further reference, without any approach to citation, in the reminder that Esau afterwards sought a reversal of his father's act of benediction, but in vain.¹ (Genesis 27. 30-40).

¹ Not many words are required to defend the interpretation of *Hebrews* 12. 16, 17 supposed above. There is no sufficient reason for departing from the literal sense of πόρνος. Neither Esau's biblical portraiture nor our author's context oblige us to refer more than one of the two descriptives πόρνος ἢ βέβηλος to Isaac's elder son. The penance "of which he found no place" does not denote a fruitful internal change of mind in himself but a revocation of the decision which cast him out of his primogenital privileges.

In the seventeen verses of this earnest chapter (12. 1-17), which we have just considered, there has been a plentiful gleanings of solemn words from the three categories of books into which the Divine Library of Israel was commonly divided (Luke 24. 44), the initials of which modern Jews have made into a noun *Tenak*, equivalent to our word Bible. Two echoes from David and from Moses lead to a rather extensive citation from Proverbs. These biblical words mark the three most luminous points of a paraenetic foundation, namely, the glorious consummation of Christ's Passion, the magnitude of the opposition he encountered, the consolation which the Divine Scriptures attach to a life of stern discipline. Like three pillars (KTK) they support five further appeals to the biblically trained ears of a Hebrew community. Isaias, Proverbs, a Psalm, Deuteronomy, Genesis (NKKTT) offer the subtle suggestion of their sacred contexts. The chapter and indeed the body of the Epistle is now to end in a triple vision, that of the terror-inspiring Sinai (12. 18-21), that of the delectable new Jerusalem (12. 22-24) and that of the consummation of this ecclesiastical and heavenly Jerusalem in an immovable Kingdom (12. 25-28). The first vision borrows its colours and a considerable part of its verbal expressions from the Torah; the second chiefly echoes the language of the Psalms, with a reference to the early chapters of Genesis at the end; the third, though it turns on a prophetic text as its main hinge, begins and ends with touches of terror from the Torah.

In detail the scriptural materials of these twelve verses (12. 18-29) are as follows. The picture of the awe-inspiring Mountain of the Law is taken from the nineteenth chapter of Exodus. There is, however, a very large and even predominant employment of verbal expressions from the second or homiletic part of Moses' first discourse on the Plains of Moab (Deuteronomy 4. 11 f.) as well as the Prologue of his second address (5. 20). Fire, darkness, tempest, trumpeting and the voice that spoke from above form the five terrific elements of the scene. "You have not approached a *fire* perceived by touch and *kindled* (nor approached) *blackness* and *darkness* and *storm* and the *sound of a trumpet* and a *voice of words*." So terrible was the scene that "the listeners prayed that no word more should be spoken to them." A brief indication of the sources of each element will suffice. The fire *kindled* is freely adapted from τὸ ὄρος ἐκαίετο πυρί (Deut. 4. 11 and 5. 23); γνόφος (blackness) appears in Deuteronomy 4. 11 and 5. 22, the equivalent expression νεφέλη γνοφώδης figuring in Exodus 19. 16; the accompanying word ζόφος (darkness) is not in any of the Pentateuchal texts but probably represents the word

σκότος which precedes γνόφος in Deuteronomy 4. 11 and 5. 22. *Storm* follows the *blackness* in both Deuteronomic passages. The *sound of a trumpet* is verbally from Exodus 19. 16, mention being made of trumpet-blasts no less than three times in the respective passage (19. 13-19). The *voice of words* is from Deuteronomy 4. 11. The Israelites' reluctance to hear words spoken to them in such terrific circumstances is based more especially on the awful sacredness of the Mountain as indicated by the death-penalty attached to touching it. "They could not bear the command: *If even a beast touch the mountain, it shall be stoned.*" The command thus formally quoted is a condensed rendering of the instructions contained in Exodus 19. 12, 13. Every word is taken from the Septuagint text, except that κῆνος is replaced by θηρίον. "Indeed, so fearful was the scene that Moses said: I am full of fear and trembling." This expression of fear is here attributed to Moses, but is not found in any of the accounts of the giving of the Law, either in Exodus or in Deuteronomy. Moses did, however, express his fear in words such as these, but on an entirely different occasion, namely, before the spectacle of Israel's idolatry with the Golden Calf, and for an entirely different reason, namely, the apprehension of the awful punishment which the fury of the Lord had in store for the sinful people. Moses himself is telling the next generation what happened during his second forty days on the Mountain, while he implored the Lord to have mercy on the people. The text ought to be read at least from the point of Moses' first descent from Sinai. The Lord announced to him the sin of Israel and His determination to blot the people out. The Prophet's narrative at this point is as follows: "So I turned and came down from the Mountain, and the Mountain *burned with fire*: and the two tables of the covenant were in my two hands. And I looked, and, behold, ye had sinned against the Lord your God, and had made for yourselves a molten calf; ye had turned aside quickly from the way which the Lord your God had commanded you. And I took the two tables and threw them out of my two hands and thus I broke them before your eyes. And I fell down before the Lord *as at the first*, forty days and forty nights. I neither ate bread nor drank water because of all your sins which ye had committed, doing evil in the sight of the Lord to provoke him to anger; for *I was full of fear* at the sight of the anger and indignation with which the Lord was infuriated against you to destroy you. But the Lord heard me *this time also*" (Deut. 9. 15-19). The Septuagint translation is practically identical with that just given, except at one point. Instead of following on naturally with the past tense and translating "I was full of fear," it emp-

loys the present *καὶ ἔκφοβός εἰμι* which are the precise words that our author puts into the mouth of Moses, with the addition of *καὶ ἔντρομος*, an emphatic filling out of the phrase, due perhaps to a reminiscence of 1 Maccabees 13. 2, where, however, the adjectives are in the inverse order. It seems difficult to admit with Estius, Calmet, Klee, Bisping, Schäfer, Westcott, that our author has a familiar tradition in mind and not the biblical text of Deuteronomy 9. 19. Zill rightly notes that the biblical nature of the argument makes one expect a biblical citation here rather than a traditional memory of words spoken by Moses.¹ We cannot, of course, admit that an inspired author quotes the words and assigns them through forgetfulness to a time to which they do not belong.² If account be taken of the terms which we have italicized, the fear of Moses can be very reasonably connected with the whole drama of the giving of the Law. His fear was undoubtedly inspired by his whole experience of the majesty and the wrath of God. He had remained forty days in communion with the Almighty; the Mountain was still burning when he descended from it; he bore inscribed on stone the ten words that had been spoken to the people with the accompaniment of such awful phenomena. The words uttered at the sight of the violation of the very first article of the Law are therefore the expression of fear conceived during the whole drama. What he felt then had a very real and vivid relation to the happenings which surrounded the promulgation of the Law.

The antithesis of Sinai is "Mount Sion." The term includes an allusion to Psalms 2. 6, 47. 3 and to such passages as Isaiah 2. 3, Micah 4. 2. The city of (the living) God recalls the *civitas Dei nostri* of Psalm 47. 2 (cfr. 45. 5). The heavenly Jerusalem finds a certain prototype in Isaiah 52. 1 (*Ierusalem civitas sancta LXX*) or perhaps in the grand rebuilding of Jerusalem visioned by the same prophet in a chapter which St. Paul connected in Galatians with the Jerusalem above (Is. 54, cf. Gal. 4. 27). A city with foundations of sapphire, and bulwarks of jasper, and doors of precious stones, whose sons were all to be taught of the Lord, was an obvious picture of the Mes-

¹ ZILL, o. c., p. 657. Having noted that most commentators have recourse to a tradition, he continues: "Da er aber an der Hand der heiligen Schrift argumentiert, und die innige Verbindung mit Vers 20 eine gleichmässige Citation erfordert, dürfte die Annahme eines Schriftcitates auch an unserer Stelle vorzuziehen sein. Ein solches findet sich Deut. 9. 19 (LXX)."

² So MOFFAT in h. l. p. 216; "He forgets that Moses uttered this cry of horror, not over the fearful spectacle of Sinai but at a later stage, over the worship of the golden calf."

sianic Kingdom.¹ The myriads of Angels in the picture may very well be a composite reminiscence of the ten thousand myriads assisting the Ancient of days (Daniel 7. 10) and of the myriadfold chariot of God surrounded by chiliads of rejoicers (Ps. 67. 17, LXX). The beginning of Moses' song of blessing over the tribes of Israel also makes God's court consist of the myriads of Kades (LXX: Vulg. *sanctorum millia*) with angels on His right (Deut. 33. 2). The festal assembly in our picture might also have been borrowed from the Old Testament, where *πανάγγυος* translates *mō'ed* in Osee 2. 11 and 9. 5, as well as in Ezechiel 46. 11. The "church of the first-born" echoes not only the thought of first birthrights such as Esau sold, but the designation of Israel as firstborn by God Himself on a very solemn occasion (Exodus 4. 22). The idea of a heavenly roll of citizenship is found in Moses' generous prayer on behalf of his people (Exodus 32. 32), also in Psalm 68. 28 (cfr. 138. 16, the book of God's omniscience) and in the Prophets (Is. 4. 3; Daniel 12. 4). We should hardly be mistaken in regarding the phrase "God the judge of all" as an echo of Abraham's solemn address: *Qui iudicas omnem terram* (Genesis 18. 26). We should, however, seek in vain for a complete Old Testament parallel of the phrase: "spirits of the just made perfect."² Practically the same may be said for "Mediator of a New Testament Jesus;" but "the sprinkling of blood speaking better than Abel" is once more a reference to Genesis 4. 10. In view of what has been said, it will easily be conceded that something near four fifths of the elements of this beautiful picture of contrast to Sinai is based on the imagery and language of the Old Testament. It is not possible to say how much of this biblical lexicon is immediately due to our author's study of the Sacred Books, but, seeing that he is so conversant with the Bible, the antecedent presumption is in favour of personal reminiscence of its treasures rather than dependence on mediate sources.

The eschatological aspect of the Messianic foundation closes the organic structure of the Epistle (12. 25-29). The author's purpose is as heretofore (12. 1-24) tropological but the anagogic accent becomes stronger, the Apostle's vision resting on the eternal, immovable phase

¹ Compare John 6. 45 and Thessalonians 4. 9—a citation of the passage by our Lord and a clear allusion by St. Paul. It seems unlikely that a similar description in the canticle of Tobias (13. 21) should be the inspiration of our author. I can find no reasonably certain allusion to either Tobias or Judith in our Epistle.

² In the canticle of the three young men there is a verse which may have furnished the phrase: "spirits of the just." In the last strophe of this hymn we read: «Benedicite spiritus et animae iustorum Domino» (Daniel 3. 86).

of the Kingdom of Christ. His word of warning here is based on the same argument as in 2. 1-4. Those who refused to hear the Old Law did not escape, though it was promulgated only from a mountain, much less shall we escape, if we turn away from One who speaks from heaven. The voice of God shook the earth then, but now He has promised, saying: "*Yet once more I will shake not only the earth but the heavens also.*" Our author here formally cites a text of Aggeus 2. 6, but adapts the wording to his a *minori ad maius* argument. The text says in the Septuagint version (which, except for a slight omission, is the same as the Hebrew): "Yet once more and I will shake heaven and earth and sea and dry land." The further shaking here predicted is brought into relation with the shaking of Sinai. But how did our author know that Sinai shook? Not from Exodus 19. 18 according to the Alexandrian translation, where it is said: "The whole mountain of Sinai smoked, because God had descended upon it in fire; and the smoke went up like the smoke of a furnace and all the people were terrified exceedingly." With the exception of a small number of Manuscripts (Hempel mentions nine) which favour the Septuagint wording of the last member, the Masoretic text reads: "And the whole mountain shook very much." St. Jerome, probably influenced by the Septuagint, did not give the simple meaning of the Hebrew verb but translated: "*eratque omnis mons terribilis.*" The true Hebrew reading is, however, echoed in a number of passages beginning with the song of Debborah.¹ There is, therefore, no reason to suppose that our author follows an unwritten Jewish tradition. When the Prophet Aggeus speaks of a shaking that affects the heavens as well as the earth, the Apostle remains within the bounds set to quotation by giving his words a form which emphasises the shaking of the heavens. Besides, although the Prophet has in view the whole mystery of the coming of the Desired of the Nations, both as Saviour and as Judge, the Apostle finds the full sense of the shaking of heaven principally in the final change, which shall mark the passing of everything mutable in order that a permanent, immovable Kingdom may remain. Therefore, we who are receiving such an unchangeable Kingdom from God, ought to serve him well-pleasingly, with reverence and fear; for moreover, our *God is a consuming fire*. Moses told the people twice over that God was a jealous vindicator of His rights, using this same metaphor of devouring fire. On the first occasion (Deut. 4. 24) the Legislator warned the Israelites against

¹ Judges 5. 4; Psalm 67. 9; 113. 4. Trembling of the earth is a usual accompaniment of Theophanies, e. g., Psalms 17. 8 (2 Sam. 24. 8), 75. 9; 76. 19; 95. 9; 96. 4 etc.

forgetting the covenant and violating the law, especially by idolatry, because: " the Lord thy *God is a consuming fire*, yea, a jealous God." In his second discourse he repeats the metaphor (9. 3) with a different application, for here God is to go before Israel as " a consuming fire " to destroy their enemies. The reference in our Epistle is to the former passage. This virtual citation from the Law, following an express citation from a Prophet (TN) conveys, in the light of the final consummation of the world, a very solemn threat.

Epistle's Appendix

The series of admonitions which form the appendix of the Epistle also contains its quota of Scripture. The writer recommends hospitality by holding up the example of persons who in the exercise of this virtue received angels without knowing. There is a reference to Abraham (Genesis 18. 3) and to Lot (19. 2 ff.). Tobias seems not to have come before the author's mind, because the family's relations with the Angel Raphael do not begin in the offering of hospitality to a stranger.

In recommending detachment the Apostle recalls a word of God, which guarantees help to Israel and to Josue, but is accommodated to fit every case of need. The wording of the citation is such that it is not possible to declare definitely whether a passage of the Old Testament is its immediate source or whether it had received a current form which the Apostle took as embodying a scriptural saying. There is no doubt that it is expressly quoted as a word of God and that its original source is to be found in the divine words of encouragement spoken three times over, once to the people and twice to Josue (Deuteronomy 31. 6, 8; Josue 1. 5). It is Moses that conveys the words to the people (31. 6) and to Josue for the first time (31. 8), but the Lord Himself speaks to Josue the second time (Josue 1. 5) in the first person singular, as in our citation. The third passage would recommend itself as the passage which our author had in mind, were it not that the form of the words: οὐ μὴ σε ἀνῶ οὐδ' οὐ μὴ σε ἐγκαταλίπω is definitely nearer to the encouragement spoken through Moses to the whole people (οὔτε μὴ σε ἀνῆ οὔτε μὴ σε ἐγκαταλίπη). Besides, a word addressed to a whole community would have suited the Apostle's purpose better. The analogy of the situations is also striking. The Israelites were then on the point of entering Canaan, while the Hebrews are in need of something to brace them up for the great work of turning their backs decisively on the Jewish camp and entering into their Christian rest.

To this guarantee of divine assistance voiced in a word from the Torah a response is given on man's side by a verse from the Psalm of the *Cornerstone* (117. 6):

"The Lord is my helper, I will not fear;
what can man do to me?"

The Psalm is, indeed, not cited but merely used. It is the only passage verbally borrowed from the Old Testament and employed not to convey a lesson resting on divine authority but rather an act of confidence on the part of Christians.¹ It is, therefore, the sole Scripture of our Epistle, even of those tacitly or virtually cited, in which the fundamental thought of God speaking in the Prophets is not specifically followed out.

One more virtual citation and a number of literary borrowings complete the contributions of the O. T. to our Epistle. The prescription of Leviticus 16. 27 relative to the burning of the bodies of Expiatory offerings outside the camp is referred to and in large part verbally reproduced to form a basis for an exhortation to go outside the camp to Jesus crucified outside the gate. The typology of this ritual observance is pressed to the full, the terminus of the journey outside the camp in association with the opprobrium of Christ (Ps. 67. 10) being the abiding city of the future. The exhortation which immediately follows regarding praise (13. 15) is expressed in biblical language, "sacrifice of praise" being a term of frequent occurrence in the Old Testament,² and "fruit of the lips" being found in Osee 14. 2 (LXX 14. 3).³ The reference to the responsibility of superiors contains perhaps, a slight allusion to Ezekiel 3. 17 ff. or to the picture of the Shepherd of Israel (34. 10).

The final collect: May the God of peace, who hath brought up from the dead the great *shepherd of the sheep, in the blood of an eternal covenant*, even our Lord Jesus Christ, equip you perfectly with every good thing so as to do his will, while he accomplisheth in you that which is wellpleasing in his sight through Jesus Christ"—this collect

¹ Compare Genesis 14. 17 ff. at the beginning of chapter 7, Exodus 24. 8 towards the end of chapter 9, Numbers 12. 7 at the beginning of chapter 3, and Habacuc 2. 3 f. at the end of chapter 10.

² See Leviticus 7. 2, 12: *shelem hattodah* translated *Θυσία τῆς αἰθέρας* and *Θυσία σωτηρίου* by LXX, also 2 Paralipomenon 29. 31, 33. 36 and more particularly Psalms 49. 14, 115. 8.

³ The same expression occurs in the Masoretic Text of Isaiah 57. 19 but is absent from LXX. It is remarkable that St. Paul borrows the words that immediately follow the Hebrew sentence of Isaiah: "I create the fruit of the lips." (Ephesians 2. 17: "Peace to you afar off and peace to those that are near").

is signally biblical. The expression "God of peace" so beloved by St. Paul (Rom. 15. 33; 1 Cor. 14. 33; 2 Cor. 13. 11; Phil. 4. 9; 1 Thess. 5. 23) is probably imitated from the Messianic title "Prince of peace," though it is doubtful that this title belongs to the Septuagint version of Isaias 9. 5, 6. The phrase "who brought up the *shepherd of the sheep*" is certainly modelled on the Alexandrian rendering of Isaias 63. 11. The italicized portion is verbally there, and the other word may be gathered from the two participles ἀναβιβάσας and ἀγαγών. On account of the similarity of thought, the Isaian passage at once suggests Zachary 9. 11, whence the phrase "in the blood of a testament" is taken, "eternal," as a qualifying adjective joined to "testament," being suggested by many passages e. g. Isaias 55. 3, Jeremias 32. 40 (LXX 39. 40), 50. 5 (LXX 27. 5), Ezechiel 37. 26. In view of the expression "God of peace" in connection with a covenant, it may be of interest to note that both Isaias 54. 11 and Ezechiel 37. 26 call the eternal διαθήκη by the name διαθήκη (τῆς) εἰρήνης.

Our author's Bible

When we speak of our author's Bible, we mean in the first place the range of Old Testament Books covered by his express citations, by the verbal borrowings which contribute to the logical construction of the Epistle, by the references which as facts, allusions or literary echoes contribute to the substance and the rhetorical form of his book. In the second place we mean by our author's Bible something more special, namely, those parts of Scripture from which he draws most frequently and extensively—his favourite theological sources, in other words. The determination of the general range of his biblical usage and the ascertainment of his biblical predilections will serve as a basis of comparison between the Bible of *Hebrews* and St. Paul's Bible. In order to avoid the confusion which over-division might generate, we shall keep to the three main categories just indicated, that is, formal citations, verbal borrowings that are virtually citations, and a third general category including references, allusions, reminiscences.

The Epistle contains twenty-six formal citations altogether, not including repetitions of the same text, but calculating as distinct citations, on account of distinct formula and distinct application, such texts as Isaias 8. 17 and 8. 18, Psalm. 109. 4^a and 109. 4^b. These twenty-six citations are drawn from the Law, the Prophets and the Writings, in different proportions. The Pentateuch furnishes eight

formal quotations, three of which are taken from Genesis, two from Exodus, and three from Deuteronomy.¹ Of the three from Genesis, one belongs to the end of the Cosmogony (2. 2) and two to the history of Abraham (21. 12; 22. 16). The two passages from Exodus belong to the preparations for the promulgation of the Law (19. 12) and the prescriptions regarding the erection of the sanctuary received by Moses on the mountain immediately after the conclusion of the Alliance (25. 40). The quotations from Deuteronomy are all derived from the utterances of the last days of Moses' life (Deut. 31f.), namely, from his words to the people (31. 6) and from his great canticle (32. 35, 32. 36).

There is one quotation from the collection of Books which the Jews call the former Prophets, namely the oracle of Nathan found in 2 Samuel 7. 14, but this is probably regarded by the author as belonging to the same Davidic cycle as the Psalms.

The later or literary Prophets have given our author four pieces expressly recognised as divine in the way that they are introduced. They are two contiguous sentences from the Book of Emmanuel in Isaias (8. 17; 8. 18), an unusually long passage from the series of Jeremiah's great visions of the restoration of Israel and the Messianic future (31. 31-34), and finally a short sentence from the postexilic Prophet Aggeus (2. 6). It will be noticed that the three Prophets, through whom God speaks in our Epistle of the Word Incarnate, of the New Covenant, and of the consummation of the era of the second temple's glory, represent respectively the ages of Assyrian, Chaldean and Persian dominion in the Near East.

The richest gleaning of formal citations is from the Psalter. No less than ten Psalms furnish words that are definitely quoted as Scripture, and these words, apart from repetitions of the same or part of the same extracts from Psalms 2, 94 and 109, furnish twelve distinct quotations, three standing to the credit of Psalm 109. Of the Psalms cited, four are from the first Davidic Book, namely 2, 8, 21, 39; one i. e. 44 is from the small Qorachite Psalter (41-48); two, that is to say, 94 and 96, are from the bijou Psalter (92-99) often called *Royal*, because the canticles contained in it exalt the reign of Yahweh; of the remaining Psalms, the elegy 101 stands by itself, the hymn 103 is of the alleluistic class, and the great Messianic Psalm 109 is the third of a little Davidic ternary (107-109) inserted near the beginning of the last Book of Psalms.

¹ The calculation for Deuteronomy is made on the assumption that the text cited from *Hebrews* 1. 6 is not from Deuteronomy 32. 43 (LXX) but with modification of its wording, from Psalm 96. 7.

As Westcott observes (p. 476), "none of the quotations from the Psalter are taken from the Psalms known to have been appointed for use on the successive days of the week in the Temple" (Psalms 23, 47, 81, 93, 80, 91). There is no citation from the lesser Hallel (112-117) but, as we have seen, the last Psalm of the group furnishes our writer with the words of an act of confidence. The Greater Hallel (119-135) is left untouched, for *Iudicabit Dominus populum suum* (Hebrews 10. 30^b) is from the canticle of Moses and not from Psalm 134. The daily Hallel (145-150) is also entirely absent from the Epistle; for, even if we recognise a biblical reminiscence in the "two-edged sword" (4. 11), the source is most probably Proverbs 5. 4 rather than Psalm 149. 6.¹

The quota of citations from the Books known as Ketubim or Writings is completed by adding one text from Proverbs 3. 11 f. to the twelve Psalm texts just mentioned. It should be noted that the quotation from Proverbs comes from the first or more general half (chapters 1-4) of the long invitatory introduction (1. 8-9. 18) to this Book. The two or three certain contacts of *Hebrews* with Proverbs fall within this area.² The similarity of thought in *Hebrews* 8. 10 and Proverbs 19. 17 (God's indebtedness to charitable people) is too general to deserve special notice.

The comparative statistics for formal citation are, therefore: Torah 8, Nebiim 5, Ketubim 13, the order of numerical importance for this manner of citation being KTN.

Passing to texts, in the case of which verbal reproduction of an Old Testament passage and the special use made of the words constitute quasi-citation, we have only seven examples to consider.³ Five of these are from the Pentateuch, one from a Prophet and one from a Psalm. Genesis counts two, that is, the text from the antediluvian narrative attesting that Enoch "pleased God" and the description of Melchisedech from the history of Abraham. The one text of this kind contributed by Exodus, namely, the words of Moses sealing the Alliance, belongs to the end of the section known as the Book of the Alliance (20. 24). The text of Numbers in praise of Moses figures towards the end of the itinerary from Sinai to Cades (10. 16-12. 16),

¹ For the sake of consistency the Septuagint and Vulgate numeration of the Psalms is kept throughout.

² Hebrews 12. 5, 12. 13, 2. 1 and Proverbs 3. 11, 4 26 (LXX) 3. 21.

³ It is not easy to mark the limits of this class of texts very rigidly. On account of their brevity, the divine witness regarding Enoch, namely, that "he pleased God" and Moses' expression of fear at Sinai are included. On account of its verbalness the act of confidence from Psalm 117 is also included.

while the Deuteronomic text expressive of Moses' fear occurs in the Prophet's second discourse (4. 44-11. 42) on the Plains of Moab.

The verses of the divine reponse on the saving power of faith coming to Habacuc as he views the spectacle of an imminent Chaldean invasion (Hab. 2. 3, 4) form the strongest of the Scriptural links that bind *Hebrews* to the great Pauline Epistles.

The Psalm passage (117. 6) has been already mentioned by anticipation. Our Lord's use of this festive Hallel would have made it a marked Psalm in Christian tradition. We are not therefore surprised to find that the self-same words, which are employed by the author of *Hebrews*, are very distinctly echoed in Romans 8. 31: " Si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos? " Verse 18 of the same Psalm: " Non moriar sed vivam " has almost certainly inspired the phrase: " quasi morientes et ecce vivimus " in 2 Corinthians 6. 9, while St. Paul in repeating the doctrine of the corner-stone (Ephesians 2. 20; cfr. Rom. 9. 33) cannot have thought only of Isaias 28. 16, seeing that he knew of Christ's own reference to Psalm 117. 22. There is, then, sufficient evidence that this Psalm was familiar to the Apostle.

Leaving the narrative references, allusions and other minor biblical materials of *Hebrews* out of count for the moment, we may now proceed to examine the relation that exists between the thirty-three pieces just mentioned and St. Paul's Bible, in the general and more special sense of the term. It is in view of this comparison that we have indicated the special place which each text occupies in the collection and contextual series of the Old Testament Books. An examination of this sort may supply some positive evidence of common biblical predilections in our author and the Apostle of the Gentiles.

Relation to Pauline Bible

At present we must take " Bible " in the narrower and more special sense as denoting those special parts of the Old Testament which our author, on the one hand, and St. Paul, on the other, used as their special repertoire of biblical texts. We employ the word with much the same sort of restriction as we use " Gospel," when we say that the Gospel of St. Matthew was St. Dominic's Gospel. Partly by his acquired predilections and partly owing to the needs of the present occasion, the author of *Hebrews* had recourse by preference to certain books of Scripture for his materials. Our statistics so far have shown us that the Psalter has a primacy of honour in the Epistle. A comparison with St. Paul's letters and discourses will

further show that only three of the ten Psalms formally quoted in our Epistle (2, 8, 109) are used by the Apostle of the Gentiles. The question that arises from this constatation is: Does the preponderance of the Psalter over the Law and the Prophets in our Epistle and also the selection of those particular Psalm passages suggest that the author of *Hebrews* was not St. Paul? The answer to this double question must be negative. In the first place, it is an undoubted fact that, apart from the five volumes of the Law, taken as one collection twice the compass of the Psalms and *Isaias* put together, it is the two latter books that have every right to be regarded as St. Paul's favourites. It has been even surmised that these particular rolls were the chief parchments of his traveller's library.¹ The Epistle to the Romans, where the use of Scripture is so abundant, supplies ample evidence of this Pauline predilection for the Psalter and *Isaias*. There are some fifty citations or quasi-citations in Romans, of which from fifteen to seventeen are from the Pentateuch, sixteen from the Psalter, thirteen from *Isaias*, four from the Minor Prophets, one from the Book of Proverbs, and two from first Kings. In the generous use of the Psalms our author and St. Paul are one, though the Psalmodic selection of Romans comes into contact with *Hebrews* only in so far as both Epistles centre attention on the opprobrium of Christ as pictured in Psalm 68. But if we take the whole special Pauline Psalter, as it is known to us from the Acts and Epistles, we shall be able to establish a very considerable community of Psalm usage between our author and St. Paul. The Pauline Psalter of predilection, as we know it from the entirely fragmentary evidence of his employment of it, totals nearly 50 Psalms out of the 150. We may set down the serial numbers of these Psalm which occur in the texts of the Apostle's discourses in the Acts and of his thirteen acknowledged letters. The Roman numerals represent the Psalms which are formally, verbally, or virtually cited; the arabic ciphers represent such borrowings as reminiscences or verbal references, more doubtful examples being indicated by bracketed figures. The numbers are: II, IV, V, VIII, IX^B, XIII, XV, XVIII 21, XXIII 30, XXXI 33, XXXIV, XXXV, XLIII (44), 45 (49), L, LXI (66), LXVII, LXVIII 73, 81, LXXXVIII, XCIII (96), (97), 102 (105), 106, 108, CIX, CXI, CXV, CXVI, 117 (118), 124, 129, CXXXIX, CXLII, 144

¹ O. MICHEL, *Paulus und seine Bibel*, p. 8: "Die Tatsache, dass die heiligen Schriften in Buchrollen verbreitet waren, muss besonders beachtet werden. Ein paar Buchrollen—etwa Jesaja und der Psalter—waren vielleicht persönliches Eigentum des Apostels, das er auf seinen Reisen mitführte" (2 Tim. 4. 13).

(147), 150.¹ These statistics show that St. Paul not only used the Psalter very largely but also that he quoted and borrowed from all parts of it. Moreover, the parts of the Psalter, from which our author draws the greater part of his texts, namely, the first Davidic Book (1-40) and the fourth Book (89-105) incorporating the Royal Psalter, are both considerable contributors to the Psalmic anthology of the Apostle. The said first book gives to *Hebrews* four citations out of thirteen and one reminiscence; and from the same Book come twelve of the two dozen passages expressly quoted by St. Paul, to which cipher we must add some three linguistic echoes. Besides, although Psalms 2 and 8 are the only common sources for the Pauline citations and the citations of *Hebrews*, the coincidences are here so remarkable and so isolated in the New Testament,² that they cannot but be singularly impressive. Furthermore, Psalm 21, quoted by our author, is nowhere quoted by St. Paul, but "the mouth of the lion" occurring in the singular number in second Timothy 4. 17 is almost certainly a reminiscence of the verse (21. 22) immediately preceding that quoted by the author of *Hebrews*.

In regard to the fourth Book, the case is somewhat similar. Four of the citations of *Hebrews* are derived from it (Pss. 94, 96, 101, 103). Now, while it is true that none of the four is laid under contribution by St. Paul, if we except the possible borrowing of a thought from 96. 10 (Romans 12. 9), nevertheless the second Psalm of the Royal

¹ The above table is founded on the following list of Psalm passages given in the order of their occurrence in the respective Pauline discourses or letters: Discourse of Pisidian Antioch: Pss. 88. 21, 106, 20, 2. 7, 15. 10; Athenian discourse Pss. 49. 12, (144. 18); Discourse at Miletus: Ps. 73. 2; Words to the Roman Jews: Pss. 66. 2, (97. 3).

Romans: Pss. (118. 46), 105. 2, 61. 13 (49. 16), (147. 19), (102. 7), 115. 11, 50. 6, 31. 1, 13. 1 ff; 5. 10, 139. 4, 35. 2, 142. 2, 117. 6, 109. 1, 43. 23, 106. 26, 18. 5, 93. 14, 67. 23, 34. 8, 96. 10, 68. 10, 17. 50, 116. 1.

First Corinthians: 93. 11, 108. 28, 81. 6, 23. 1, 150. 5, 45. 3, 109. 1, 8. 7, 30. 25.

Second Corinthians: 102. 13, 93. 19 (33. 19), 115. 10 (117. 18) (118. 32), 2. 11, 111. 9.

Galatians: 142. 2, 124. 5, Ephesians: 109. 1, 8. 7 (117. 22), 67. 19, 4. 5 (44. 14), Philippians: 68. 29, 144. 18. Colossians: 109. 1. Philemon vacat. First Thessalonians (93. 1). Second Thessalonians: 67. 36, 88. 7. First Timothy: 61. 11. Second Timothy: 33. 20 (118. 99), 61. 13. 21. 22. Titus: 129. 8.

² Although the beginning of Psalm two is cited by the Jerusalem community (Acts 4. 25) and there are many allusions to verse 8 in the Apocalypse (2. 27, 12. 5, 19. 15) the words: "Filius meus es tu: ego hodie genui te" are quoted only by St. Paul and the author of *Hebrews*. The same is true of the particular verses (5-7) of Psalm 8.

Psalter is cited twice by the Apostle (Romans 11. 2 and first Corinthians 3. 20) and there is a very probable reference to Psalm 102 (2 Cor. 1. 2). The connection between 1 Corinthians 10. 20 and Psalm 105. 37 is only a slender possibility, but Romans 1. 23 seems an unmistakable echo of verse 20 of the same Psalm. Hence we have the Apostle taking two quotations and two pieces of phraseology from the same short series of seventeen Psalms, which contributed the four citations in our Epistle.

The common use of Psalm 109 in the Paulines and in *Hebrews* has been already mentioned more than once. The frequency of reference to the first verse of this Psalm in the Epistolary (Rom. 8. 34; 1 Cor. 15. 25; Eph. 1. 20; Col. 3. 1) is no mean indication of the Pauline mentality of the letter to the Hebrews. Neither should we overlook the number of contacts between the Pauline letters and the series of Psalms of which 109 is the great central (106-117). There are literary echoes of 106, 108, 117 in the Paulines while Psalm 111 furnishes these letters with one quotation, Psalm 115 with two, Romans absorbing half of the little Psalm 116.

Returning to the second Book of Psalms, we find that it is only the beginning and the end of it that have perceptibly influenced the writer Paul, his quotations extending from 43 to 50 and again from 61 to 68. *Hebrews* has very little connection with the latter series; we have noted, however, contacts with 67. 18 and 68. 8-10, both Psalms which have also been strikingly used by St. Paul. In the former series it is the Qorachite Psalter (43-48) and its Asaphic addition (49) that have left their mark on our Epistle. The quota is one citation from Psalm 44, a phrase from Psalm 49, and a probable reminiscence of the "city of our God" from Psalm 47. St. Paul has a quotation from Psalm 43 and reminiscences from 45 and 49. It seems also that the great bridal song of Christ and his Church, that is, the particular Psalm quoted by *Hebrews*, is not entirely absent from the Paulines. It must certainly have inspired the Apostle, as he wrote those two mystico-nuptial passages of his Epistles, namely, second Corinthians 11. 2 and Ephesians 5. 25 ff.

We have thus found that the Psalter which the Pauline Epistles reveal and the Psalter revealed by the Epistle to the Hebrews are not so different as one would be led to believe on hearing the bald statement: Eleven Psalms are quoted in the Epistle to the Hebrews and of these only two have had the honour of supplying quotations to St. Paul. Here, as in so many other cases, a detailed examination of the facts gives a very different conception from that obtained by a mere surface view.

The only other Book of the Ketubim class which deserves particular attention is Proverbs. It is cited both by St. Paul and by the *auctor ad Hebraeos*.¹ Although the Pauline citations and allusions are taken from different parts of the Book, the chief borrowing in Romans 12. 20 being from the Solomonic collection placed towards the end of the volume (25. 21), nevertheless there seems to be a marked preference for the early chapters. The maxim of Proverbs 3. 4 is used by St. Paul twice over, in Romans 12. 17 and in second Corinthians 8. 21, while a phrase about self-conceit from 3. 7 is employed by him twice, namely, in Romans 11. 25 and 12. 16. It cannot but seem remarkable that the chief citation from Proverbs in *Hebrews* is only a few verses removed from the two phrases mentioned. More striking still is the fact that the second member of the instruction to fathers regarding the care of their children, which figures in Ephesians 6. 4, is a composite reminiscence of Proverbs 3. 11 and 2. 2. This means that St. Paul, in writing to the Ephesians had in mind the very text of Proverbs cited in *Hebrews*. Add to these the further fact that all the references to Proverbs in our Epistle belong to chapters four and five. It is surely impossible to admit that such multiple coincidence is purely accidental. It points to the conclusion that *Hebrews* came from the same brain as Ephesians, Romans and Corinthians.

Concerning the Prophets, the first thing that strikes one is the very considerable absence of Isaias from our Epistle. He appears only in the twin citations from the Book of Emmanuel (8. 17, 18) in two quasi-citations from 26. 11 and 53. 3, in two other significant verbal borrowings from 41. 8 and from the Passion of the Servant of Yahweh (*Hebrews* 9. 28) as well as in some phrases like those of 5. 9 (9. 12), 10. 4, 10. 37^a (13. 15), 13. 20. This is the major part of *Hebrews*' indebtedness to the wonderful Prophet "who with a great spirit saw the last things and consoled the mourners in Sion" (Ecclesiasticus 48. 26). It seems very little, but, on examination, it reveals unexpected affinities between our Epistle and the Corpus Paulinum. Let us notice, in the first place, that those five major contacts of *Hebrews* with Isaias show our author's propensity towards certain parts of the Prophet's work. The borrowings represent the Book of Emmanuel which, with its introductory vision, comprises chapters 6 to 12; they further represent the collection of oracles regarding

¹ Job has scarcely left any mark on *Hebrews*. It is cited twice by St. Paul (Romans 11. 35 and first Corinthians 3. 19) and there are also about a dozen reminiscences of the Book e. g., 1 Thessalonians 5. 22; 2 Cor. 5. 14, 12. 7; Philipppians 1. 19; Colossians 4. 6. Its absence from *Hebrews* is not surprising.

world-judgment (24-27) and a similar short judgment piece (34, 35) which crowns the intervening series of censures on foreign alliances (28-33); thirdly they represent the first and second cycle of prophecies in the second part of Isaias (40-48; 49-57). Now, if we examine the series of St. Paul's express or tacit references to Isaias, we shall find that the great majority of them are taken from the particular parts mentioned, and an imposing number of them from the near neighbourhood of the five texts referred to in *Hebrews*. Of the fifty-nine or sixty references to Isaias which I have been able to verify in the Pauline discourses and letters,¹ six are from the Book of Emmanuel, one certain reminiscence (8. 14) being derived from the immediate vicinity of our author's twin-group of Isaian citations (8. 17, 18); four are derived from the oracles of world-judgment; eight from the censure-oracles which lead up to the important chapters 34 and 35, though no echo of these latter chapters seems to be traceable in the Epistolary. There are eight Pauline references (by way of citation, allusion or reminiscence) to the cycle from which our author takes the phrase: *semen Abrahæ apprehendit*, three of these coming from the chapter which immediately precedes the source of the words in question. Finally, the one undoubted reference of our author to the great Isaian Passion (52. 13-53. 12) stands in relation not only to no less than seven allegations of this one page made by St. Paul, but also to the further eight borrowings made by the Apostle from the same cycle of prophecies (49-57).

The minor echoes of Isaias in our Epistle, namely, the phrases, drawn from 1. 11, 26. 20, 45. 17, 63. 11 strengthen the probability of identical Isaian predilections in our author and St. Paul. It has been conjectured and not without reason, that the prophetic *haph-tarah* which was read on that famous sabbath in the synagogue of Pisidian Antioch, was the beginning of Isaias. Indeed, there seems to be a clear allusion to Isaias 1. 2 in the Apostle's discourse of that day (Acts 13. 17).² Another text from the introductory chapter

¹ The Isaian passages are in the order of the N. T.: Discourses of Acts, seven: 1. 2, 6. 9, 40. 18, 44. 28, 47. 6, 49. 6, 55. 3; Romans, twentyone: 1. 9, (8. 14), 10. 22, 11. 10 (27. 9), 28. 16 (29. 10 (29. 16) 40. 13, 45. 23); (49. 18, 52. 5, 52. 7, 52. 15, 53. 1 (53. 5), 53. 12, 59. 1, 59. 20, 65. 1, 65. 2; first Corinthians, eight: (19. 11), 22. 13, 25. 8, 28. 1, 29. 14, 40. 13 (53. 8), 64. 3; second Corinthians, three: 52. 11, 55. 10 (65. 17); Galatians, three: 49. 1, 54. 1, 49. 4; Ephesians, five: 28. 16, 11. 59. 17, 52. 7, 49. 2; Philippians, three: 53. 3-12, 45. 23, 49. 4; Colossians, two: 45. 3, 29. 13; first Thessalonians, one: 59. 17; second Thessalonians; four: 2. 10, 66. 5, 11. 4 (25. 4); Second Timothy, two: 28. 16, 26. 13.

² The conjecture was made by Bengel and is generally adopted by commentators on the Acts. The reason on which it is grounded is that in St. Paul's dis-

of Isaias (1. 9) is quoted in Romans 9. 29. I know of no other certain echoes of this part of Isaias in the New Testament except the two of Paul and the one of *Hebrews*. Furthermore, the common relation of Paul and *Hebrews* to chapter twenty-six of Isaias is confirmed by the curious migration of that little phrase ὅσον ὅσον to the head of our author's citation from Habacuc. Lastly, the Isaian "Book of Glory" (58-66) is represented some seven times in the Epistolary; in *Hebrews* there is one borrowing from it, so that there is practically no part of St. Paul's Isaias which our author has not touched.¹ Considering the spare use of Isaias in our Epistle, this fact is very remarkable.

Jeremias gets special prominence in our Epistle, but only on account of the citation of one extensive text. Our author cannot justly be represented as more partial to this Prophet than St. Paul was. The Apostle quotes Jeremias twice (1 Cor. 1. 31 and 2 Cor. 10. 17) and makes allusion to the same text cited in *Hebrews*, selecting even the very idea which our author emphasises, namely, the "New Testament" (1 Cor. 3. 6), and leaving no doubt that he was thinking of the Jeremian oracle, on account of his immediately preceding reference to a dispensation not written "on tables of stone but on tables which are hearts of flesh" (ibid. 3. 3).

There is very little contact with Ezechiel and Daniel either on the part of *Hebrews* or of the Paulines, but some reminiscences prove that both the Epistolary and our Epistle are indebted to these Prophets.² In view of the critical problem, this fact has no such feature as should claim our particular attention.

Of the twelve Minor Prophets only Osee, Joel, Habacuc, Zacharias and Malachias are quoted or laid under verbal contribution by St. Paul.³ We are not taking account here of some faint allusions to

course (Acts 13. 18) there is an obvious reference to Deuteronomy 1. 31. Now the beginning of Deuteronomy and the beginning of Isaias are respectively the biblical Parashah and Haphtarah on the same Sabbath even in the Jewish liturgy of today. On the subject of readings in the Synagogue two works may be consulted, namely, Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst*, 1913 and Benetianer, *Ursprung und Bedeutung der Prophetenlektionen*, 1909.

¹ A word of reserve (i. e. "practically") has been added in order to give its due to an echo of the oracle against Aethiopia and Egypt (Isaias 19. 11) found in first Corinthians 1. 20.

² For Ezechiel see 2 Corinthians 6. 17^b (Ez. 20. 34) and *Hebrews* 10. 22 (Ez. 36. 25) for Daniel see 2 Thessalonians 2. 4 (Dan. 11. 36) and *Hebrews* 11. 34 (Dan. 3. 23 ff.).

³ Osee 2. 25, 2. 1 (Rom. 9. 25, 26), 13. 14 (2 Cor. 15. 55^{b-c}); Joel 3. 5 (Rom. 10. 13); Habacuc 2. 3 (Rom. 1. 17, Gal. 3. 11); Zacharias 8. 17 (1 Cor. 13. 5), 8. 23 (1 Cor. 14. 25), 8. 16 (Ephesians 4. 25); Malachias 1. 2 (Rom. 9. 13). There is also an allusion to Malachias 1. 7, 12 in first Corinthians 10. 21.

others of them like the slight echo of Michaeas 3. 11 in Romans 2. 17. No doubt St. Paul was well acquainted with every one of these twelve Prophets. The above have especially attracted the Apostle's attention, but Joel and Malachias seem to have influenced the expression of his thought in two or three places only, whereas the other three recur and betray a particular predilection of St. Paul in their regard. Now, it happens that these three together with Aggeus are the only ones of the Lesser Prophets who have given some clearly recognizable contribution of thought or language to *Hebrews*. Osee, indeed, has only furnished a little phrase: "the fruit of lips," but this phrase has the distinction of standing in the final section of the Prophet's Book, only a few verses removed from that famous distich freely quoted in first Corinthians: "O death; where is thy victory? O death, where is thy sting?"¹ No such express citations are supplied by Zacharias, but the relatively frequent indebtedness of St. Paul's phraseology to this Prophet is eloquent. The literary relations of 1 Corinthians 13. 5, 14. 25 to chapter eight of Zacharias cannot be doubted, and still less can the wording of the Apostle's precept regarding true speech, in Ephesians 4. 25, be denied to the same source (Zach. 8. 16). These texts stand between the two passages of the Prophet, to which there is certain reference in our Epistle. Certainly one who reads the respective contexts can entertain no doubt that when our author spoke of Christ as a "great Priest" (over the house of God), he had Zachary 6. 11 in mind, and, when he spoke of the same Christ brought back from the dead "in the blood of an (eternal) testament," he had Zachary 9. 11 in mind. Both Paul and the author of *Hebrews* are debtors to Zachary in a similar way.

As has been said, the citation of Habacuc 2. 4: "Justus autem (meus) ex fide vivit," is the great Scriptural bond between *Hebrews* and the Paulines. It is just barely possible that two of our Lord's words: "Where the body is, there shall the eagles also be gathered together" and "the stones shall cry out" are reminiscent of Habacuc 1. 8 and 2. 11, but, outside of these very doubtful references and the first verse of the Magnificat,² Habacuc does not seem to have been used by anyone else except Paul. Besides the above text being cited in Galatians 3. 11 and Romans 1. 7, the thought of the same

¹ There also occurs in second Corinthians 9. 10 a phrase which is undoubtedly a borrowing from Osee 10. 12.

² Luke 1. 46, 47 and Habacuc 3. 18. I am leaving the Apocalypse out of count, because, while it has not a single express citation from the Old Testament, it is swarming with biblical reminiscences. Habacuc 1. 6 seems to be one of them (cfr. Apocalypse 29. 9).

verse is expressed in very similar words in the Pisidian discourse (Acts 13. 39). Not merely that, but St. Paul in the same Pisidian discourse quotes Habacuc 1. 5 at full length. We are, therefore, justified in regarding this Prophet as one to which the Apostle gave a good deal of attention and consequently the citation in *Hebrews* 10. 37-39 would come more naturally from Paul than from another writer.

The short prophetic Book Aggeus cited by our author does not seem to find any place in the Pauline Epistolary, nor indeed in any other book of the New Testament.

We have no desire to give these evidences of mental affinity in regard to the use of the Prophets more weight than they really have, but it is easy to see that they confirm rather than contradict the tradition of the Pauline authorship of *Hebrews*. It is not overstating the facts to say that there is a marked relation between our Epistle and the recognizable *locus Paulinus* in the Hagiographa and the Prophets. The striking predominance of the Psalter over the Prophets as a Christological treasury will cause no surprise to one who considers the general proportion of Psalm usage in the Pauline Epistolary and the extent to which this Epistle centres on the dignity and work of Christ rather than on the workings of his grace in humanity.

The Torah or Pentateuch certainly has its full Pauline measure in *Hebrews*. If we examine the use made of the Pentateuch in the Epistles of St. Paul, we shall find that the Apostle's mind continually harks back to four great zones of the Pentateuchal revelation: the primeval history, the history of Abraham, the history of the Exodus and the history of the last days of Moses. In other words, we shall find that the first three chapters of Genesis, the Abrahamic narrative embracing chapters 12 to the middle of 25, the exodic history contained in Exodus and Numbers, and finally the last chapters of Deuteronomy supply the greater part of St. Paul's Pentateuchal references.¹ Out of a total of some fifty-four references forty come

¹ Genesis 1-3: Romans 5. 12, 16. 20; first Corinthians 6. 16, 15. 45; second Corinthians 4. 6, 11. 3; (Galatians 4. 4); Ephesians 5. 31; Colossians 2. 10; first Timothy 2. 11-15. The total is ten or eleven.

Genesis 12-25: Romans 4. 3, 4. 17, 4. 18, 9. 7, 9. 9; Galatians 3. 6, 3. 8, 3. 16, 4. 30. The total from the life of Abraham is nine. Exodus and Numbers (Exodic history exclusive of commandments of the Law): Romans 9. 15, 9. 17; first Corinthians 10. 5-10 (six distinct references to Exodus and Numbers); second Corinthians 3. 4-18, 8. 15; second Timothy 2. 19. The total from Exodic history is eleven.

Deuteronomy (last chapters, namely, 27-33) Romans; 10. 6, 10. 19, 11. 8, 12. 19, 15. 10; first Corinthians 10. 20. 10. 22; Galatians 3. 10; Philippians 2. 15. The total is nine.

from those particular histories. Of the remaining fourteen, three are citations of the decalogue (Romans 7. 7; 13. 9; Ephesians 6. 2, 3), two are identical citations of the precept of loving one's neighbour as one's self (Leviticus 19. 18; Romans 13. 9, Galatians 5. 14), two are identical citations of the Deuteronomic precept regarding a threshing ox (first Corinthians. 10. 9, first Timothy 5. 18), while still another pair (2 Cor. 13. 1; first Timothy 5. 19) refer to the law of two or three witnesses (Deut. 19. 15). Again Galatians and Romans both cite Leviticus 18. 5 to show that the law was concerned with doing rather than believing. Three remain to be accounted for. They come from the Genesiac history of Rebecca (Romans 9. 12), from Deuteronomy 17. 7, and from Deuteronomy 21. 23.

Now, it will be found that our author has recourse to the same Pentateuchal zones as St. Paul. Apart from the great Martyrology which draws examples from nearly all sections of Genesis, the Epistle has two references to the Cosmogony and three to the history of Abraham, this latter being undoubtedly the chief Genesiac field for the writer of *Hebrews*. The importance which he attributes to the facts of the Exodus is amply illustrated by his Midrash of Psalm 94 alone. Commentators have not failed to note the mental relationship of this passage with the Pisidian sermon and especially with the Apostle's detailed insistence, in second Corinthians 10. 1-11, on the typology of the Exodus and of the wanderings through the desert. No other New Testament personage except St. Stephen has dwelt so much on the things done under the leadership of Moses.¹ The Deuteronomic points of attraction for our author as for St. Paul are the "novissima Moysis." The use of the great Canticle in the Epistolary and our Epistle is in itself sufficient to beget a presumption that the same Scripturist wrote Romans, first Corinthians, Ephesians and *Hebrews*. The special relationship of our Epistle with Romans on the ground of citation of this Canticle is most remarkable. Not only is the Canticle expressly quoted three times in the earlier letter and at least twice in *Hebrews*, but the same citation: *Mihi vindicta, ego retribuam* (Deut. 32. 35) appears in both writings in a form which is unattested by any Hebrew or Greek Manuscript of Deuteronomy—a form which is identical with the Hebrew in its first clause and

¹ As we attach very little importance to negative arguments, it will be quite enough to mention in a footnote the comparative infrequency of quotation from Leviticus in the Pauline Epistles. That so much Levitical reference should be found in *Hebrews* is due to the special theme of the writing. It should not pass unobserved, however, that, whereas St. Paul cites two texts of Leviticus twice each, there is not a single verbal citation from this Book in our Epistle.

with the Septuagint in its second, and practically identical in both clauses with the Targum of Onqelos. Seeing that Philo knew the text in its Septuagint form,¹ a citation common to Romans and *Hebrews* according to a synagogal or popular form is very suggestive. As moreover, our author may be supposed to have known the Septuagint wording of the passage, because he joins to it a verse from the immediate context word for word according to the Alexandrian, it seems to be personal habit that accounts for the unseptuagintal form.² Identity of habit in a matter like this easily points to identity of person. The argument becomes still stronger, if we admit that our author, in quoting the 96th Psalm, was influenced by the Greek text of Deuteronomy 32. 43, for the words immediately following: "Adorent eum omnes angeli (filii) Dei" are precisely: "Laetamini gentes cum plebe eius" quoted by St. Paul in Romans 15. 10. The Mosaic Canticle being an outstanding *fons Paulinus*, these coincidences are very significant.

In regard to the use of the Pentateuch, therefore, as well as of the Prophets and the Writings, there are positive indications that our Epistle and the Paulines are fruits of the same biblical mind. It does not, of course, amount to a mathematical demonstration, but no one who is accustomed to the tiny minutiae of literary criticism should be disposed to deny the confirmatory value of so many coincidences. They undoubtedly offer confirmation of the assertion made by ancient tradition that St. Paul is really the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Conclusion

What has just been said about our author's special Bible of predilection and its relation to the select Pauline Bible positively favours the pertinence of our Epistle to the Corpus Paulinum. Whether the whole Bible recognised by the *auctor ad Hebraeos* was identical with St. Paul's Bible is a question which need not detain us long. There is evidence in the Epistle that our author knew not only the five Books of the Pentateuch, the historical Books of Josue and Judges, Samuel and Kings, the Psalms and Proverbs, the Major and Minor Prophets, but also Chronicles and Job, and even the Books of the Maccabees. There is no certain trace of the Books of Esdras and Nehemias, nor of Tobias, Judith and Esther, nor of Baruch, nor of

¹ *Legum Allegor.*, III, 105.

² It does not seem likely that an author other than Paul adopted this same form of text from the Epistle to the Romans.

the three chief Megilloth (Canticles, Ruth, Ecclesiastes), but the absence of references to these is as purely negative a phenomenon here as it is in the Paulines. There are, as has been already pointed out, a few slight but sufficiently probable contacts with Sirach. The literary relation of our Epistle to the Book of Wisdom is more certain, as the examples given in the previous chapter show. That St. Paul was likewise acquainted with this Book and underwent its influence, as he wrote some of his inspired pages, seems certain. Against Stier and Bleek, Wilhelm Grimm, one of the best known non-Catholic commentators on Wisdom, denied that the Apostle borrowed anything from this Alexandrian writing, but Eduard Grafe's detailed examination of the question in the "Theologische Abhandlungen" dedicated to the septuagenarian C. Weizsäcker (1892, pp. 251-286) resulted in the following conclusion: "In general Paul's dependence on Wisdom is more formal than real; he borrows quite a number of terms, concepts and images, and uses them for the expression of thoughts and convictions which he had already acquired otherwise." Grafe also admits that in certain unessential points the Apostle shows real dependence on the Alexandrian Sapiential Book.¹ The negative thesis was taken up once more by F. Focke (*Die Entstehung der Weisheit Salomos*, Anhang pp. 113-126), who endeavoured to show that both Wisdom and Paul merely reproduce certain commonplaces of Jewish Apologetics. Michel accepts the position of Focke, declaring that the undeniable formal contacts are not sufficient to prove Paul's dependence on Wisdom.

Nevertheless, the differences which Michel (p. 17) endeavours to establish between the Alexandrian writing (chapter 13) and the indictment of idolatry in Romans are not at all convincing; in fact they travesty St. Paul's thought in many points. The Apostle who spoke so clearly of the heathens' instinctive search after God at Athens did not deny the reality of that same groping in Romans. He absolutely does not insinuate in a Jewish-rabbinical way that the pagans had rejected the Torah. The Pauline conception of the degrees of apostasy from God is not at variance with that of Wisdom. The Apostle simply uses Wisdom in his usual independent way. One who compares Romans 1. 18 ff. and Wisdom 13 ff. will not need any further proof that St. Paul was acquainted with the Alexandrian Book. The Catholic commentators Cornely, Heinisch and Feldmann

¹ MICHEL, *Paulus und seine Bibel*, pp. 14 f. Eduard Norden (*Agnostos Theos*, p. 128) agrees in general with the thesis of Grafe, acknowledging that there are general coincidences of thought which suppose Paul to be acquainted with this writing.

are undoubtedly right in regarding this and other passages of the Epistolary as echoes of *Sapientia Salomonis*.¹ The Anglican Goodrick is at one with them, when he writes: "The third position, which is simply that St. Paul had read the Book of Wisdom and knew it well, will readily be conceded. We may go further and say that he was probably fresh from the reading of it when he wrote the Epistle to the Romans, but here the concession must end... We may conclude with Grafe's excellent summing up: "The dependence is more formal than real. A man of experience with a sharp eye for practical needs, St. Paul took good things where they presented themselves to him. And thus he borrowed from Wisdom a store of words, of ideas and of metaphors, and applied them to the expression of thoughts and convictions elsewhere acquired."'²

* * *

There is no feature of the biblical repertoire of *Hebrews*, therefore, which can be justly used to support a denial of its Pauline authorship. While we have not positive evidence that both the Epistolary and our Epistle suppose the whole Alexandrian Bible behind them, the indications point that way, for even the late Book of Wisdom is used in Romans and in *Hebrews*. There may be no real or verbal contact between the Epistolary and such Books as Sirach and Maccabees, but that is a merely negative point, which does not prove that the *auctor ad Hebraeos* had a fuller Bible than St. Paul. The important fact is that practically the same biblical preferences manifest themselves in the Paulines and in this letter which Catholic tradition has constantly placed with them. The fraternity, which on historical grounds tradition has proclaimed in that literary family of fourteen writings, speaks even in the common biblical complexion of *Hebrews* and the other thirteen. The scriptural waters of this Epistle and of the Paulines flow from a human fountain which had drawn its supplies from the same areas of irrigation. It is the same wells within the great water-zones of the Torah, the Nebiim and the Ketubim, which poured their riches into the letters written to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians and Hebrews.

¹ CORNELI, *Comm. in librum Sapientiae* (Paris, 1910), pp. 14, 15; HEINISCH, *Das Buch der Weisheit* (Exegetisches Handbuch, Munster 1912) pp. XLII ff; Feldmann, *Das Buch der Weisheit* (Bonn, 1926), p. 20 f., also Göttsberger BZ (1921) 1, 76.

² *The Book of Wisdom* (Oxford Church Bible Commentary, 1913) Additional Note C.: The connection of St. Paul's Epistles with the Book of Wisdom, p. 403.

MODE OF SCRIPTURAL CITATION

Our author's mode of introducing Scripture into his "word of exhortation" needs to be carefully examined in view of three questions. The first question is whether a comparison of Scriptural allegation, as we meet it in *Hebrews* and as we meet it in the Pauline discourses and Epistles, shows such a difference of dialectical and literary habits as argues diversity of authorship. The second question turns on the affinities which may be traced between *Hebrews* and Palestinian or Alexandrian methods of biblical citation, the query being whether our author herein reveals an Alexandrian or a Palestinian formation. The third question regards the concept of biblical inspiration which lies behind the particular modes of citation used respectively by the *auctor ad Hebraeos* and the Apostle of the Gentiles. All three questions have received answers from modern scholars, which are very often adverse to the Pauline authenticity of *Hebrews*. Thus Bleek, following the lead given by Schulz and De Wette, remarked that "in the use of citation-formulae, whereby Scriptural passages are introduced, no inconsiderable difference exists between our Epistle and the Paulines—such a difference, in fact, as seems to be associated with quite another conception of the part that the Holy Spirit had in the composition of the Scriptures. The difference is, in general, reducible to the constataion that *Hebrews* represents the various Scriptural passages much more definitely as utterances of God and of the Divine Spirit than Paul does."¹ Referring to this passage, Vollmer writes: "The Old Testament is for the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews God's word in the strictest sense. In regard to the individual authors he shows as little interest as Philo does. It is otherwise with Paul. We have already seen that he maintains the Jewish distinction between Torah, Nebiim and Ketubim. Sometimes he even introduces Moses, Isaias or David as speaking. Moses is for him the author of the Law and how human it sounds, when he says of the Prophet: *Isaias autem audet et dicit!* (Rom. 10. 20)."²

¹ *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, II Untersuchung über den Verfasser des Briefes, p. 385.

² *Die Alttestamentlichen Citate bei Paulus*, p. 73. See also SIEGFRIED, *Philo von Alexandria*, pp. 169, 32 ff.; von SODEN, *Handcommentar*, p. 6.

To these statements we may add the words of one of the most recent writers on the biblical usage of St. Paul. Michel draws attention to the variety and abundance of the Apostle's formulae of citation and contrasts the monotony with which *Hebrews* employs λέγει, εἶπεν, εἶρηκεν, μαρτυρεῖ, remarking that "the author in every instance thinks immediately of the divine origin of the respective oracle, without showing any interest in the human instrument by whom it was communicated. The deeper reason for this difference between the two authors lies in their diverse view of inspiration. Paul has an interest in the spokesmen of God's word in the Old Testament, while the Alexandrian viewpoint tends to suppress this human element as much as possible. Philonic inspiration is characterised by the Alexandrian writer himself when he says: 'A prophet says absolutely nothing of his own; he is only an interpreter; another inspires him with all that he says. As long as a prophet is held by the spirit, he knows nothing of himself, for his reason goes out, and leaves the acropolis of his soul' (*de spec., leg.* 4, 49). The Pauline conception of inspiration appears, on the contrary, in the expression of Romans 10. 20: 'Isaias makes bold and says.' For Paul, therefore, the Prophet is a personality and altogether more than a mere tool or musical instrument in the hand of the Divine Spirit."¹ Expressly or by implication such statements as these say firstly, that the formulae of citation in *Hebrews* betray another hand than Paul's; secondly, that the author's biblical method is Alexandrian rather than Palestinian; thirdly, that his notion of Scriptural inspiration is much less human than St. Paul's, being rather akin to, if not identical with, the mantic and mechanical theory of theopneustia held by Philo. It will be necessary, therefore, to see how comparison of the respective methods of allegation conducted on positive and not merely negative grounds justify such suppositions.

Comparison of Formulae

In the Acts of the Apostles we have some very interesting specimens of the way in which St. Paul, addressing Jews, could vary his mode of introducing biblical texts. In the Pisidian word of admonition six texts are preceded by formulae which denote citation. The first of these texts refers to the election of David, and therewith

¹ *Paulus und seine Bibel.* 4: Wie zitiert Paulus das AT., p. 69. He adds that both in regard to the distinction of three classes of books and in regard to his introductory formulae, St. Paul "zeigt seinen Zusammenhang mit der jüdisch-rabbinischen Auffassung."

God Himself is cited as bearing witness to His elect in words which are chiefly based on a verse of Psalm 88, but are largely compounded from two other texts, namely, the words in which Samuel described God's purpose in regard to David (1 Sam. 13. 14) and those in which the Almighty through Isaias (45. 28) qualified the obedience of Cyrus as an executor of His will. The text with its introductory formula is: "To whom he also **bore witness and said:** *I have found David* (Psalm 88. 21), *the son of Jesse, a man according to my heart* (1 Sam. 13. 14), *who shall do all my behests* (Is. 25. 28). Later the Apostle announces the fulfilment in Jesus of the promise made to the Hebrew Fathers; "this (promise) God fulfilled for their children raising up Jesus for us, **as is also written in the second Psalm:** *My son art thou, I today have begotten thee* (2. 7). Then the resurrection of Jesus is connected with two oracles, one from Isaias and one from a Psalm: "Thus **he has said** that *I will give you the holy things of David, the assured things* (Is. 55. 3), because also **in another** (place) **he says:** *Thou shalt not give thy holy one to see corruption.*" (Ps. 15. 10). Later the congregation of the Pisidian Synagogue are warned lest there should come upon them **what has been said in the Prophets**, a threat of Habacuc (1. 5) being quoted at some length. Lastly, the formula: for **thus the Lord has commanded us**, introduces words addressed to the Messias, representing them as a precept communicated in turn to the Apostles of the Messias, although the singular number "Posui te in lucem gentium" (Is. 49. 6) is kept. Thus, we have six different formulae: 1) *ὃ καὶ εἶπεν μαρτυρήσας*, 2) *ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ Ψάλμῳ γέγραπται τῷ δευτέρῳ*, 3) *οὕτως εἶρηκεν ὅτι*, 4) *διότι καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ λέγει*, 5) *μὴ ἔλθῃ ἐφ' υμᾶς τὸ εἰρημένον ἐν τοῖς προφήταις*, 6) *οὕτως γὰρ ἐντέταται ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος*. It will be noticed that in these formulae an individual human author is not once mentioned. Twice the verb of saying or writing is in the passive voice (*γέγραπται*, *εἰρημένον*); God is the speaker in the other four cases, it being predicated of Him that "He said bearing witness," that "He has said," that "He says in another place," that "He has commanded." The book-source of the particular quotation is indicated three times, once rather precisely as the second Psalm, once by the phrase *ἐν ἐτέρῳ* and once by the rather general indication *ἐν τοῖς προφήταις*.

The only other occasion known to us from the Acts in which St. Paul formally quoted Scripture are his arraignment before the Sanhedrin (Acts 23. 5) and his conference with the representatives of the Roman Diaspora (Acts 28. 23-28). On the former occasion, at Jerusalem, he excused his strong language to the high priest by

stating that he did not know that it was the High priest, He then added: *Scriptum est enim: Principem populi tui non maledices* (Exodus 22. 28). At Rome, in citing the famous obduration-oracle of Isaias 6. 9 f., he used the very rich formula: *Bene Spiritus Sanctus locutus est per Isaiam prophetam ad Patres nostros dicens.*" Here he employs the verb *λαλέω* so frequent in *Hebrews* and also introduces the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scriptures, in which connection it is worth while to note that the formal attribution of a prophetic oracle to the Divine Spirit figures here once and twice in *Hebrews* but nowhere in the Pauline Epistles. No doubt, if we had not this text of the Acts, the critics would follow the usual method of making a positive out of a negative, and tell us that the ascription of a biblical saying to the Holy Spirit was alien to the mind of St. Paul. The Paul of St. Luke's narrative is thus at one with the author of *Hebrews*, in quoting Scriptural passages and making them God's own utterances by the use of the verbal forms: *εἶπεν* (*μαρτυρήσας*), *εἶρηκεν*, *λέγει*; ¹ also in the use of the indication: *καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ λέγει* found nowhere else in the New Testament; ² thirdly in the attribution of a particular oracle and not merely of the Scripture as a whole to the Spirit; ³ fourthly the Book of Acts also indicates that the omission of human names would have been more usual when quoting Scripture to Jews.

Passing to the Epistles, we find that only the four great Epistles, together with Ephesians, and first Timothy have citations in the strict sense of the term. In Romans the favourite formula of citation is *γέγραπται* standing with a *καθάπερ* or a *καθώς* or a *γάρ*, and placed in all cases except one, before the words which it introduces as Scripture. There are fifteen examples of this impersonal mode of citation with the perfect passive of *γράφω*, ⁴ to which we may add one example of the same verb in the present active: "Moses writes" (10. 15). The use of the verb *λέγω* is very varied. We have to distinguish in the first place the cases in which God is the subject of the verb as speaking Himself to some particular messenger of His revelation, or as speaking through the prophetic Scriptures themselves. God is represented once as speaking directly to Moses (Exodus 33. 19; Rom. 9. 15) and a divine oracle appears answering an interpellation of the Prophet Elias (2 Kings 19. 18; Roman 11. 4). A divine response to

¹ *Hebrews*: *εἶπεν* 1. 5; *λέγει* 1. 6; 1. 7; 8. 8; *εἶρηκεν* 1. 13; 4. 3; 13. 5.

² *Hebrews* 5. 5.

³ *ibid.* 3. 7; 10. 15. In this latter passage the verb is *μαρτυρεῖ* (cfr. 7. 17, 11. 5).

⁴ *Romans* 1. 17; 2. 24 (after citation); 3. 4; 3. 10; 4. 17; 8. 36; 9. 13; 9. 33; 11. 9; 11. 34; 12. 19; 14. 11; 15. 3; 15. 9; 15. 21.

Rebecca is also cited through the passive formula *ἐρρέθη*. Apart from these cases, it is God, or the Scripture, or some Prophet that speaks, or it is stated that something has been scripturally said. This last case (*κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον*) only appears once (4. 18). In all other instances, either God says in Osee (Rom. 9. 25) or the Scripture says¹ (4. 3, 9. 17, 10. 4) the words which are quoted. The only human authors of Scriptural passages which St. Paul in Romans introduces as speaking directly are David (3. 7), Moses (10. 19) and especially Isaias (9. 28, 9. 29, 10. 20). This Prophet is represented as "shouting" the words about the salvation of a mere remnant of Judaism (10. 32; Rom. 9. 28), and as "making bold and saying" that he has been found by those who inquired not after him (65. 1; Rom. 10. 20). An interesting combination of introductory modes is noticeable in Romans 15. 9-12, where the words of Psalm 17. 50 are introduced under the formula: **sicut scriptum est**; Deuteronomy 32. 43 under the formula: **et iterum dicit**, the subject of the verb being in all probability: *Scriptura*; Psalm 116 stands under: **et iterum**; and finally the formula: **et rursus Isaias dicit** introduces the Root of Jesse as Ruler and Hope of the Gentiles (Is. 11. 10). Only one more formula remains to be cited for Romans. The words of God to Abraham (Genesis 18. 10) are preceded by the description: **Promissionis enim verbum hoc est**. There are besides in this Epistle four out of ten Scriptural texts which are saved from being entirely tacit quotations by some significant particle (*διότι, μενοῦνγε, γάρ, ἀλλά*), which in the respective context (2. 20, 10. 18, 10. 13; 12. 20) indicates a borrowing from the Holy Scriptures.

If we were to rely on the testimony of Romans only we should be inclined to conclude that St. Paul was accustomed to arrange his Scriptural citations under an abundant and varied formulary taking care to give to God their primal authorship, while not neglecting the human persons, who *wrote* and *cried out* and *boldly spoke* those oracles. But no such general conclusion is legitimate. Outside of the discourses and the Epistle to the Romans, St. Paul quoted Scripture with full formalities some twenty-five times, and only once does he mention the human author of the words that he quotes (1 Cor. 9. 9). Moreover, although a formula of citation accompanies eleven out of

¹ Compare: **Nisi lex diceret**: *Non concupisces* (7. 7), and also the passage in which the justice which is by faith says thus: *Ne dicas* etc., this passage probably containing not a quotation of an authoritative Scripture but an accommodation of Scriptural words (see CORNELIUS'S *Commentary*, pp. 549, 550). When the Apostle asks: "What does the Scripture say in Elias?" he means not through Elias but in the history of Elias (Romans 11. 3).

about twenty texts in first Corinthians, the author practically keeps to *γέγραπται* (eight times), only departing from it twice.¹ Even the departures are very slight because the analytic passive of *γράφω* is used in one of the two variant formulae: **Tunc fiet sermo qui scriptus est** (15. 54) while in the other instance *φησὶν* (God being understood as the subject) is inserted within the citation itself (Genesis 2. 24; second Corinthians 6. 17). Otherwise, the verb "to say" which is so frequent in the formulae of Romans (about twenty examples), does not appear in any voice or tense to introduce a word of Scripture. On the other hand, the five citational formulae of second Corinthians are almost equally divided. **Dicit enim** (Deus) introduces Isaias 49. 8; **sicut dixit Deus** precedes the long composite text of second Corinthians 6. 16 ff.; a verse of Psalm 115 figures under *κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον* (4. 13); and *καθὼς γέγραπται* introduces texts from Exodus 16. 18 and Psalm 111 (second Corinthians 8. 15, 9. 9). The appeal is, therefore, twice to God speaking and three times to the written word. It should be remarked, however, that in the text placed under the former sort of introductory phrase God is speaking directly and not (at least entirely) through the Scripture as Scripture.

Galatians keeps mainly to *γέγραπται* (four examples). Once it uses the interrogative form: **Quid dicit Scriptura?** thereby introducing Sarah's demand for the expulsion of Agar and Ismael, subsequently approved by God and consigned as a divine decision to the sacred page. But by far the most interesting of all the Pauline formulae of citation is that in which the Scripture is not only personified but identified with the divine foreknowledge: "The Scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the heathen nations by faith, pre-announced the glad tidings to Abraham, saying: *In thee all the nations shall be blessed*" (Gal. 3. 7). For St. Paul the Scripture impersonates God, revealing His mind, His counsels, His plans. Its human authors appear nowhere in this Epistle and with the one exception mentioned above² (first Corinthians 9. 9) names only find mention in Romans, where the Apostle introduces the three authors, Moses, David and Isaias speaking. In one other instance, in the same Galatians, the Apostle says "non dicit seminibus sed semini tuo, the subject of *dicit* being God, the Giver of the promises."

Twice the formula *δὲ λέγει* introduces citations in the Epistle to the Ephesians, but the second of these citations (5. 14) is not Scrip-

¹ The *πάλιν* of 3. 20 is not reckoned, because it supposes the *γέγραπται* of 3. 19, two texts being cited together.

² In this one example, however, the phrase is neither *Moses says*, nor *God says through Moses*, but *it stands written in the law of Moses*.

ture, except perhaps in the sense that it reproduces Scriptural thought in much the same way as *Quoniam Nazaraeus vocabitur* reproduces the picture of the Messiah left us by the Prophets (Matt. 2. 23).¹ If the citation is not from the sacred page, but is nevertheless a divine utterance, the subject to be supplied is not *ἡ γραφή* but *ὁ Θεός* and similarly in the sister formula which introduces a text from Psalm sixty-seven (Eph. 4. 8). This seems to be the second example in the Pauline Epistles where the subject of "say" is God rather than Scripture, but an example has also come before us in the Pisidian address. In first Timothy 5. 18 the self-same text of Deuteronomy, which is cited in first Corinthians 9. 9 under the double formula: **An et lex haec non dicit? Scriptum est enim in lege Moysi**, is introduced as Scripture by the phrase: **Dicit enim Scriptura**.

From this review of the Pauline formulae, it is evident that the Apostle had no really stereotyped mode of citing the sacred text. He quotes Scripture as the word of God. It is indeed true that, in three places, Moses figures as writer, speaker, legislator of three respective citations, that David speaks twice, that Isaias is introduced as speaker five times, that the Holy Spirit is said to have spoken a word through Isaias and that God is represented as saying certain words in Osee, but all these cases, with two exceptions (Acts 28. 25 and 1 Corinthians 9. 9), occur in the Epistle to the Romans and there is no evidence that the Apostle attributed any particular significance to the mention of those human authors of divine Scripture. In introducing citations, the passive forms of "write" and not "say" are greatly predominant. The active forms of these verbs have Moses, David or Isaias as subject nine times; otherwise the subject is either the Scripture, or God, or the Holy Spirit. God is, indeed, not often the expressed or unexpressed subject of the citational verb of saying, but there are at least three cases (Acts 13. 35; second Corinthians

¹ St. Jerome (*Comm. in Ep. ad Ephes.* P. L., XXVI, col. 525) notes the opinion that the words: *Surge qui dormis* etc. were taken from some apocryphal writing. For himself he admits: "Ego certe secundum paupertatulam meam, omnes editiones veterum Scripturarum, ipsaque Hebraeorum volumina diligenter eventilans, nunquam hoc scriptum reperi. Nisi forte et hoc dicamus... Apostolum Spiritu sancto plenum, repente in verba quae in se Christus loquebatur, erupisse atque dixisse: *Haec dicit Dominus*." Theodoretus (P. G. LXXXII, 545) says: "Sciendum est autem Scripturae non esse hoc testimonium. Nusquam enim in divina Scriptura positum invenimus. Quidam autem interpretes dixerunt nonnullos, qui spiritalem gratiam acceperant psalmos composuisse." This idea of an inspired Christian hymn has found favour with modern commentators. The hymn however, may have been inspired by such passages as Isaias 26. 19, 51. 17, 60. 1.

6. 17; Ephesians 4. 8) in which St. Paul makes God the speaker of a Scripture *qua* Scripture, and not merely as being a word of the Almighty registered in the Scriptures. In the light of the facts thus catalogued and summarised let us examine the citation-formulary of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

In the first place it is noteworthy that the formula *γέγραπται* never introduces a citation in our Epistle.¹ Moreover, leaving apart the passive forms of *μαρτυρέω* (7. 17, 11. 5), *προσαγορεύω* (5. 10) and *χρηματίζω* (8. 5), since these have personal subjects, an impersonal passive form introduces Scriptural words four times only in our Epistle, twice by way of repetition (3. 15, 4. 7) and twice as introducing a citation for the first time (11. 18, 12. 20). Otherwise, the verbs of "saying" or "bearing witness"—these being the terms used—are in the active voice, their subject being God, or the Son, or the Holy Spirit;² once only are the words of a Psalm not attributed to their Divine author but proposed as appropriable by the Hebrews. Making all due exceptions such as those mentioned above, we find that twenty-six formulae of citation require our attention. Seven of these occur in the first chapter in the following order: 1) *εἶπεν*, 2) *καὶ πάλιν*, 3) *λέγει*, 4) *πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀγγέλους λέγει*, 5) *πρὸς δὲ τὸν υἱόν*, 6) *καὶ*, 7) *εἶρηκεν*. The first and the last formulae are interrogative; the first, second and third are closely bound together; the fourth, fifth and sixth also form a group. The formulae show variations of verbal tense, "said" covering two citations, "says" four, and "has said" one. This variation, which seems to have little more than stylistic importance, is strikingly paralleled in the Pisidian sermon (*εἶπεν*, (*γέγραπται*), *εἶρηκεν*, *λέγει*, (*εἰρημένον*), *ἐντέταλται*). The subject of the verbs is not once expressed, but there is no doubt that God is the speaker throughout. It must be observed however, that in the first, second and seventh oracle, according to the original sources, God directly speaks to the Messiah, while in the others He speaks (as the inspirer of Scripture) words which the Psalmist addresses respectively to Angels, or speaks about Angels, or addresses to the Messiah, and to God, the Restorer of Sion. Once more this juxtaposition of immediate oracles and mediate or purely scriptural utterances is

¹ E. Jacquier is not accurate, when he writes (o. c., p. 469): "La formule la plus ordinaire, *γέγραπται*, employée 31 fois par saint Paul, l'est une fois seulement dans l'épître aux Hébreux." My venerated master, Father Leopold Fonck, S. J., who was nevertheless a paragon of akribeia, has made the same mistake (CE. Art. *Hebrews*, Vol. VII, 182). The word in question does occur once in *Hebrews* (10. 7) but not to introduce a citation. It stands within the citation itself.

² Twice Moses speaks (9. 20, 12. 21) but not as a writer of Scripture.

paralleled in the Pisidian discourse, where two immediate or direct utterances of the Almighty from Psalm 2 and Isaias 55 precede a word addressed by God the inspirer of Scripture to Himself (Psalm 15. 10). Since, in the first chapter of *Hebrews* the three immediately divine oracles are undoubtedly the dominant Scriptures, it is not surprising that the other four, as being inspired texts, are put on the same level.¹ This supposes, of course, that every Scripture is absolutely a word of God, a dogma which found an unmitigated protagonist in St. Paul. So far, it is only the imagination dominated by a preconception that can find in the Scriptural use of the author of *Hebrews* an idea or a practice which is not Pauline.

The next group of texts, of which God is represented as the speaker, occurs in chapter five.² Again there is question of direct oracles of the Almighty to His Messias: *Filius meus es tu* and *Tu es sacerdos in aeternum*. It is similar with the words cited in Hebrews 6. 14. They were directly addressed by God to Abraham: "Nisi benedicens te" (Genesis 22. 16). The same is also probably true of the citation of the whole fourth verse of Psalm 109 in *Hebrews* 7. 27, unless we take *πρὸς αὐτόν* to mean not "to him" but "concerning him," a possible but less likely interpretation. The two quotations introduced by *φησὶν* and *λέγει* in chapter eight are likewise divine oracles in the strictest immediate sense of the word (Exodus 25. 40 and Jeremias 31. 31). No other examples of God-spoken words occur till we come to 10. 30; "*Scimus enim qui dixit* (τὸν εἰπόντα): *Mihi vindicta et ego retribuam*. *Et iterum: Quia iudicabit Dominus populum suum*. The former of these is plainly a first-personal utterance of the Almighty, and, considering the peculiarities of Hebrew style, one cannot be entirely certain whether Moses in the next sentence of his Canticle (Deut. 32. 35^b) ceases quoting the words of the Lord and reverts to narrative. The second citation is only removed by one sentence from the first in the original context (Deut. 32. 35^a, 36^a), so that, although the form changes brusquely from the first to the third person, it is at least probable that the Lord is still speaking. That God immediately speaks the words from Aggeus in 12. 26 and those

¹ This presentation of every Scripture as a divine utterance is eminently suitable in an Epistle which is addressed to Jews and opens with the words: "Multifariam multisque modis olim Deus loquens patribus in prophetis: novissime diebus istis locutus est nobis in Filio." In this Epistle, the Hebrews are made to feel the whole magnificent grandeur of their own Scriptures.

² The context seems to warrant the assumption that the repetitions from Psalm 94 and also the text from Genesis 2. 2 are attributed to the Holy Ghost (*Hebrews* 3. 7-4. 10).

from Deuteronomy in 13. 5 is evident. With these texts the quota of this class of citations ends.

Therefore, of seventeen citations which are introduced as spoken by God, only four are purely Scriptural words, and these occur in a group which is dominated by three oracles coming directly from the mouth of the Almighty. If St. Paul has done the same thing three times over in the places that have been indicated from the Pisidian sermon, from second Corinthians and from Ephesians, no case can be made under this head against the Paulinity of *Hebrews*.¹

Neither can an argument contrary to Pauline authorship be found in the fact that Christ is introduced four times speaking Scriptural words from Psalm 21, from Isaias 8. 17 and 18, and from Psalm 39. Certainly St. Paul admits the underlying principle of these citations, namely, that Christ speaks at least typologically in some Messianic passages of the Old Testament. The speaker of *Improperia impropertantium tibi ceciderunt super me* cited, however, under the formula: **scriptum est** (Rom. 15. 3), is certainly Christ, and as the repeated references to this sixty-eight psalm show (Jn 2. 17, 15. 25; Acts [Peter] 1. 20; Rom. 11. 9), there is not question, as Bleek contends, of a mere "Anwendung" (p. 380). Similarly, St. Paul, under the formula *γράφεται*, makes Christ pronounce the words: *Propterea confitebor tibi in nationibus* (Rom. 15. 9), for he regards David as a type of the Messias. When *Hebrews*, therefore, sets the words of two Psalms and of an Isaian passage on the lips of the Saviour, it does nothing for which St. Paul would not take responsibility, for Psalm 21 is at least typally Messianic, and David and Isaias are typical persons pronouncing the words cited in *Hebrews* 2. 13 and 10. 5 ff. in the person of Christ. If the Apostle never brought Christ forward as speaker in the same direct way, this is a purely negative happening and it does not at all follow that he would have refrained from doing so in an Epistle where Christ occupied so central a position as he does in *Hebrews*.

When Bleek asserts that the attribution of a Scriptural sentence to the Holy Ghost is nowhere found in Paul, he forgets the Apostle's word in the concluding paragraphs of the Acts of the Apostles. It seems likely that our author makes the Holy Spirit speak not only the long citation from Psalm 94 but also the subsequent repetition

¹ After referring to the examples found in *Hebrews* 1. 6, 7, 8; 4. 4, 7 (?), 7. 21 (?), 10. 30 (?) Bleek asserts: "Auch diese werden hier unmittelbar als Aussprüche Gottes angezogen, was beim Paulus in solchen Fällen nie geschieht" (o. c. p. 379 f.). In this one sentence, he has omitted one real example (1. 8), cited three or four questionable ones, and made a false statement regarding St. Paul.

of some of its verses, as well as the short quotation from the Genesiac Cosmogony in the same context. A repetition of some verses of the Jeremian oracle attributed to God in chapter eight appears in 10. 15 under the formula: **Contestatur autem nos et Spiritus Sanctus. Postquam enim dixit** etc. The same text is, consequently, indifferently attributable to God and the Holy Ghost.

An interesting peculiarity must be noted in the formula whereby Genesis 2. 2: (*Et requievit Deus* etc.) is quoted. The place of origin of the quotation is indicated by the very indefinite word "somewhere:" *εἴρηκεν γάρ που περὶ τῆς ἐβδόμης οὕτως*. Similar indefiniteness appears also in a formula which still remains to be mentioned. In citing the eighth Psalm, our author introduces the inspired words with the indication: *διεμαρτύρατο δέ πού τις λέγων*. The human author of the Psalm is designated as "somebody" and the biblical place from which the words are taken as "somewhere." This is an exception to the rule of silence regarding the human author, but there is only slight approach to the occasional custom of St. Paul. The author of the Psalm is not designated either generically as a Prophet nor personally by name. There does not seem to be even a remote parallel to this mode of Scriptural citation anywhere in the Pauline discourses or letters.

One last example has still to be considered. In *Hebrews* 12. 5, it is not God that immediately speaks the words quoted from Proverbs but the Scripture itself described or personified as a "Consolation:" *Et obliti estis consolationis, quae vobis tamquam filiis loquitur* (*διαλέγεται*) *dicens* etc." This procedure is also paralleled in the Paulines and, moreover, it expresses a view of the Scriptures which is expressly set forth by the Apostle. We have seen that in one of the quotations of the Galatic Epistle the Scripture is identified with the divine foreknowledge (Gal. 3. 8) and in Romans 10. 6 a word spoken by Moses (Deuteronomy 30. 12) is, as it were, put into the mouth of "Justice-which-is-by-faith." The personification of a Scriptural word as "Consolation" is, besides, very much according to the mind of the Apostle who wrote to the Romans: "*Quaecumque scripta sunt ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt: ut per patientiam et consolationem Scripturarum spem habeamus*" (15. 4).

From this complete elenchus of the citation-formulary of *Hebrews* we may justly conclude that only gross exaggeration of a few points of difference can produce an argument against its Pauline origin. The only points which have any plausible right to be considered are, that our author formally introduces Christ speaking; he does not name the human authors of his Scriptural borrowings; he uses an indefinite

indication of author and source —“ somebody somewhere ”—which deserves to be regarded as a non-Pauline mannerism. The first of these objections we have answered by showing that Christ speaks twice in Romans, and by suggesting that the more direct formula, whereby Christ is made the subject of λέγει in *Hebrews*, may be due to the fact that this letter is predominantly Christological. In regard to the second objection, we can point out that the rule of silence about authorship is not altogether unbroken. In his exposition of Psalm 94 our author says: “ Iterum terminat diem quendam, Hodie, in *David dicendo*, post tantum temporis, sicut supra dictum est: Hodie si vocem etc.” It is impossible to regard “ in David ” as anything other than an indication of authorship. Since the citation is from a Psalm and not from a history, the phrase cannot have the same meaning as “ in Elias ” in Romans 11. 2, but must rather be regarded as parallel with “ in Osee ” in verse 25 of the ninth chapter of the same letter to Romans. That the person of David and not merely the Book bearing David’s name is indicated, results from the mention of the long interval of time between the events of the desert and this new oracle. Add to this that Josue is named in the next verse, so that the “ tantum temporis ” must be conceived as the interval between the pre-Josuan oracle and the fixation of another “Hodie” by the Holy Spirit of prophecy that spoke through David. The ancient commentators were therefore right in understanding the phrase in question as the equivalent of “ per David.”¹ Since our author names here the composer of a Psalm, even this one example destroys the contention that he is averse to the mode which St. Paul occasionally and only occasionally followed in naming Moses, David, Isaias, and Osee. The third objection is concerned with the indefinite mode of citation. Certainly this is unparalleled in the Scriptural citations of the New Testament, but perhaps there is some slight indication that such a mode was not entirely foreign to the literary habits of St. Paul. Not once but twice he used the indefinite pronoun τις in citing dicta of pagan authors. He knew that more than one Greek poet had said: “ Ipsius et genus sumus.” Hence he introduced

¹ Chrysostom says: “ Quoniam post tot, inquit, annos rursus dicit David ” (P. G., LXIII, 57); Theodoretus: “ In ea (Palaestina) erat ipse quoque divinus David, quando haec annuntiabat ” (P. G., XXXII, 103); Primasius: “ in David, tale est, quasi per David, mutans praepositionem more solito ” (P. L., LXVIII, 710). Against this view are Bleek (p. 537) and Moffat: “ ἐν Δαυιδ means in the Psalter (like ἐν Ἠλίᾳ Ro. 11. 2); the 95th psalm is headed αἶνος ψδῆς τῷ Δαυιδ in the Greek Bible, but the writer throughout (3. 7 f.) treats it as a direct, divine word ” (p. 5). Westcott translates “ saying in the person of David ” but does not regard the phrase as decisive of the authorship of the Psalm (p. 98).

the saying with the words: "Quidam vestrorum Poetarum dixerunt" (Acts 17. 28). These terms were certainly not meant to convey to an Athenian audience any depreciation of Aratos and his imitators, but just showed that St. Paul was intent not on persons but on the thing said, by some Greek poets. Likewise the Apostle cites Epimenides with all respect, when he says: Dixit quidam ex illis, proprius ipsorum propheta (Titus 1. 12). If such a phrase came naturally to St. Paul in quoting profane authors, why should he have not applied it also to quotations from the sacred Books? So much for the comparison of Pauline modes of citation and those of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Palestinian or Alexandrian?

The Hebrews were more than any other ancient people devoted to a religious Book. Their whole life was so completely penetrated by the prescriptions of the Torah that quotation became a daily necessity. Consequently, we should expect *a priori* that a rich formula of citation grew up and established itself among them. The historical documents which inform us about the Palestinian modes of quoting the Bible in the first century of our era actually show that the variations of formula were very considerable. We have already taken notice of the great variety of phrases which the disciple of Rabban Gamaliel hazzaqen had at his disposal for this purpose. The examination of the Palestinian Gospel of St. Matthew is also instructive. In the narrative of Christ's infancy the Evangelist sees the realisation of three particular prophecies (Is. 7. 14; Os. 11. 1; Jer. 31. 15) and of a general one. In every case the prophetic testimony is cited as "what was said" (τὸ ῥηθέν). The phrase "through the prophet (or prophets), saying" is added each time, Jeremias being the sole individual name mentioned. Twice over the phrase "by the Lord" precedes the phrase "through the prophet" (Is. 7. 14 and Os. 11. 1). The passage of Michaeas V, which is quoted by the Sanhedrists to Herod is, on the contrary, introduced by the formula "for so it stands written (γέγραπται) through the prophet." In the rest of the book we may distinguish the cases in which the Evangelist expressly quotes Scripture himself, the cases in which Christ does so, and the cases in which some one else is the quoter. The Evangelist maintains his initial formula throughout the whole Gospel, so that τὸ ῥηθέν (with the one variation of ὁ ῥηθεὶς designating John the Baptist, 3. 3) figures from chapter 3 to chapter 27 no less than seven times, to which we must add one similar instance from the mouth of Christ: "Non legistis quod dictum est (τὸ ῥηθέν) a Deo

dicente vobis: Ego sum etc." In each of the seven Matthaean formulae the full wording of the Infancy narrative is kept, the name of the Prophet whose words are cited being added five times (Isaias 3. 3; 4. 14; 8. 17; 12. 17; Jeremias 27. 9). Our Lord has over twenty quotations from Scripture, *γέγραπται* (six times) and *ἐρρέθη* (six times in the sermon on the Mount) being equal favourites. "Have you not read?" occurs on Christ's lips quoting Genesis 1. 21, Psalms 8. 23 and 117. 22, Exodus 3. 6, the two last examples bearing respectively the additional phrases: "in the Scriptures" (Matt. 21. 42) and "what was said to you by God saying" (Matt. 22. 31 et supra). The same phrase occurs in a reference made to the history of David (1 Sam. 21. 7) and to the law of immolation superseding the sabbath (Numbers 28. 9)—consequently six times altogether. The Saviour also appears using: "and there is fulfilled for them the prophecy of Isaias saying" (*ἡ λέγουσα*); he further cites under the formulae: "God said" (Exodus 20. 12 and 21. 17) and also *καὶ εἶπεν* (Gen. 2. 24). Finally he introduces Isaias 29. 13 with the formula: "Bene prophetavit de vobis Isaias dicens," and appeals to Psalm 109 with the introductory words: "How does David in the Spirit call him Lord, saying?" While therefore St. Matthew with slight variations uses only one mode of quoting Scripture, he shows the Divine Master employing seven or eight formulae. In the first Gospel, Satan, the Pharisees and the Sadducees also quote Scripture. The first uses: "Scriptum est" in imitation of Christ whom he is tempting; the Pharisees ask the Master: "Quid ergo Moyses mandavit dare libellum repudii et dimittere," while the Sadducees introduce their captious case based on the leviratical law with the words: "Moyses dixit." The appeal to Scripture in St. Matthew is therefore to the word as *spoken* through a prophet, as *spoken* by the Lord, as *written*. Using the active voice, Jesus cites the fourth commandment and its sanction with the formula "God said;" likewise the words of Adam regarding the matrimonial union of man and wife. Jesus also refers to a prophecy "which says," as well as to Isaias prophesying and to David saying in the Spirit.

St. John the Evangelist, who may also be regarded as not departing from Palestinian custom, has nine formal citations of his own. As he is chiefly concerned with the fulfilment of prophecies in Christ, he employs the formula: "That the Scripture might be fulfilled" three times, and on the last occasion adds another citation thus: "And again another Scripture says." He mentions the human author of two oracles which he cites together: "That the word of Isaias the Prophet might be fulfilled which he said" and "because Isaias said

again." The formula "As Isaias the Prophet said," subjoined to the oracle cited by St. John the Baptist (1. 23) is possibly not the Evangelist's. In the two remaining formulae that are entirely his own, the word of the sacred text is described as γεγραμμένον, and the same aspect of "written" authority appears in six of the seven texts spoken by the lips of our Lord. The seventh reference made by Christ to the divine volume is not a verbal citation, but nevertheless figures under the formula: καθὼς εἶπεν ἡ γραφή. In the Johannine citations, Christ never names a human author, but he says three times that the words which he quotes are written in the Jewish Law, including under the term "Law" not only Deuteronomy 19. 15 but also Psalms 68 and 81. Once he speaks of a sentence as written in the Prophets (Is. 54. 13). In referring to the treason of Judas, the Saviour also once employed the formula: "ut adimpleatur Scriptura." In St. John's Gospel therefore the accent is on Scripture as the *written* word of God and occasionally on the *spoken* word of a Prophet, Isaias being the only one mentioned by name and that three times over by St. John himself.

St. Peter in the discourses of the Acts and in his Epistles appeals to what "stands written" (Acts 1. 20; 1 Peter 1. 16) and to what "has been said by the Prophet Joel" (Acts 2. 16). He refers to the Book of Psalms (Acts 1. 20) and invokes what "David says" twice (Acts 2. 24; 2. 34), as also what "Moses said" (Acts 3. 22). In his first Epistle (2. 6) he sets forth the doctrine of Christ the Chosen Stone, "because it stands thus (περιέχει) in Scripture" and immediately quotes the words of Isaias 28. 16. The Petrine formulae, therefore, point to the *written* word or the prophetically *spoken* word, and amongst the hagiographers mention is made of Moses, David and Joel. God never speaks, except in one oracle immediately addressed to Abraham (Genesis 22. 18; Acts 3. 25).

The examination of the formulary used by St. James shows the same insistence on the "Scripture (or written word) which says" (Ep. 2. 23). The διὸ λέγει wherewith Proverbs 3. 34 is introduced into the Epistle of James probably has as its subject ἡ γραφή which covers a very free citation of some Scriptural thought a few lines higher up. In his speech at the Council of Jerusalem the brother of the Lord had cited Amos under the usual formula: καθὼς γέγραπται adding, however, the words λέγει κύριος to the end of the citation.

The only notable formulae of citation in St. Stephen's address to the Sanhedrin are: "Sicut scriptum est in Libro Prophetarum," introducing a passage of Amos 5. 25 and "Sicut Propheta dicit," introducing the opening word of Isaiah's sixty-sixth chapter (Acts

7. 42; 7. 48). God is not represented as speaking, except when there is question of an immediate oracle (Acts 7. 44).

In all probability the methods of citation employed in later rabbinical works such as the Mishna, the Jerusalem Targum (Gemara), the Tosephta and the Midrashic commentaries represent a Palestinian usage which was centuries old. As a matter of fact, their formulae of citation largely coincide with those of the New Testament.¹ Aicher only notes one formula which has no analogue in the Apostolic writings, but plays a very considerable role in the Tannaitic Midrash, namely, **תלמוד לימר**. The phrase has been translated in a multitude of ways, but we may content ourselves with that of Wilhelm Bacher² namely: "(There is) a teaching (of the Scripture) as it says." The formula seems to be generally used for the purpose of intimating a deeper meaning revealed only by study.

There is no doubt that the Jews treated biblical texts as pronouncements of God Himself. When they say that the Scripture imputes,

¹ See AICHER, *Das Alte Testament in der Mischna*, BSt (XI. Band, 4. Heft, 1906) p. 41 f.:

Die gewöhnlichste Einführungsformel in der Mischna ist **נאמר** meist in der Verbindung **שנאמר**. Denn es ist gesagt worden, es heisst. Sie findet sich bereits im Neuen Testament: *ἐρρέθη, εἴρηται, κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον*.

Oeffters begegnet auch **אמר** entweder allein oder mit vorhergehendem **הכותב** *הַכּוֹתֵב* *λέγει* (Pea VII 9, Taan III 8, Qidd I 10, ¹Jad. IV, 4), *הַכּוֹתֵב* *sc. הוא* *λέγει* (Taan IV 8, Jeb. VI 6, Ned. IX 10, Qidd IV 14, Sanh X 3 zweimal, Makk III 15, Ab III 7, Arakh IX 3, Midd II 1).

Das allein stehende **ואמר** (Ber IX 5, Scheq III 2, VI 6, Joma VIII 9, Ned III 11, Sanh I 4, Makk III 15) oder **ויהיו** *וַיְהִי* *הוא אמר* (Sota VI 3, VII 3, 4, 5) wird gebraucht, um einer bereits zitierten Bibelstelle eine weitere anzufügen, und ist identisch mit dem im Neuen Testament vorkommenden *καὶ πάλιν λέγει, καὶ πάλιν* (Rom. 15, 10, 11).

Seltener sind: **אמר התורה** *אמר התורה* *ἡ νόμος ἔλεγεν* (Rom. 7, 7, Chull XII, 5), **אמר הכותב** (Sanh VII 4), **אתה קורא** *אתה קורא* *πὼς ἀναγινώσκεις* (Lk. 10, 2, Ab sII, 5), **מה הוא אמר** *τί ἡ γραφή λέγει, τί λέγει ἡ γραφή* (Rom. 4, 3; 11, 2, Gal. 4, 30, Taan II, 1, Moed III 9, Sota VIII 6, Qidd IV 14 zweimal) **כתוב בתורה** *כתוב בתורה* *verschiedenen Verbindungen* (Schebi X 3, Challa IV 1; Bikk I 3, Pes VI 2, Ab s III, 4) und **כתוב** *καθὼς γέγραπται* (Taan III, 3) **לאמר** *עברך משה בתורת משה* (Joma III, 8).

Da **אמר** als Substantiv eine gewöhnliche Bezeichnung für den Bibeltext war, gebrauchte man zur Einführung von Zitaten schon in der tannaitischen Zeit und häufig in der talmudischen Literatur sein aramäisches Aequivalent **כתב** mit der Partikel **ו** verbunden, **וכתיב**. In der Mischna kommt jedoch die Formel nicht vor.

² This learned Jewish-Hungarian Rabbinit and Orientalist (1850-1913) has written a small library of books on rabbinical lore including *Die exegetische Terminologie der jüdischen Traditionsliteratur* (Leipzig 1905), *Die Agada der palästinischen Amoräer* (Strassburg 1892-1899), *Die Agada der Tannaiten* (1894-1900). The first work is particularly informative on the formal side of Scriptural usage amongst ancient Jewish scholars. For formulae of citation see *Terminologie*, p. 5 f.

it is the same as saying that God imputes. In the frequently recurring formula **הוא** the subject often indicated is *hakkatub* or *hattorah* but it can also be God.¹ If we, therefore, compare our Epistle's formulary of biblical citation with what we know of Palestinian methods, we shall note the absence of the more usual formulae current in Palestine; nevertheless, there is no absolute departure from Palestinian modes. But does our author represent complete coincidence in this matter with Alexandrian practice? That is a question which must be briefly examined.

The chief and practically only witness of contemporaneous Alexandrian usage in citing the Jewish Scriptures is Philo Judaeus. The frequency with which he uses passages of the sacred text may be realised by glancing at the *Index locorum sacrae Scripturae* in the seventh volume of the Berlin edition of Philo's works. Philo made very extensive use of the Pentateuch, but seldom employed passages from the other books. Thus, while his allegations include some 500 passages from Genesis, about 300 from Exodus, over 200 from Leviticus; nearly 200 from Numbers and about 250 from Deuteronomy,—close on 1500 Pentateuchal passages altogether—he quotes only five of the Prophets (Osee twice, Isaias 4 times, Jeremias 3 times, Ezechiel twice, Zacharias once). Less than 20 Psalm passages occur in his writings and only four or five references to Proverbs, while Job figures but once. From the historical Books, Josue, Judges, first and third Kings, there are not altogether more than a dozen quotations.² A complete study of the formulae of citation used by Philo cannot be attempted here, but a fair estimate of his method may be deduced from a personal examination of three books, namely, the first Book of *Allegories*, the first Book on *Dreams* and his work on the *Intoxication of Noe*. Such an examination together with tests made on about two dozen quotations occurring in eight or ten different works of Philo shows that the affinity of *Hebrews* with the Alexandrian method of citing Scripture has been very much exaggerated. If Philo loves to make his Scriptural citations rest on the authority of God, and gives only very slight attention to their human authors,

¹ BONSIIVEN, *Le Judaïsme Palestinien*, I, p. 359 (Ecritures Saintes). See also an article of J. B. FREY, *La Révélation d'après les conceptions juives aux temps de Jésus-Christ*, RB (1916) pp. 435-450.

² *Indices ad Philonis Alexandrini opera*, composuit IOANNES LEISEGANG (Berlin 1926 and 1930), Vol. VII, Part I of Cohn-Wendland Edition, pp. 29-43. The above statistics rest entirely on the Scriptural Index of Leisegang. They may be taken as proportionally correct, even if some citations have been overlooked by the compiler.

then the writer of *Hebrews* is more Philonic than Philo; but as a matter of fact, the Alexandrian writer very frequently indicates the human source of his quotations, sometimes by naming the collection of Books—Law, Prophets or hymns—from which he quotes, sometimes by naming the individual authors, especially, Moses. Thus the assertion that God is a shepherd is supported by a quotation from "no ordinary person but from a Prophet who wrote hymnodies" ¹ (*de agricultura*, 50); the weakness of human speech brings to Philo's mind what "a certain one of the friends of Moses said by way of prayer in his hymns" ² (*de confusione linguarum*, 39); with regard to the existence of bad angels, "that which has been said by the hymnographer" ³ bears witness to what I say" (*de gigantibus*, 17); a similar formula occurs in *de plantatione*, 29: "there bears witness to my word (concerning the senses planted in man) a divinely venerable man who says in his hymns: He that planted the ear, doth he not hear?" ⁴ Isaiah is quoted as "one of the ancient Prophets who was inspired and said: The vineyard of the Lord Almighty is the House of Israel" (*de somniis*, II, 172); Jeremias is cited as a "member (θιασώτης) of the prophetic choir (*de confusione linguarum*, 44); Osee as one of the Prophets (*de plantatione*, 138); Zacharias as one of the fellows of Moses (*de confus. ling.*, 62). ⁵ None of these is mentioned by his personal name, but a verse of Proverbs is cited under the name of Solomon, ⁶ and Moses is repeatedly named as the author of sentences which are quoted from the Pentateuch (*de posteritate Caini*, 1, 12; *de gigantibus*, 6; *quod Deus immutabilis*, 6; *de agricultura*, 2; *de congressu eruditionis gratia*, 3 etc.). This is the case more especially in the early chapters of Philo's various books. Very often also Moses is the unnamed subject of the verb which introduces a citation, for the Hebrew legislator in Philo's estimation is, under God, the supreme teacher of mankind. It must also be remembered that the writings of Philo are almost entirely allegorical musings on the five books of the Torah. Consequently the impersonal *φησὶν* and *λέγει* may often be referred to Moses as subject. But even when the cases in which "Moses" is the subject have been deducted, it still remains true that God is understood very many times to be the speaker of a

¹ Psalm 22. 1.

² Ps. 30. 19.

³ Ps. 77. 49.

⁴ Ps. 93. 9.

⁵ Cfr. *de plantatione*, 39; *de ebrietate*: 31, 84.

⁶ *De congressu eruditionis gratia*, 177 (one of the frequenters of Moses, by name Peaceful, who in his native language is called Solomon).

Scriptural sentence. It is, however, false to assert that Philo seldom uses any other mode of citation. In the first Book *de somniis*, I have found about two score of formal citations from Scripture, and of these, eleven are introduced by such passive formulae as λέγεται, λέλεκται, εἶρηται, ᾄδεται; eight times it is the "word" or the "sacred word," or the divinely inspired word (τὸ Θεοπισθὲν λόγιον) that vouches for some point of doctrine; in other instances it is the oracles of Scripture (οἱ χρησμοί) that say something. In general it may be said that the active form φησὶν is Philo's favourite word of citation, and it figures very often, just as in first Corinthians 6. 16, after the first or second word of the citation. A great deal has been made of the use of the indefinite forms ποῦ τις, or που alone, both by Philo and the author of *Hebrews*. As far as I know there is only one example of the former in Philo's works. Certainly neither Wetstenius nor any of the recent commentators has adduced any example except that from *de ebrietate* 61, and even this example [is no parallel with *Hebrews* 2. 6; for while the ποῦ τις in *Hebrews* covers a biblical author, the same words in Philo's treatise cover a biblical personage, namely Abraham, who directly speaks the words that are quoted (Gen. 20. 12).

This fact is passed over in the commentaries, and the insinuation is silently made that both Philo and the *auctor ad Hebraeos* refer to the inspired source of a strictly biblical citation as "somebody somewhere." It is certainly not his notion of inspiration that made Philo refer to Abraham as just "somebody," for he quoted Plato, Hippocrates and Heraclitus in the same way (εἶπε γὰρ τις; ἔφη τις).¹ A simple ποῦ similar to that of *Hebrews* 4. 4 is fairly frequent in Philo (cfr. *de plantatione*, 90; *de fuga*, 197 etc.). It has much less significance than the indefinite τις and must have been a widespread literary mannerism. The particle used in this way very often loses all local meaning, though this does not seem to be the case in *Hebrews*.

In the use of an undoubtedly local expression there is a difference between Philo and both Paul and our author to which commentators have not drawn attention. In the Pisidian discourse and in *Hebrews* 5. 6, when a second citation is added to a first, God is sometimes said in the second instance to attest in another place (ἐν ἐτέρῳ). Now,

¹ CARPZOVIVS, o. c. pp. 79, 80, who adds: Neque vero Philo, licet vage dicat τις ignorasse auctores censendum est, qui ne recentiorum quidem industriae effugerunt. Sed ita solent Iudaici scriptores, Sacram imprimis Scripturam citare, de qua illorum allegandi formula Oecumenius, ad hunc ipsum loc. epistolae "tanquam ad eos," inquit, "qui Scripturas noverant disserens non ponit nomina eorum qui dicunt."

one who really stood to any considerable extent under the literary influence of Philo would probably not have used this phrase, for the Alexandrian continually employs *ἐν ἐτέροις* and *ἐτέρῳθι*. Abundant examples will be found in the *Allegories* and in almost any work of Philo. In a point like this it is significant to find our author standing with St. Paul rather than with the Alexandrian Hellenist.

While, therefore, our author, in the frequency with which he silently makes God the author not only of direct oracles but of purely Scriptural ones, seems to stand closer to Philo than to any Palestinian writer known to us, nevertheless, there is no warrant for asserting that his method of citing Scripture is characteristically Alexandrian. In fact Philo's formulary of citation does not at all depart so much from Palestinian usage as scholars, who want at all costs to create an Alexandrian type of Judaism built on the exaggeration of a few particular features, would have us believe. Philo, it is true, had a certain preference for a particular mode of citation, but that mode of citation is found not only in the Epistle to the Hebrews but in St. Paul and also in the Talmudic and Midrashic literature.¹

Concept of Inspiration

It is very necessary to distinguish clearly the fundamental notion of biblical inspiration, which we find in Jewish and Christian tradition, from the various attempts made to analyse the process of inspiration. Saul of Tarsus as well as Timothy of Lystra "knew the sacred writings from infancy." It was not as a Christian that he first

¹ See SURENHUSIUS, "*Biblos Katallages*, in quo secundum veterum Theologorum Hebraeorum formulas allegandi, et modos interpretandi conciliantur loca ex V. in N. T. allegata." (Amstelaedami, 1713) pp. 1-36: Both in the author's Praefatio ad Lectorem and in the fifty-nine theses devoted to our present subject, there are many things which cannot stand the test of criticism, but Surenhusius seems at least to have explored almost every formula of citation used by the rabbinical Doctors. The following passages are especially worth citing: "Aliquando ipse sacrarum Scripturarum auctor loquens introducit: sic in Tanchuma fol. 17 col. 4: *Dixit sanctus ille benedictus*. Et in Mechilta fol. 15, col. 1: *Spiritus Sanctus clamat et dicit* (Thesis XXI). Aliquando per Ellypsin verbi *wehe'id*, supple *hakkatub*, vel auctor Scripturae, quoniam Scriptura sacra est testimonium voluntatis divinae, quamobrem Doctor noster Christus apud Iohannem, V. 38, Iudaeos ad perscrutationem Scripturae provocat, quoniam haec de ipso testatur" (Thesis XXXV). Surenhusius refers to the use of indefinite formulae, including that of *Hebrews* 2. 6 (*Testatus est in quodam loco quis*) in his fifteenth thesis, and in commenting on the place mentioned remarks that the particularly peculiar mode of reference to Psalm 8 is easily intelligible, when we consider the Hebrews' familiarity with the Psalter and their local remembrance of Psalm texts (p. 605).

came to believe that "every Scripture is divinely inspired" (2 Timothy 3. 16); his faith in the divine rolls as holding the *λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ* (Rom. 3. 2) was prior to his conversion to Christianity; the conviction which his letters show regarding the prophetic authority of Israel's Sacred Books, however much it was strengthened by faith in Christ, did not date its birth from that midday hour on the road to Damascus. Every orthodox Jew held that the prophetic Scriptures were divine. The passage in which Flavius Josephus testifies to this faith is so often quoted that it seems trite: "Quanta porro veneratione" he says, "libros nostros prosequamur, re ipsa apparet. Cum enim tot iam saecula effluxerint, nemo adhuc nec adiciere quicquam illis nec demere, aut immutare aliquid est ausus. Sed omnibus Iudaeis statim ab ipso nascendi exordio hoc insitum atque innatum est, Dei ut haec esse praecepta credamus, iisdemque constanter adhaerescamus, et eorum causa, si opus fuerit, libentissime mortem perferamus."¹ Josephus of Jerusalem, Saul of Tarsus and Philo of Alexandria were entirely at one on the divine authority of the Jewish Scriptures.

In the Palestinian schools, however, to which both Josephus and Saul belonged, there was no very marked tendency to elaborate a theory of inspiration. "Les Juifs de la diaspora," writes Père Frey, "se préoccupent plus que leurs frères de Palestine de mettre en relief la manière spéciale dont l'influx divin s'exerce sur les hommes inspirés."² Certain passages of the early apocryphal books give us an insight into the way in which Jews, placed in the milieu of Greek thought, conceived the operation of the Spirit in inspired men. Esdras, for instance, is represented as ordered to drink a cup of liquid, like water, but of fiery colour, whereupon his heart was tortured with intelligence, and wisdom grew within his breast. At the same time his spirit was kept in remembrance."³ The soi-disant Jewish prophet of the third book of Sibylline Oracles repeatedly speaks of the great God's word coming into his heart and bidding him to prophesy for the whole earth.⁴ It was, however, under Platonic influence and drawing on his own personal experience that Philo elaborated a special theory of biblical inspiration, in which he distinguished different kinds or degrees, while at the same time he insisted on the

¹ *Contra Apionem*, I, 8. Ed. Haverkamp-Oberthür. III, p. 1149.

² J. B. FREY, *art. cit.*, RB. (1916) p. 495.

³ 4 Esdras 14. 39, 40.

⁴ *Sibylline Oracles*, III, 162-165; 295-300; 489-491. This part of the Sibylline collection, so often cited by the Church Fathers, probably dates from the undivided reign of Ptolemy Physcon (145-116 B. C.).

divine origin of every oracle contained in the Scriptures. Even the great distinction drawn by Philo between *ἐρμηνεία* and *προφητεία* does not affect the absolutely divine authority of the Scripture's contents. The very passage in which the distinction is made begins with the words: "I am not unaware that all things which are written in the sacred books are oracles."¹

In the New Testament only two authors touch the process of biblical inspiration at all. St. Peter speaks of it, using the term of *movement* communicated by the Holy Spirit (2 Petr. 1. 21), and St. Paul, employing the metaphor of *divine breathing* (2 Tim. 3. 16). Nothing can be concluded from the language of the author of *Hebrews* beyond the fundamental dogma that God or the Holy Ghost speaks in the Prophets. To see Philonic theory of prophetic inspiration in the text is simply to read into it what is not there. Our author is certainly at one with Philo in regarding every oracle of Scripture as being divinely authoritative, but any agreement with Philo's special philosophical conception of inspiration our author does not show.

Seeing that there is no dogmatic difference between Philo and the *auctor ad Hebraeos* with regard to the essentially divine authority of the sacred texts of the Old Testament, it is not surprising to find our Epistle agreeing with the Philonic writings in what we may regard as Philo's favourite way of quoting the Scriptures. In fact, considering the special destinataires, purpose and trend of the Epistle to the Hebrews, one does not wonder in the least at finding that our author pays even less heed than the Alexandrian does to the human instruments of God's word. What he wants the Hebrew community to listen to is not so much David or Isaias or Jeremias or Aggeus as God Who spoke to their fathers in the prophets and now finalises His message of salvation in His Son. St. Paul did exactly the same thing in Pisidian Antioch, without having learned the method from Philo of Alexandria.

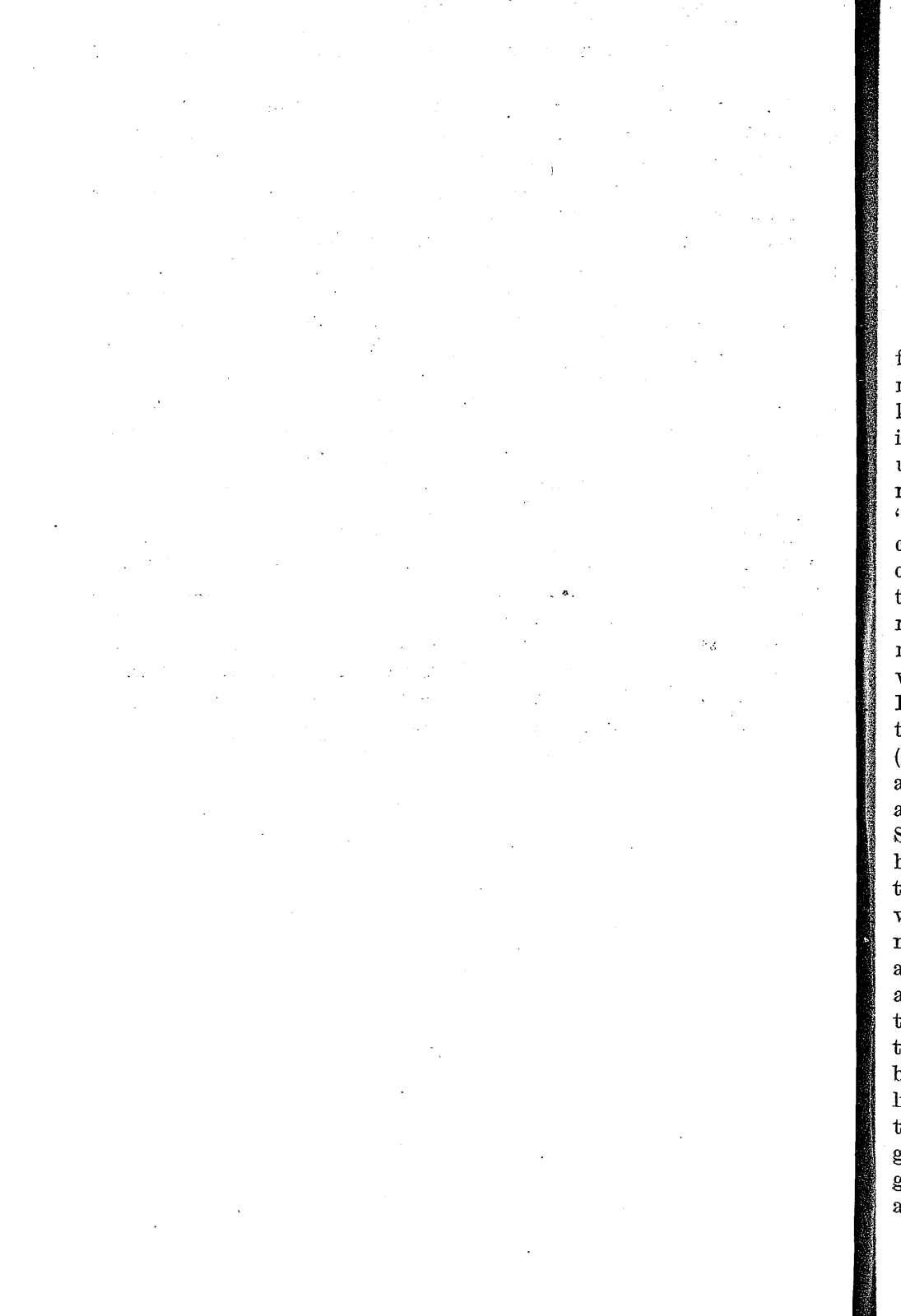
Conclusion

In regard to the formulae of citation, we have seen once again, how the critics have built on the sand of their own hasty impressions. They have failed to take adequate note of the whole citational formulary of the Pauline Epistles; they have neglected the testimony of the Acts, and especially the Apostle's synagoga address at Antioch of

¹ *De Vita Mosis* II, 188 ff. Cfr. *de specialibus legibus*, I, 65; *quis rerum divinarum est heres*, 259-266, and Philo's testimony to a Psalmist in *de agricultura*, 50.

Pisidia. They have not recognised that the customary Palestinian modes of citation admitted very considerable variety. They have suppressed some of the facts regarding Philo, namely, that he not infrequently names the human authors of Scriptural oracles, cites them under passive formulae, and, in the quotation of Scripture, uses phrases which our author would in all probability have imitated, had he been to any great extent under Philonian influence. The critics have also misrepresented the Epistle to the Hebrews itself, because they have failed to note that the purely Scriptural dicta attributed to God do not exceed a half-dozen, whereas direct oracles are predominant. They have not taken the intention of the author sufficiently into account. They have merely imagined oppositions to Pauline practice and they have drawn conclusions about the author's notion of inspiration which are wholly unwarranted, because they rest on the double sophism: *non causa pro causa* and *ab uno ad omnes*. They suppose, namely, that Philo's mantic view of inspiration must be the reason why he is so little concerned with the secondary human authors and then suppose that our author's insistence on the uniquely divine authority of Scripture must be due to the same cause.

On the contrary the facts which have been adduced above show that, whereas the mode of Scriptural citation in our Epistle furnishes no positive argument against its Pauline authorship, that mode of citation coincides with Pauline practice more than once, and is by no means Alexandrian rather than Palestinian.



VI

TEXTUAL FORM OF THE CITATIONS

As this chapter is concerned with the textual form of the citations found in our Epistle and in the Paulines, it is necessary to begin by recalling a few revelant facts of history and psychology. We do not know how far St. Paul fell under the scholastic influences of Hellenism, but we do know that he had a good Jewish education. The upbringing which he received in his strict Pharisee home at Tarsus made it even more true of him than of the Lystrian Timothy that "from a child he knew the Holy Scriptures" (2 Tim. 3. 15). We cannot assume, however, that the language of his home was Aramaic or that his parents were so learned as to be able to introduce him to the Hebrew Bible. The Jews belonging to the Diaspora of Cilicia's metropolis must have been quite as Greek in speech and as much in need of a Greek Bible as the Jews of Alexandria. All the evidence which we possess seems to point to the conclusion that Saul, the Roman citizen of Tarsus, spoke Greek from the cradle. Consequently, the Aramaic, which he once employed from the steps of the Antonia (Acts 21. 40; 22. 2), would have been his second language, probably acquired during his student days in Jerusalem. It is not unreasonable to suppose, therefore, that the first Bible which he knew was the Septuagint. In the Synagogue of his native city, he would, indeed, have heard the liturgical *parashoth* and *haphtaroth* read in the sacred tongue of his Hebrew fathers, and afterwards translated verse by verse, or ternary by ternary, into Greek. How much Hebrew he may have learned in this way at the Synagogue or by frequenting an elementary *Beth hammidrash* we are unable to say. In adolescence, as we may suppose, he was sent to Jerusalem, where a married sister then, or later, established her home (Acts 23. 16). There he began to sit "at the feet" of Gamaliel the Elder (Acts 22. 3) and follow the biblico-juridical lessons of that celebrated master, who belonged to lineage of Hillel. At Jerusalem the Hebrew text was naturally the primary handbook of masters and scholars, explanations being given in the Aramaic tongue. In this way, and also in the Synagogues of Jerusalem, Saul would have come to know the Bible familiarly in two other forms, namely in the form of the written Hebrew

text and in the form of oral Aramaic Targumin. His memory would very soon have become a store-house of biblical lore, for we may feel sure that the young Tarsian measured up very closely to the rabbinical ideal of a pupil, namely, one " comparable to a cistern lined with cement, that would not lose a drop." ¹ The cultivation of memory was supreme in Jewish schools.

We may, therefore, regard it as certain that the young zealot, Saul, who set out for Damascus with letters from the Highpriest, was a man whose memory held a very considerable biblical repertory and could cite his texts in Hebrew, Aramaic or Greek. When he retired to Arabia, soon after his conversion, he knew well that he was " a Vessel of Election to carry the name of Jesus before Gentiles and Kings and the children of Israel " (Acts 9. 15) but, perhaps he was not yet aware of his special vocation as " Apostle of the Gentiles " (cfr. Acts 22. 21). We do not know what texts of the Bible he turned over in his mind during his meditative triennium in the desert, but we are well aware that, during the short stay of fifteen days, following his introduction to the Apostles, at Jerusalem (Acts 9. 26 ff.; Galatians 1. 18), his discussions were with Hellenistic Jews (Acts 9. 28). During the six or seven years that he spent in the regions of Syria and Cilicia (including the missionary year at Antioch, Acts 11. 25) in complete absence from Jerusalem (Acts 9. 30; Galatians 1. 21-24), we may feel sure that the Scriptures, which he passed through his heart, and muttered with his lips, and used in his contact with others, were in the common Greek language, best understood by himself and the people.

At his next return to Jerusalem, the Vessel of Election learned, in a revelation which left no room from doubt, that his mission was to be exercised in Gentile lands (Acts 22. 21); and some time later, the Holy Spirit, through the Prophets and Doctors at Antioch (Acts 13. 2), gave the marching orders which definitely turned the Apostle's face towards the cities of a great Hellenic circle " where Christ had not (yet) been named " (Romans 15. 20). From that day, and even long before, the Bible of the Apostle's childhood became the Bible of his Apostolate. It is at the same time true that, because of his sabbath-day visits to Synagogues, he did not lose contact with the Hebrew texts; neither could he have entirely forgotten the Aramaic Targumin, which often gave striking expression to a biblical sentence; but the Bible of the Apostle of the Gentiles was undoubtedly the Alexandrian Greek version known as the Septuagint.

¹ This is the supreme eulogy of Rabbi Eliezer ben Hirkanos by Rabbi Jochanan Ben Zaccai (*Pirge Aboth*, II 8, Surenhusius, IV, p. 427).

The letters, which the Apostle wrote during the last fifteen or sixteen years of his life, reveal how thoroughly he had assimilated not only the contents but the language of the Septuagint. There can be no doubt that he quotes habitually from the Greek version; but that is only a small part of his indebtedness to it. St. Paul is, indeed, no borrower of phrases, even from the sacred pages of the Bible, but, in spite of all his originality, the wording of the Septuagint crowds in upon him, when his argument comes into contact with some page of the Old Testament. The fourth chapter of Romans is a good example. The mention of Abraham as the typical pattern and Father of those who are justified by faith brings to the Apostle's mind expressions which are scattered over those pages of the Septuagint which contain Abraham's biography, and this happens in such a way as to reveal the writer's familiarity with the actual wording of the Alexandrian translation. Not only are Genesis 15. 6, 17. 5, 15. 5 formally quoted, but the very terms of the discussion are Septuagintal, e. g., *εὐρηκέναι* (Gen. 18. 3) and the *χάρις* which it subsequently suggests; *δικαιοῦντα τὸν ἄσεβῆ* a phrase which echoes the fourfold repetition of *δίκαιος* and *ἄσεβής* in Genesis 18. 23-26; *τὸ κληρονόμον αὐτὸν εἶναι κόσμον*, which can scarcely be separated from Genesis 22. 17; *ἐκατονταέτης* supplied by Genesis 17. 17. Really it is only a man thoroughly conversant with the Greek Genesis XV-XXII that could have written the fourth chapter of Romans.¹ Nor does this sort of relation between the Pauline Epistolary and the wording of the Septuagint belong only to the history of Abraham. Protoparental history, certain Psalms, Isaiah, and other parts of the Alexandrian Bible have left similar traces in the writings of the Apostle. These traces are numerous enough to furnish cumulative evidence that the Alexandrian Bible was, as it were, St. Paul's native Bible.

Such a constataion, however, cannot be taken to mean that the Bible was for St. Paul the Septuagint, the whole Septuagint, and nothing but the Septuagint. We can be sure that the Apostle held his biblical knowledge in his memory and as matter of biographical fact, he had also stored away in his memory parts of the Bible in their original Hebrew form and in the form of Aramaic Targums. Now, in the ordinary course of things it is not psychologically possible

¹ Further examples may be found in MICHEL o. c. pp. 58-60. Compare Galatians 3. 17 and 4. 21 ff. with Genesis 15. 18 and 16. 1; also 2 Corinthians 3. 4-18 with Exodus 34. 29-35; Romans 1. 23 with Psalm 105. 20. A list of Septuagintisms from the four great Epistles may be found in VOLLMER, *Die Alttestamentlichen Citate bei Paulus*, pp. 12 and 13.

for a man, who possesses the same texts in several languages at once, to avoid a certain amount of inter-contamination, and the prevalence, in some cases, of the most striking form of a particular Scripture. There is the further psychological fact that one who has a thorough knowledge of the sense of Scripture feels himself less tied to the letter. There used to be and still are in England simple Bible enthusiasts who could cite hundreds of texts from the Jacobean version without changing a syllable — a feat which would be almost impossible for one who also knew the original texts or some other version, and was well exercised in exegesis. The latter will also be able to adapt the wording of a text to an argument without twisting its sense. Such facts as these ought to be kept continually in mind, while the form of St. Paul's Old Testament citations is being examined.

It is also to be assumed that St Paul was not equally read in all parts of the Scriptures. A traveller, such as he was, could not possibly have had access to every book of the Bible at will. Parchment rolls were scarce, and a whole Bible would have meant as many rolls as would fill a fair-sized cabinet. Consequently, " the books, especially the parchments," which the Apostle carried with him, cannot have included more than some portions of the Bible. These portions he would have often read and meditated, but habitually he must have had to depend on his memory. In days when books were few people used their memories much more than they do now. Besides, St. Paul was not a University Professor, but an Apostle. Considering the circumstances of the crowded years ¹ in which his great Epistles were written, we should not expect that, as he dictated to Tertius or some other amanuensis, there were a number of open volumes standing by in order to verify the letter and the context of quotations. The Apostle knew his Septuagint and could well be satisfied with what memory supplied, while, of course, that faculty would more readily recall texts from books more frequently read or would colour his language with reminiscences of Scriptures which had been recently perused anew. Furthermore, as the author of those Epistles had derived his knowledge of the Septuagint from manuscripts belonging to Tarsus, to Jerusalem, to Damascus, to Antioch, to Ephesus, to Corinth and many other places, it would, indeed, be a very extraordinary miracle, if his citations from the Law and the Prophets and the

¹ Cfr. 2 Corinthians 11. 28: " the crowds that flock to me daily, the care of all the churches." This seems the most probable translation of the text, but others translate: " My daily pressure of business " (*mes soucis de chaque jour*, Crampon) or " the caballing against me each day." In any case the Apostle tells us that there were many demands on his personal care.

Hagiographa all represented one uniform recension of the biblical text. But lest all this should seem a mere construction of the historical fancy, we must let an examination of the citations themselves tell its story.

The Septuagint St. Paul's Bible

There are in the four great Pauline letters, in Ephesians, and in the Pastorals to Timothy about a hundred citations or quasi-citations from the Old Testament. If we regard the long composite texts of Romans 3. 10-12 and second Corinthians 6. 16-18 as including at least ten pieces from the ancient Bible, the number slightly exceeds a hundred, but it must be borne in mind that nine passages are cited twice over with none or only very slight variations.¹ These latter, however, must be taken into account in discussing the minute problem of the recensional form of St. Paul's Old Testament text. For the general question whether St. Paul cited from the Septuagint or otherwise, we may keep to the enumeration of Kautzsch in his scholarly Leipzig dissertation on the subject.² He counts about ninety citations altogether which, with the deduction of six texts that are repeated in identical form, furnished the German scholar with the eighty-four which form the subject of his book. We may sum up his pages as follows, taking the liberty to change his order somewhat. Of the eight categories into which Kautzsch divides the Pauline citations the first three include nearly two-thirds of the whole number. Firstly, there are twenty-four texts which are cited exactly according to the Septuagint and are also in exact agreement with the Hebrew. Secondly, ten texts are found to be in accord with the Septuagint but not in entire agreement with the Hebrew. Really only three of these ten (Psalm 50. 6, Isaias 1. 9, and Deuteronomy 32. 43) show more than very slight verbal difference from the Masoretic text. In the third place come twenty texts which vary slightly from the wording of the Septuagint but are also different from the Hebrew. One

¹ 1) Genesis 2. 24 is cited at length in Ephesians 5. 31 and partially in first Corinthians 6. 15; — 2) Genesis 15. 6 in Romans 4. 3 and Galatians 3. 6; — 3) Leviticus 18. 5 in Romans 10. 5 and Galatians 3. 12; — 4) Leviticus 19. 18 in Romans 13. 9 and Galatians 5. 14; — 5) Deuteronomy 25. 4 in first Corinthians 9. 9 and first Timothy 5. 18; — 6) Job 41. 13 in Romans 11. 35 and first Corinthians 2. 16; — 7) Psalm 142. 2 in Romans 3. 20 and Galatians 2. 16; — 8) Habacuc 2. 4 in Romans 1. 17 and Galatians 3. 11; — 9) Isaias 40. 13 in Romans 11. 24 and first Corinthians 2. 16.

² *De Veteris Testamenti locis a Paulo Apostolo allegatis*. Leipzig, 1869.

can have no doubt that these sixty texts are cited from the Greek Septuagint. There is no other possible explanation of their Septuagintal Greek wording. With our fourth category (changing Kautzsch's order) begins the series of texts which depart appreciably from the Alexandrian letter. There are twelve passages varying rather widely from both exemplars but definitely Septuagintal in their wording, and actually nearer, in their whole mode of expression, to the Septuagint. In the fifth place come five citations (Osee 2. 25; Isaias 28. 16^a; 29. 10; 25. 8; Osee 13. 14), which are about equally distant from both Bibles. Sixthly, we have two (Isaias 28. 11; 52. 7) which, while differing widely from both textual forms, are somewhat nearer to the Hebrew. Similar to these are three (Habacuc 2. 4; Exodus 9. 16; Deuteronomy 32. 35) which show conformity to the Hebrew but are partly at one with the Septuagint. Seventhly and lastly stand two texts—both from Job (5. 13 and 41. 3)—which appear to be non-Septuagintal and are closer to the Hebrew.

Kautzsch seems to have proved satisfactorily that at least over seventy of the eighty-four citations in question depend on the Alexandrian Greek version. There are only twelve texts about which a doubt may be entertained and even in the case of ten of these the use of the Septuagint does not seem to be entirely excluded. The author sums up his conclusions on page 108 by stating that he has found thirty-four citations (nine of which are of fair length) corresponding accurately with the Septuagint. Besides these there are forty-eight examples of free citation, thirty-six of which do not exhibit any greatly considerable departure from the Alexandrian version; ten show very great freedom; and two, while departing very far from the Greek exemplar, still betray an acquaintance with its wording. The two citations from Job are the only ones which Kautzsch separates from the Alexandrian version.¹

¹ SANDAY and HEADLAM (*Epistle to the Romans*, Excursus on St. Paul's use of the Old Testament, p. 302) give a less detailed but substantially accurate summary of Kautzsch's results: "The text of his quotations is primarily that of the LXX. According to KAUTZSCH (*De Veteris Testamenti locis a Paulo Apostolo allegatis*) out of eighty-four passages in which St. Paul cites the O. T. about seventy are taken directly from the LXX or do not vary from it appreciably, twelve vary considerably, but still show signs of affinity, and two only, both from the book of Job... are definitely independent and derived either from the Hebrew text or some quite distinct version. Of those derived from the LXX a certain number, such for example as Romans X, 15, show in some points a resemblance to the Hebrew text as against the LXX."

The Ketubim

It seems that we have no means of knowing what textual form of Job was most familiar to St. Paul,¹ but the evidence goes to show that he quoted Psalms and Proverbs according to the Septuagint. In one case of citation from the Greek Psalter, however, we can detect the influence of an Aramaic Targum. Since, as appears from our Lord's fourth word on the Cross (Mark 15. 34), the use of an Aramaic version of the Psalms was common in Palestine, it is not surprising that a popular Targum should have influenced the otherwise Septuagintal wording of Psalm 67. 18 in Ephesians 4. 8. Apart from this example and the free citations of Psalms 13. 1-3 (Romans 3. 10-12), and 109. 1 (1 Cor. 15. 25), nineteen of the remaining twenty-two borrowings from the Psalter adhere literally to the Septuagint.² The three exceptions are firstly, 68. 22 f., the first distich of which is somewhat abbreviated, modified as regards word-order, and contaminated by a reminiscence of Psalm 34. 8; secondly, 93. 11, which is adapted to the context of first Corinthians 3. 20 by the change of τῶν ἀνθρώπων into τῶν σοφῶν; and thirdly, 142, 2, also adapted to

¹ Kautzsch and Vollmer suspect that St. Paul did not know the Septuagint version of Job. His two citations are, they think, from some other Greek translation. Unfortunately, we have no means of knowing to what extent the Septuagint Job was used in New Testament times. Philo's one citation from that book (Job 14. 4; *de mutatione nominum* 48), does not coincide exactly with the Alexandrian text (ζωή instead of βίος); however, the general form and wording seem to suppose the Septuagint. Clement of Rome, who certainly cites the Septuagint Job about a dozen times (see Funk's Scriptural Index to his Edition of the Apostolic Fathers), uses the same passage as Philo with the same variation of βίος for ζωή, but in a form nearer to that of the Codex Alexandrinus. The fact that the Alexandrian translators sporadically omitted over 375 commata of the original, amounting to about one sixth of the whole book, may have at an early date given rise to recensions or substitutes of the Septuagint Job, with the object of supplying its deficiencies. It is well known that all our extant codices supply the missing verses from other Greek versions, especially Theodotion. The most striking literary reminiscence of the Septuagint Job in the New Testament is apparently the phrase: τοῦτο μοι ἀποβήσεται εἰς σωτηρίαν in Philippians 1. 18. It coincides so literally with Job 13. 16 according to the Septuagint as scarcely to leave a doubt as to its place of origin. The proverbial nature of the two Job citations of the Apostle would seem to suggest that in both cases he remembered an Aramaic Targum rather than the Septuagint text. (See Toy, *Quotations in the New Testament*, New York, 1884, pp. 161 and 172).

² The above enumeration of Psalm-citations is four in excess of Kautzsch's, for we have considered as verbally borrowed the Psalm verses: 61. 12, 93. 14, 115. 12, 142. 2.

the context of Romans and Galatians by slight alterations, including the substitution of *πᾶσα σάρξ* for *πᾶς ζῶν*. All other changes which occur in a few of the Psalm-citations are slight, only involving such alterations as those of tense, person or word-order. There can be no doubt that the Apostle habitually intended to cite these hymns according to the Septuagint. That the same is true of Proverbs is proved by the literalness with which 25. 21, 22 is reproduced in Romans 12. 20. The citation of 22. 8 in second Corinthians 9. 7 is also undoubtedly based on the same translation, as the use of the words *ἰλαρὸν δότην* shows. The substitution of *ἀγαπᾷ* for *εὐλογεῖ* is probably an intentional alteration. These are the two chief citations from Proverbs, the use of Proverbs 3. 4 in Romans 12. 17 and second Corinthians 8. 21 being casual but also dependent on the Septuagint text (further compare Proverbs 3. 7 with Romans 11. 25 and 12. 16).

The Torah

In quoting the five books of the Law St. Paul naturally had recourse to the oldest and, in many ways, the best portion of the Greek version.¹ The Epistles present thirty citations from these five Books of Moses, Genesis being cited ten times, Exodus seven, Leviticus three, Numbers once, and Deuteronomy nine times. No less than twenty-four of these thirty quotations are rightly placed by Kautzsch in the three lists of passages which depart not at all or only very slightly from the Septuagint text. Only six citations break loose, as it were, from the Alexandrian wording, namely, one from Genesis (2. 7), one from Exodus (9. 16), one from Leviticus (26. 12) and three from Deuteronomy (21. 23; 31. 11-14; 32. 35). The text from Genesis is really not well catalogued by Kautzsch (No. 73 on his list), because the Apostle cited it in its pure Septuagint form, with the addition of *πρῶτος* before *ἄνθρωπος* and *Ἀδάμ* after it: "Factus est (primus) homo (Adam) in animam viventem" (1 Cor. 15. 45). The additions

¹ It was the Pentateuch translated probably before the year 250 B. C. which Philo chiefly had in mind, when he wrote his eulogy of the Alexandrian version (*de vita Mosi*, II, 40): "If Chaldeans were to learn thoroughly the Hellenic tongue and Hellenes the Chaldean (Hebrew) and then happen to come upon both Scriptures, namely the Chaldean and the translation, they would certainly regard them as sisters or rather recognising them as one and the same, both in contents and in verbal expression, they would stand in amazement and worship, declaring those men to be not so much interpreters as hierophants, since they concurred so happily in sincerity of thought with the most pure spirit of Moses."

were made by the Apostle himself to serve the purpose of his argument, namely, to bring out the antithetic typology of the first Adam. The Pharaon text from Exodus (Romans 9. 17) marks a real departure from the Septuagint, but not such a departure as would warrant the view that St. Paul entirely left it in order to follow the Hebrew or an Aramaic version. There are three clauses in the sentence quoted, the principle clause *a*) and two subordinate clauses, *b*) and *c*). It reads: *a*) εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐξήγειρά σε *b*) ὅπως ἐνδείξομαι ἐν σοὶ τὴν δύναμίν μου *c*) καὶ ὅπως διαγγελή τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ. Now *c*) follows the Septuagint exactly; the Septuagintal variation from the Hebrew in *b*), namely, "to show my strength *in thee*," rather than "to show *thee* my strength," is also enough to prove that St. Paul here remembered the Septuagint, in spite of his changing *iva* to ὅπως and also probably ισχύν to δύναμιν.¹ The chief difficulty occurs in the principle clause *a*), where every word is different from the Septuagint (ἐνεκεν τούτου διτηρήθης). St Paul reverts to the stronger opening of the Hebrew text, using the more powerful phrase εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο and the active verbal form ἐξήγειρα. This latter will be found to correspond with the Hebrew מָלַךְ, if we understand it in the sense of "raising up to royal power," i. e. "setting up as king" (cfr. Zach. 11. 16). Here St. Paul deliberately changed the wording of the LXX, in order to bring out the positive will of God in regard to Pharaon.²

The case of Leviticus 26. 12, forming part of the long composite citation in second Corinthians 6. 16, is one of commixture. It is at least clear that the Apostle had the words of the Levitical text primarily in his memory, and his use of the special word ἐμπεριπατήσω shows the Septuagint to be his source. In fact the whole series of words: ἐμπεριπατήσω (ἐν αὐτοῖς) καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτῶν Θεός, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσονται μοι λαός is identical with the Septuagint (Codex A), except for the change of the second person to the third (αὐτῶν, αὐτοί). The words which precede, namely, ἐνοικήσω ἐν αὐτοῖς (καὶ) are probably the Apostle's own rendering of a thought contained in a very similar passage of Ezechiel 37. 27. It is not at all surprising that the composition of this quadruple or quintuple citation should have brought into St. Paul's mind a crowd of biblical reminiscences, some of them perhaps more close to the Hebrew text. Hence the use of

¹ δύναμιν is the reading of Codex Alexandrinus in Exodus 9. 16^b, but we may well suspect that the scribe has conformed his text somewhat to Romans 9. 17.

² CORNELIUS, *Comm. in Ep. ad Romanos*, p. 503: "Procul dubio in his versionem, quam in reliquis fideliter sequitur, consulto mutavit, ut eam argumento suo pressius accommodaret."

this initial phrase, which is biblical, but is found nowhere in these exact terms.¹

The three Deuteronomic passages remain. There are seven examples to show that St. Paul was accustomed to cite this book according to the Septuagint. How, then, are we to explain three rather considerable deviations from its text? The first example is Deuteronomy 21. 23 cited in Galatians 3. 13. The Hebrew reads: "A curse of God he who is hanged," the first word being a noun of feminine gender (*qillath*) and not a verbal passive participle. The Septuagint translates: "Accursed (*κεκατηραμένος*) by God is everyone hanged on a tree." The Apostle certainly takes the words *πᾶς* (ὁ) *κρεμᾶμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου* from the LXX, inserting the definite article. The beginning of the sentence is marked by the omission of *ὑπὸ Θεοῦ*² and the change of *κεκατηραμένος* into *ἐπικατάρατος*, the omission being probably due only to the desire of abbreviation, while the change of the participle into a verbal adjective follows from the natural psychological tendency to use a more familiar word (*ἐπικατάρατος* occurring close on twenty times in Deuteronomy alone). The change also goes very naturally with the omission of *ὑπὸ Θεοῦ*. That the Apostle freely followed the Alexandrian version rather than the Hebrew seems to be further elucidated by the probability that, if the Hebrew had come to his mind in anything more than a subconscious way, he would have used the forcible Greek equivalent (*κατάρα*) of its opening Hebrew word, inasmuch as he is citing a passage which immediately follows the statement that "Christ redeemed us from the *curse* of the law, having become a *curse* on our behalf" (Galatians 3. 13).

The famous text of Deuteronomy 30. 11-14 is pressed into service by the Apostle (Rom. 10. 6-8) not to voice a prophetic argument but merely to give literary expression to the message which the personified "Justice-of-faith" delivers.³ "Moses writes that the man

¹ Cfr. ALLO, *Seconde Epître aux Corinthiens*, p. XLVIII: "Il fait au chapitre VI, 16-18, à la mode des rabbins, une longue citation composite où la provenance de quelques éléments est douteuse, et qui peut être influencée par l'original hébreu; il faut y remarquer surtout cette adaptation à la doctrine évangélique (cfr. Jean) de l'inhabitation divine dans les âmes, le *ἐνοικήσω ἐν αὐτοῖς*..... qui ne se trouve à la lettre dans aucun des passages de l'Ancien Testament dont il s'inspire."

² Cornely, *Comm. in Ep. ad Galatas*, p. 489: "Illa potius ideo, quia necessario subintelligenda erant."

³ Such is the view of the Greek interpreters Chrysostom, Theodoretus, Damascenus, Theophylactus, Euthymius, and of the Latins, Pelagius, Primasius, Thomas Aquinas (as a second interpretation?), Estius, a Lapide, Piconius, Calmet etc. — Cfr. CORNELY in h. l., p. 549.

who does the justice which is of the law shall live in it. But the "Justice which-is-of-faith" says: "Do not say in your heart etc." The accommodation of the Deuteronomic words in the mouth of "Faith-justice" involves a very free use of the respective text and the addition (also with verbal freedom) of a phrase from Psalm 106. 26. Such freedom explains the departures from the Septuagintal letter but, that the words themselves are adapted from the Septuagint, there can be no doubt. Kautzsch says very truly: "Apparet primum de textus hebraici usu cogitari non posse, deinde, etiam liberrimam hanc allegationis formam ad accuratam versionis Alex. cognitionem referendam esse."¹

The third Deuteronomic passage (32. 35; Romans 12. 19), as found in the LXX, is marked by considerable variation from our present Hebrew text, but it agrees with the Samaritan Pentateuch. St. Paul's citation agrees with the Hebrew form in the first member (ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις: לִי נָקָם) but with the Septuagint in rendering the essential word of the second member not by a noun (נָקָם retribution) but by a verb (ἀνταποδώσω).² St. Paul was, indeed, familiar with the great Cantic of Moses in its Greek form, as the citation in Romans 15. 10 proves, but in this instance he seems to have modified the Septuagint text under some stronger influence. As the Targum of Onkelos practically agrees with St. Paul's citation, we may well suppose that the dominant influence here was that of an Aramaic Targum, which probably had the currency of a popular proverb. Kautzsch's view seems, therefore, to be very reasonable: "Ut nostram sententiam dicamus, Onkelosi versio supra iam commemorata אַשְׁלָם וְנָקָם פִּרְעֹנִיתָא וְנָקָם קָדְמִי eo nos adducit, ut Pauli allegationem ad traditionem quandam scholasticam de loco illo celeberrimo pervulgatam referamus. Annon maxime mirum esset, Onkelosum Pauli aequalem et fortasse contubernalem prorsus in eandem loci illius interpretationem incidisse, nisi certa quaedam interpretandi forma iam dudum exstitisset. Minime igitur habemus, cur locum nostrum ad expressam textus hebraici curam referamus; imo Paulus retentis versionis Alex. verbis loci formam Iudaeorum doctoribus usitatam proferebat, fortasse ne memor quidem textus utriusque discrepantiae. Effatum enim illud e carmine celeberrimo repetitum, tantopere faciens ad confirmandos audientium animos certe in Iudaeorum orationibus viguisse nemo erit qui neget" (p. 77).

¹ O. c., p. 81. Kautsch's note, in which he attributes a midrashic distortion of the biblical text to the Apostle, is entirely erroneous.

² The Septuagint text reads: ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκδίκησεως ἀνταποδώσω. See Appendix II, No. XXII.

Our conclusion, therefore, must be that in all the thirty passages, which St. Paul cites from the Pentateuch, only thus single Deuteronomic text can be attributed to the predominant but apparently not exclusive influence of another version than the Alexandrian Septuagint.

The Nebiim

If we turn to the citations from the Prophets, we shall find that, since no borrowing from Ezechiel reaches the level of citation, we have to consider just thirty quotations. Of these twenty-three are from Isaias, one from Jeremias, and six from the minor Prophets, the quota for these latter being: Osee three, and Joel, Habacuc, Malachias one each. The citations from Joel and Malachias are manifestly according to the wording of the Septuagint, which presents a faithful version of the Hebrew. The only thing to be noted is that in the text of Malachias the Apostle departs from the chiasitic order both of the Hebrew and the Alexandrian version. It is for the sake of emphasis and closer connexion with the preceding context (Rom. 9. 12) that he writes: *Iacob dilexi, Esau autem odio habui* instead of *Dilexi Iacob, Esau autem odio habui* (Mal. 1. 2).

The text of Habacuc 2. 4 *b* as cited in Romans differs from the Septuagint text only in the omission of a *μου*, which pronoun Codex B of the LXX places after *πίστεως* (representing doubtless a Hebrew reading באמונתִי (cfr. St. Jerome in Abacuc, 1. I. C. 2; PL. XXV, 1289 and 1292), while Codex A sets it after *δίκαιος* (in all probability a scribal displacement). In the citation of the same text in Galatians there is the further omission of a *δέ* at the beginning. It seems certain that the Apostle quotes the Septuagint text of Habacuc and that the omission of the *μου* attested by the best codices of the Alexandrian version is a matter of abbreviation.

The passages from Osee constitute a more difficult problem. The citation found in Romans 9. 25, 26 is compound, being chiefly made up of two elements taken from the beginning and end of a symbolic prophecy which occupies nearly two octavo pages (Osee 2. 1 and 2. 25 Rahlfs' edition). These elements change places, but the wording of 2. 25 is further influenced by the verse immediately preceding 2. 1, and also by a verse closely following it (2. 3). The first distich of the citation is, therefore, a fusion of Osee 1. 9 (*καλέσω*), 2. 3 (i. e. as regards the order, namely, the putting of '*ammi* before *ruhamah*), and 2. 25 (*ἡγαπημένην* and not *ἡλεημένην*). The second distich is identical with the Septuagint text of Osee 2. 1 as read

in the Codex Alexandrinus (with addition of *ἐκεῖ* and omission of *καὶ αὐτοί*). It is to be noted, however, that in the first distich the affinity of the wording is with that of Codex Vaticanus, for the Alexandrinus reads *ἤλεημένην*. The examination of this composite text consequently goes to show that its source is the Septuagint version. Two points settle the matter, namely the use of *ἡγαπημένην* as a translation of *חַבִּיבָה*, and the absolute identity of the second distich with a particular form of the Alexandrian Greek text.

Osee 13. 14 appears in first Corinthians 15. 55 in subordination to a citation from Isaias 25. 8: *Absorpta est mors in victoria*. This fact and the whole oratorical context in which the citation stands sufficiently explain the very considerable variation which the words of the Septuagint undergo. The version reads: *ποῦ ἡ δίκη σου θάνατε; ποῦ τὸ κέντρον σου ἄδη;* but *δίκη*, without real alteration of the sense, is replaced by the like-sounding *νίκος* of the preceding citation, and the dominant word of the whole context, *θάνατος* is maintained in the second part, instead of its synonym *ἄδης*. By drawing the pronoun *σου* towards the beginning of both questions the Apostle heightens the rhetorical effect of triumph over death. The Septuagint translation is at least a substantially faithful rendering of the Hebrew sense, but moreover a very good defence may be made of its verbal accuracy.

Of Jeremias very little need be said. The Apostle condenses the substance of over fifty words (Jeremias 9. 23, 24) into five: *ὁ καυχώμενος ἐν Κυρίῳ καυχάσθω*, which dictum forged from the words of the Septuagint he uses twice over (1 Cor. 1. 31 and 2 Cor. 10. 17), once with formula and once without.

St. Paul's favourite Prophet is Isaias. Four of the Apostle's quotations from him are placed by Kautzsch among the two dozen which differ neither from the Septuagint nor from the Hebrew.¹ Two adhere to the Septuagint where it varies but slightly from the Hebrew.² Eight depart somewhat from the wording of the Septuagint, without coming any closer to the Hebrew.³ Thus fourteen out of the twenty-three Isaian passages are undoubtedly from the Septuagint. Four besides enter into composition with other texts, but there can be no doubt about their provenance. The citation from Isaias 28. 16^b in Romans 9. 33 and 10. 11 is purely Septuagintal, as the verb *κατασχυνθήσεται* shows, in spite of the change of mood

¹ Isaias 22. 13; 49. 8; 53. 1; 54. 1 (therefore from the two great sections of the book).

² Isaias 1. 9 and 52. 15.

³ Isaias 10. 22; 11. 10; 29. 14; 40. 13; 52. 5; 59. 7f; 65. 1; 65. 2.

from (οὐ μὴ) κατασχυνθῇ. The addition ἐπ' αὐτῷ, vouched for by SAQ against B, probably belongs to the authentic Septuagint. In Romans 9. 23 this passage is preceded by the words: ἰδοὺ τίθημι ἐν Σιών λίθον, which are a free abbreviation of ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐμβάλλω εἰς τὰ Θεμέλια Σειῶν λίθον (28. 16^a). The fourfold description of the stone is omitted, but St. Paul mentions one of those descriptives in Ephesians 2. 20 (ἀκρογωνιαίος).¹ Instead, the present context of Romans, which is concerned with the apostasy of Israel, reminds the Apostle of the second destination of the stone, namely, that of being a stumbling block to unbelievers. Hence the words of Isaias 8. 14, which really represent the thought predominant in his mind (9. 32), take the place of πολυτελῇ, ἔκλεκτον, ἀκρογωνιαῖον, ἔντιμον, not, however, without assuming peculiar form. Instead of the Greco-Isaianian λίθον πρόσκομμα ... πέτρας πτώμα, the Apostle's mind seizes the thought in a form which exactly represents the Hebrew אֶבֶן נִגְיָה צִרַּת מְכַשׁוֹל. Here (one would be inclined to think with Cornely), the remembrance of the Hebrew text was the determinant factor, but, as St Peter uses the same form: λίθος προσκόμματος καὶ πέτρα σκανδάλου (1 Petr. 2. 8), and St. Paul not only frequently uses the word σκάνδαλον (Rom. 16. 17; 1 Cor. 1. 23; Gal. 5. 11), but also joins πρόσκομμα and σκάνδαλον together in another passage (Rom. 14. 13), it is possible that he was not the creator of this particular modification of the Greek Isaias 8. 14, but that it had fixed itself in Christian language before him, perhaps under the influence of some unwritten phrase of our Lord Himself, Who spoke more than once of scandals and of those who should be scandalised in Him.

Three other cases of composition present less difficulty, because they are more a matter of juxtaposition. A citation from Isaias 59. 20, 21 *a* is completed by a clause from Isaias 27. 9 *c* in the section of Romans which prophesies the final salvation of Israel (11. 26 *f*). The words are quoted from memory out of the Septuagint, without any thought of the Hebrew, which differs rather considerably. This is an interesting example of the way in which texts were connected by verbal and phonetic association in St. Paul's memory. The first part: "There shall come out of Sion the one who delivers, he shall turn away impieties from Jacob, and this for them is the covenant from me"—this portion would, apart from the omission of a καὶ between the two sentences, be exactly Septuagintal in wording, only

¹ Compare 2 Petr. 2. 6-8. The Prince of the Apostles uses the same abbreviated form of Isaias 28. 16^a, but adds three of the descriptive adjectives.

for the change of *ἐνεκεν* into *ἐκ* before *Σιών*. The change is unintentional, for it does not help the Apostle's argument in the least. It is apparently due to the influence of numerous Psalm passages, in which "ex Sion" occurs.¹ The addition of the clause: "cum abstulero peccata eorum" from Isaias 27. 9 *c* is also due to a crowding of mnemonic associations. It agrees with the Septuagint except for the pluralisation of *ἀμαρτίαν* and the transposition and pluralisation of the pronoun *αὐτοῦ*. The recalling of this verse would be due not only to the association of *ἀσεβείας ἀπὸ Ἰακώβ* (59. 20 *b*) with *ἀνομία Ἰακώβ* (27. 9 *a*) but also to the general similarity of sound and sense between *αὕτη ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἡ παρ' ἐμοῦ διαθήκη* (59. 21 *a*) and *τοῦτο ἐστὶν ἡ εὐλογία αὐτοῦ* (27. 9 *b*). It is also likely that the change in the grammatical number and order of the words in 27. 9 *c* is attributable to the influence of a remembrance of Jeremias 31. 33, 34 (LXX 38. 33, 34), there being a marked affinity between Isaias 59. 20 and the great oracle quoted at length in *Hebrews* 8. 8-12.

Again, Isaias 45. 23 appears slightly combined in Romans 14. 11, but there are amply sufficient signs to indicate the source of the citation. The Apostle certainly intends to take from the canticle appended to the Cyrus-prophecy of Isaias a testimony for the absolute and universal sovereignty of God. The essential words he quotes with little change: "quia mihi flectetur omne genu, et omnis lingua confitebitur Deo." The first member of the distich shows no variation from the Greek text; the second, with change of word-order only, corresponds entirely with the reading of the Septuagint as given by the two important codices Alexandrinus and Marchalianus. The Apostle follows the two characteristics of this special type of Septuagint text, namely, the use of *ἐξομολογῆσεται* instead of the verb "to swear," and the dative *τῷ Θεῷ* instead of *τὸν Θεόν* (B) or *τὸν Κύριον* (S*). There is no doubt, therefore, that the citation represents a particular form of the Septuagint, for a conformation of A_Q to the Pauline text seems to be excluded here. The introductory phrase: "Vivo ego, dicit Dominus" placed before the citation is surely Septuagintal and derived most probably from Isaias 49. 18.²

As the second (or third?) component of the citation in second Corinthians 6. 16-18 St. Paul gathers three short imperative sentences from Isaias 52. 11, setting a *διό* before the first and a *λέγει Κύριος* after the second: "(Propter quod) exite e medio eorum, et separamini (dicit Dominus), et immundum ne tetigeritis." The parts are

¹ Psalms 13. 7 (52. 7); 19. 2; 49. 2; 109. 2; 127. 5; 133. 3; 134. 21.

² It is also found in other passages of the Old Testament, e. g., Jeremias 22. 24, Ezekiel 5. 11, and (without "dicit Dominus") in Numbers 14. 21.

gathered from memory, without attention to the order found in the Septuagint text (1, 2, 3 of the Prophet being so transposed that the order is 2, 3, 1 in the Apostle's citation). Otherwise there is no variation beyond the change of *αὐτῆς* into *αὐτῶν*. In the form of the third imperative (*ἄπτεσθε*) St. Paul agrees with Codex S, and also probably with AQ (for *ἄπτεσθαι* is to be regarded only as an orthographical error), against Codex B which reads *ἀψησθε*.

Much more like a chemical compound is the commixture of Isaias 29.10 and Deuteronomy 29.3 in Romans 11.8. In the intention of the Apostle, the citation is predominantly Isaian, although only three words from that Prophet are inseparably fused with a free and more extensive remembrance of the Deuteronomic text. The very first verb of the passage of Isaias (*πεπότηκεν*) is deuteronomised into *ἔδωκεν* but the Prophet's qualification of the draught (*πνεῦμα κατανύξεως*) is verbally maintained, while the subsequent mention of "blinded eyes" in Isaias leads the Apostle's mind away to Deuteronomy once more, in adapting which he transposes the negative from the principal verb to the infinitives ((*τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν ... τοῦ μὴ ἀκούειν*) and changes the last phrase "usque ad diem hunc" into the more usual "usque in hodiernum diem" (Gen. 19.37; 35.4; Numbers 22.30; Deut. 11.4 etc.). Notwithstanding this extraordinary blend of two texts, which even Origen was unable to trace to the pages of the Old Testament, there is no reason to think that St. Paul embodied any elements in it except what his memory held from the Septuagint.

Thus twenty passages of Isaias quoted by the Apostle are drawn from the Alexandrian version with more or less verbal accuracy. About the remaining three we cannot feel so sure. In the order of the Prophet they are: 1) "Absorpta est mors in victoria(m)" from chapter 25.8 (1 Cor. 15.54); 2) "Quoniam in aliis linguis et labiis aliis loquar populo huic: et nec sic exaudient" from chapter 28.49 (1 Cor. 14.21); 3) "Quam speciosi pedes evangelizantium pacem, evangelizantium bona" from chapter 52.7 (Romans 10.15).

In the first text the Alexandrian translator, as well as Aquila, Symmachus, St. Jerome and the Masoretes read the verb in the active form *Piel*; St. Paul, and Theodotion with him, suppose on the contrary the passive form *Pual*. Moreover, instead of the natural equivalent of the final *לְעֹלָם* namely, "for ever" (*eis τέλος* [Symmachus] or *eis τὸν αἰῶνα* as in Isaias 13.20; 28.28; 33.20; 57.16), St. Paul adopts *eis νίκος* (similarly Aquila and Theodotion), whereas the Septuagint has the peculiar translation *ισχύσας*. Did St. Paul have the Hebrew text *בְּלֵעַ הַפֶּה לְעֹלָם* in mind and give his own transla-

tion of it, assigning to the last prepositional phrase a meaning which it sometimes receives even in the Septuagint (2 Sam. 2. 26)? We cannot be sure, but Vollmer thinks that there is sufficient evidence to lend probability to the opinion that other Greek versions and possibly that known under the name of Theodotion were already in circulation.¹ The Apostle and Theodotion happen to coincide exactly in this sentence, for they both read *κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς νίκος*, with passive verb and identical rendering of the final prepositional phrase. Now, if Theodotion cannot be supposed to have belonged to the first half of the first century (even on the basis of the order "Theodotion, Aquila" of Irenaeus (*contra Haereses*, III, 21; PG. VII, 946) perhaps a pre-Theodotion may be presumed to have existed in St. Paul's day.² However, with regard to so short a sentence as that which we are considering there is no sufficient reason to postulate such a version. The Pauline citation seems certainly to be non-Septuagintal, but it is quite possible that the Apostle's memory, in the case of this short solemn sentence, reproduced a synagogal form like that found in the proverbial "Vengeance is mine etc."

The second Isaian text which takes a very different form from the Septuagint in the Apostle's quotation of it is that in which the words of the Prophet are adduced under the name of "Law," in order to show that glossolaly is rather a sign to bewilder infidels than a sign to edify the faithful: "In lege scriptum est: Quoniam in aliis linguis (ἐν ἑτερογλώσσοις = persons speaking a foreign language) et labiis aliis loquar populo huic: et nec sic exaudient me, dicit Dominus. Itaque linguae in signum sunt non fidelibus sed infidelibus etc."

¹ VOLLMER o. c., p. 75f: "Kautsch (p. 104 A. 1) meint nach Zurückweisung der Ansicht, dass Theodotion in seiner Uebersetzung des öfteren vom Neuen Testament abhängt, des Apostels Worte seien als eine abweichende Lesart in die Hexapla eingetragen und dann von einem Schreiber irrtümlich als eine Uebersetzung des Theodotion verstanden worden. Aber es ist sehr beachtenswert, dass die Fortsetzung jenes alttestamentlichen Wortes in Apok. 21. 4 auch nicht nach der Septuaginta gegeben wird, sondern sich viel inniger mit Symmachus berührt (Field II, 472 A 13) der einer Notiz des Procopius zufolge hier mit Aquila und Theodotion übereinstimmte. Bei der Apokal. Joh. hat man sich denn auch, ebenso wie bei Hermas, der Beobachtung wiederholter Uebereinstimmung mit Theodotion nicht verschliessen können und die Möglichkeit ausgesprochen, dass diese Version hier thatsächlich bereits benutzt sei. Wird man nun aber auch berechtigtes Bedenken tragen, Theodotion so früh anzusetzen, dass Paulus ihn könnte gekannt haben, so steht doch der Annahme nichts im Wege, dass wie zu Beginn des zweiten Jahrhunderts, auch bereits vorher neben der Septuaginta noch andere griechische Versionen circulierten."

² VOLLMER, *ibidem*.

(Isaias 28. 11; first Corinthians 14. 21). It is evident that St. Paul quotes Isaias with great freedom. Both in the Hebrew and the Septuagint the order is "lip" and "tongue." The Apostle reverses this order and renders the phrase "with another tongue," by ἐν ἑτερογλώσσοις (Septuagint διὰ γλώσσης ἑτέρας). The phrase "in persons barbarous of lip" (LXX: διὰ φαυλισμὸν χειλέων) is just ἐν χείλεσιν ἑτέρων. The verb (λαλέω), which the Hebrew has in the third singular and the Alexandrian Greek in the third plural, St. Paul puts in the first singular, in the mouth of God. The only phrase common to Hebrew, Greek and Paul is τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ; the concluding phrase οὐδ' οὕτως εἰσακούσονται (μου) echoes only very distantly the Greek phrase, οὐκ ἠθέλησαν ἀκούειν which corresponds exactly with the Hebrew (Isaias 28. 12c). Strictly speaking, these words do not belong to the citation at all, because they represent, without any verbal borrowing the sense of Isaias 28. 13, with only just a slight phonetic reminiscence of Isaias 28. 12 c. There seems to be no question, as is often suggested, that the citation was influenced by Deuteronomy 28. 49. Neither can we agree with Vollmer that the wording comes from an early Greek translation akin to Aquila.¹ This Pontic interpreter was notoriously verbal² and consequently it seems exceedingly improbable that his translation of Isaias 28. 11 followed an earlier version which closely resembled St. Paul's paraphrase. Origen's words do not compel us to think that the improbable occurred in this particular case. All things considered, and having in view both the paraphrastic character of the citation and a certain liking for ἑτερο- compounds on St. Paul's part,³ it seems best to suppose that he freely expressed the thought of the passage, not however, without some slight remembrance of the Septuagint, the

¹ VOLLMER (p. 29, 30) is at one with Kautsch in granting that Origen's attestation: εὑρον τὰ ἰσοδυναμούντα τῇ λέξει ταύτῃ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἀκύλου ἐρμηνείᾳ κείμενα (*Philocalia*, 9, P.G. XIV, 1077, note 86) refers to the Isaian provenance of the passage cited as "Law," but he contends that ἰσοδυναμούντα must mean rather close similarity of expression, also urging the fact that Aquila translated יְהוָה (Psalm 113. 1) and also יְהוָה יְהוָה (Isaias 33. 19) by the word ἑτερογλωσσος (Hatch and Redpath s. v.). The use of the verb ἰσοδυναμεῖν in the Prologue of Ecclesiasticus would, moreover, tend to show that Origen found a very close correspondence between this verse of the Prophet and the Apostle's citation.

² Cfr. St. Jerome's well-known characterization of the three chief post-Septuagintal translations (*Preface to Chronicle of Eusebius*, PL., XXVII, 35): "Aquila et Symmachus et Theodotion... diversum paene opus in eodem opere prodiderunt, alio nitente verbum de verbo exprimere, alio sensum potius sequi, tertio non multum a veteribus discrepare."

³ 1 Timothy 1. 3, 6. 3; 2 Cor. 6. 14.

general vocabulary of which is preserved in the citation. It is noteworthy that the Apostle's quotations from the two Isaian groups XXIV-XXVII and XXVIII-XXXIII are mostly very free.¹ It will be remembered, for instance, that the *lithos* passage quoted in Romans 9. 33 comes, in the text of Isaias, only a half-dozen verses later than that which we are considering, and this is only one of five or six free citations from the same groups. What the reason of this relative departure from the LXX may be it seems impossible to conjecture. There is, however, sufficient evidence that St. Paul knew these portions of Isaias according to the Septuagint Version. (Compare, especially, 27. 9, 26. 16, 29. 14 with the Pauline citations of these texts in Rom. 11. 26, 9. 33 and first Corinthians 1. 19).

Our last text belongs to the '*Ebed Yahweh* prophecies. In Romans 10. 15 the Apostle quotes Isaias 52. 7 in a form which is not a literal translation of the Hebrew, but is still more distant from the letter of the LXX. With addition of the few words immediately preceding, the Hebrew source of this citation is exactly rendered by St. Jerome: "Ego ipse qui loquebar ecce adsum. *Quam pulchri* super montes *pedes* annuntiantis et *praedicantis* pacem, *annuntiantis bonum*, *praedicantis salutem*, *dicentis* Sion: Regnabit Deus tuus." St Paul abbreviates the text, taking only the italicized words and changing the grammatical number of the last two, thus: *ὡς ὥραῖοι οἱ πόδες τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων ἀγαθά*. The abbreviated text is in fair conformity with the Hebrew, but our present Septuagint form of the verse goes with the preceding sentence in this way: *πάρεμι ὡς ὥρα ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων, ὡς πόδες εὐαγγελιζομένου ἀκοὴν εἰρήνης, ὡς εὐαγγελιζομένου ἀγαθά* κτλ. The word *ὥρα* is, of course, to be taken in the sense of "spring beauty" or "beauty" simply,² so that the Septuagint text should be translated: "I am present as beauty upon the mountains, as the feet of him who announces tidings (*mishma*?) of peace etc." The opening words of the Hebrew sentences: (*Quam speciosi*) are *יְהִי כְהָדָר*, translated *ὡς εὐπρεπεῖς* by Theodotion, *τί εὐπρεπεῖς* by Symmachus, and *τί ὥραιώθησαν* by Aquila.

While St. Paul follows the true sense of the Hebrew like these translators, it is not likely that he is dependent on a pre-Theodotion or a pre-Symmachus or a pre-Aquila. If, however, he used a Greek translation, that translation must have rendered the Hebrew *יְהִי כְהָדָר*

¹ Cfr. 1 Cor. 15, 54 (Isaias 25, 8); Ephesians 5. 14? (Is. 26. 19); Rom. 11. 26 (Is. 27. 9); Rom. 9. 33 (Is. 28. 16); Rom. 11. 8 (Is. 29. 10); 1 Cor. 1. 19 (Is. 29. 14).

² St. Jerome *In Isaiam* 52. 7 (PL., XXIV, 501) *ὥρα* "... aut tempus significat aut pulchritudinem."

adjectivally.¹ In spite of Vollmer's criticism of Kautzsch (p. 30 Note 1) which is partly deserved, inasmuch as Kautzsch regards the present LXX reading as nonsense, we are inclined to agree with the latter in his opinion that the original reading of the LXX was *ὡς ὡπαῖτοι*. The present text, with its purely adscititious *ὡς* before *πρόδες* seems to be the result of a scribal mistake at the beginning of the sentence, such as writing *ὡς ὡπα* for *ὡς ὡπαῖτοι*. Besides, there is plenty of evidence that St. Paul was familiar with this portion of Isaias according to the Alexandrian version. Not to speak of the very Septuagintal citation from the Passion of the '*Ebed Yahweh*' (53. 1; Rom. 10. 16), three verses in the vicinity of "Quam speciosi" (52. 7) are quoted by the Apostle according to the Septuagint, namely, 52. 5 (Rom. 2. 24), 52. 11 (1 Cor. 6. 17) and 52. 15 (Rom. 15. 21). Hence, we seem to be justified in concluding with Kautzsch (p. 96), "locum nostrum eorum numero ascribi non potuisse, qui consulto a Paulo ad normam textus heb. videntur emendati."

The examination of the Isaian quotations in the Pauline Epistolary, therefore, goes to show that the text habitually before the Apostle's mind for all parts of the Prophet's work was the Alexandrian Greek text. There is no sufficient proof that he used other Greek versions, since the departures from the Septuagint can, in one case, be explained by the predominant influence of an Aramaic Targum, and in all other cases by failure of verbal memory, some remembrance of the Hebrew text, or the very freedom with which the Apostle used a book which was thoroughly well known to him.² In is all but a few details, Kautzsch's thesis seems to stand firm. It is also noteworthy that the Apostle seems to use the greatest liberty in quoting Deuteronomy and Isaias, both books which he knew very well.

¹ *Die Alttestamentlichen Citate bei Paulus* (p. 30). Auch durfte zu Rm 10. 15b eine Uebersetzung zu Grunde gelegen haben, die, z. B. Theodotion das *ἡμῶν* adjectivisch wiedergab.

² The assumption of the strong influence of Targumic renderings as formulated by Toy (*Quotations in the New Testament*, XV) is very reasonable, but he goes altogether too far in the application of this assumption. We can entirely endorse the following sentences: "We may suppose that proverbial sayings and Messianic passages especially would be remembered; there would be scriptural household words then as now. Even a writer well acquainted with the Septuagint would find the familiar Aramaic form of many passages recurring to him; and if he were writing in Greek, might often naturally take occasion to render his Old-Testament quotation from Aramaic into Greek."

The form of St. Paul's LXX Text

Like all books propagated by manuscript copying, the Septuagint had within two or three hundred years changed some of its original wording, and by the first Christian century showed in its manuscript tradition local varieties of readings which would have allowed a textual critic to distinguish certain types or families of text. Some of these types were, no doubt, represented by the later archetypes of our great fourth, fifth and sixth century codices. The question, therefore, may be asked, in terms of our chief ancient Manuscripts, what form of Septuagint text do St. Paul's citations represent. From this point of view Bleek tried to draw a very sharp distinction between the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Pauline Epistolary. "Not at all negligible," he writes, "is the difference observable between our Epistle and the Paulines in the textual form of the passages quoted from the Septuagint. If we compare these quotations with the two chief Manuscripts of the LXX, we find that Paul corresponds overwhelmingly with the Codex Vaticanus, while the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, on the other hand, agrees more with the Codex Alexandrinus."¹ This correspondence of the Pauline citations with Codex B against Codex A, Bleek contends, is verified in almost all cases of closely verbal quotation. He cites six examples of such typically Vatican readings from amongst the very literal citations made by St. Paul and six more from the texts which the Apostle adduces with some freedom. In the former class stand: 1) the reading ϕ (B) instead of $\omicron\upsilon$ (A) in verse 2 a of Psalm XXXI; 2) $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\epsilon$ (B) for $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ (A) at the head of Isaiah 53. 1; 3) $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\nu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\alpha\tau\epsilon$ instead of $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\nu\epsilon\sigma\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\sigma\alpha\nu$ in Psalm 116. 1; 4) ϕ instead of $\acute{\omicron}$ twice over in the Manna-text of Exodus 16. 18; 5) $\rho\eta\chi\omicron\nu$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\beta\acute{o}\eta\sigma\omicron\nu$ instead of $\rho\eta\chi\omicron\nu$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\beta\acute{o}\eta\sigma\omicron\nu$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\tau\omicron\nu$ of Isaiah 54. 1; 6) the addition $\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon$ $\sigma\omicron\iota$ $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ in the blessing attached to the fourth commandment (Exodus 20. 12). I have cited these six examples in order to show how really ignorant Bleek was of the whole matter. Let us take the examples one by one. Firstly, no critical editor now accepts ϕ as the reading of Romans 3. 8. Moreover, the $\omicron\upsilon$ of Codex B of the Apostle (which is also the original reading of S) corresponds exactly with the $\omicron\upsilon$ of the Psalm-text in both A and B. Bleek probably took the reading of the Sixtine edition as representing the Vatican Codex which, as a matter of fact, it does not, in the present instance. The truth is,

¹ *Der Brief an die Hebräer* I, § 82; p. 369.

therefore, that St. Paul, the LXX Codex Alexandrinus and the Vaticanus all read $\omega\upsilon$ but the Alexandrinus reads ϕ in the Pauline text. Secondly, Isaias 54. 1 is also identical in A, B, and Paul. Thirdly, $\epsilon\pi\alpha\iota\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\sigma\alpha\nu$ is the true reading of Romans 15. 11 and of the Codex Alexandrinus. Bleek was apparently unaware that the Psalm is missing in the Codex Vaticanus. The reading which Bleek attributes to Romans, with the old Textus Receptus, is really found in the Verona and Zurich Psalters (R and T) and, as a corrector's reading, in the Psalter of the Codex Sinaiticus. Fourthly, Bleek's alleged discrepancy between A and B for Exodus 16. 18 does not exist, but he fails altogether to note that in one point the Apostle's text differs from B, namely, in reading $\acute{\omicron}\lambda\acute{\iota}\gamma\omicron\nu$ for $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\tau\tau\omicron\nu$. This Pauline variation was introduced into the Alexandrinus by a corrector (Baber's second hand according to Swete). Fifthly, the alleged $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\pi\omicron\upsilon$ of Bleek's Alexandrinus (Isaias 54. 1) is a phantasm. The addition really belongs to Origen's hexaplaric text, and is placed under an asterisk. Sixthly, while the Codex Alexandrinus does omit $\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$ $\epsilon\upsilon$ $\sigma\omicron\iota$ $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ in Exodus 20. 12, it includes the phrase in Deuteronomy 5. 16. St. Paul probably cites Deuteronomy (cfr. $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\eta$ for $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta$), but does not entirely agree with either A or B.

The half-page which Bleek devotes to the preponderance of the B text in St. Paul's literal quotations is, therefore, swarming with errors. Not one of his examples proves that the Pauline text of the Septuagint was a B text rather than an A text. His six examples from among the freer Pauline citations are also wanting in accuracy. Firstly, the reading of A in Isaias 29. 24 $c-d$ has not a double $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ distinguishing it from the reading of the Codex Vaticanus and St. Paul's quotation of this distich in first Corinthians 1. 19. Secondly, the two variations which Bleek alleges in the text of Genesis 2. 24 quoted by St. Paul in Ephesians 5. 31 do not exist. The Alexandrinus reads: $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\nu$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota\phi\epsilon\iota$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$ $\tau\omicron\nu$ $\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$ $\mu\eta\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\kappa\omicron\lambda\lambda\eta\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ $\tau\acute{\eta}$ $\gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\kappa\acute{\iota}$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\kappa\tau\lambda$. St. Paul disagrees with it, for he changes $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\nu$ into $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\iota}$, omits the two pronouns after father and mother, and changes the final phrase into $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ $\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$ $\gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha$. This last variation is not found in the Alexandrinus, as Bleek implies. Still less is it in the Vaticanus which has not the early chapters of Genesis at all. It is found, however, in the Cottonian (D) and Bodleian Genesis (E) and in the recension of Lucian generally. Thirdly, Bleek calls attention to the addition of $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ in the quotation of Leviticus 18. 5, in Galatians 3. 12, and neglects its omission by all the best codices in the quotation of the same sentence in Romans

10. 5. The addition, however, belongs neither to A nor to B, both of which read α ποιήσας ἄνθρωπος, but it appears as a pleonasm in the fifth century Codex Ambrosianus (F) of the Octateuch. Fourthly, it seems that Bleek took the Sixtine edition of the LXX to be a simple copy of the Vaticanus, for he wrongly attributes to this Codex the reading $\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\omega$ τὴν σκηνὴν μου ἐν ὑμῖν (Leviticus 26. 11), which he considers to be reproduced in the $\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota\kappa\acute{\eta}\sigma\omega$ ἐν αὐτοῖς of 2 Corinthians 6. 16. As a matter of fact, the reading σκηνὴν instead of διαθήκην is equally absent from A and B, but is found in F and the Lucianean recension.¹ Bleek happens to be right in his fifth example, for in Osee 2. 25 St. Paul must have read ἡγαμημένην with B against the ἡλεημένην of A. In regard to the sixth case, which concerns the citation of Isaias 65. 1 by St Paul (Rom. 10. 20), with inversion of the two members of the distich, there can be little doubt that Codex B represents the original wording of the Septuagint, with ζῆτοῦσιν corresponding to εὐρέθην and ἐπερωτῶσιν corresponding to ἐμφανῆς ἐγενόμην, as in the Hebrew.² The inversion of the two participles not only in the Codex Alexandrinus but also in the Sinaiticus and Marchalianus may very well be due to an early scribal disturbance caused by a recollection of these inverted Isaian sentences in Romans.

Therefore, of Bleek's dozen examples of B readings in the Pauline quotations from the Septuagint only one can be regarded as certain. On the contrary the examples of greater verbal correspondence between A and five other Pauline citations (Is. 59. 8, Exod. 9. 16; Os. 1. 10; Is. 10. 22 f.; Is. 45. 23) are at least certain as facts, whatever may be the explanation in each individual case. There are always two or perhaps three possibilities to reckon with, when a Pauline citation agrees with one of our extant Manuscripts of the Septuagint against another or others, namely, the possibility that the Apostle knew a text of the LXX akin to the text of that particular Manuscript and, secondly, the possibility that the Manuscript in question was conformed to the Pauline citation.³ The facts have to be ascertained

¹ It is worth while quoting Bleek's own words in this instance to show how confidently he argues from purely erroneous data: "2 Kor. 6. 16 (Lev. 26. 11) wo die etwas freie Citation des Paulus: $\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota\kappa\acute{\eta}\sigma\omega$ ἐν αὐτοῖς sonder Zweifel aus der Lesart des cod. Vat. $\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\omega$ τὴν σκηνὴν μου ἐν ὑμῖν hervorgegangen ist, während der cod. Alex. hat $\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\omega$ τὴν διαθήκην μ. ε. v."

² So Sweet in his manual edition, but Rahlfs decides in favour of the reading vouched for by the majority of the great codices.

³ The conformation of New Testament citations to the Septuagint text probably did not often occur. With Christian scribes the influence of the N. T. would have been predominant.

first, and then the explanation of the facts sought. Bleek has certainly not given an exhaustive elenchus of the facts regarding A readings in the Pauline Epistles.¹ The accurate study of the textual form of the Pauline quotations made by Vollmer has added nearly a dozen more examples to the list.² A rapid survey of them will suffice here. Vollmer takes his first examples from Bleek.

The fifth or Isaian contribution (Is. 59. 8) in the famous biblical enfilade of Romans 3. 10 ff., ends in the words: "viam pacis non cognoverunt." St. Paul has οὐκ ἔγνωσαν which is the reading of Codex A of the Septuagint, as distinct from οὐκ οἶδασιν in Codex B.³ Again, the Pharaon-text (Ex. 9. 16; Rom. 9. 17) has τὴν δύναμιν μου with A, instead of τὴν ἰσχύιν μου of B. Thirdly, the text cited from Osee 1. 10 in Romans 9. 26 stands with A against B, by reason of an ἐκεῖ inserted before κληθήσονται and καὶ αὐτοί omitted after it. Again, the A character of Isaias 10. 22 f. (Rom. 9. 27, 28) is marked by the omission of αὐτῶν after κατάλειμμα and the insertion of γὰρ after λόγον. In reading Κύριος, however, in this abbreviated sentence (Is. 10. 22 b, 23), instead of Θεός, St. Paul is at one with B, although the omission of the definite article before this word assimilates him once more to A. Fifthly, as we have already seen, "omnis lingua confitebitur Deo" from our canticle of Feria sexta (Is. 45. 23) is, apart from word-order, quoted by the Apostle (Rom. 14. 11 and partly Philipp. 2. 11) in the form exhibited by the Codex Alexandrinus: ὁμολογήσεται τῷ Θεῷ in contrast to the more hebraistic ὁμείται τὸν Θεόν of the Vatican Manuscript. The further additions which can be made to this list are small things, but it must be remembered that textual criticism is almost a microscopic science.

In Isaias 40. 13 a, b (Rom. 11. 34 b) St Paul puts αὐτοῦ after σύμβουλος with A, while B places it before that noun. The same text is quoted (Isaias 40. 13 a, c) in first Corinthians 2. 16, the last member having the form συμβιάσει αὐτόν (A) and not the συμβιβᾷ of Codex B. It has been already mentioned that the reading ἄπειρος of Isaias 52. 11 (2 Cor. 6. 17) is found in A and other Manu-

¹ It is now generally admitted that the N. T. citations as a whole often agree with the readings of other codices against B. See A. VACCARI *Institutiones Biblicae* I⁵ (p. 263): "Ubi habetur in LXX varia lectio, script. N. T. stant saepe cum plerisque codicibus contra B: v. g. Deut. 6. 4, 5 in Mt. 32. 27 synop.; Ex. 3. 2 in Act. 7. 30; Deut. 17. 6 in 2 Cor. 13. 1; Prov. 3. 12 in Heb. 12. 6; Is. 22. 22 in Ap. 3. 7. Tamen est advertendum, codices non raro fuisse ad textum LXX conformatos; interdum e contrario."

² VOLLMER, *Alttestamentliche Citate bei Paulus*, pp. 14-17.

³ Needless to say Codex B has the Pauline reading in the fivefold block taken into its text of the thirteenth Psalm from Romans.

scripts, while B reads ἄφησθε. Reference has likewise been made to ὀλίγον instead of ἑλαττον (B) in the Manna-passage (Exod. 16. 18: 2 Cor. 8. 15), a reading which St. Paul shares with the Codex Alexandrinus (second hand), while Philo reads with the Codex Vaticanus (*Quis rerum divinarum heres*, 191).¹

Besides these four examples, the A type of text may be also discerned in six other citations of the great Epistles. In Romans 8. 36 the best Manuscripts have ἔνεκεν at the head of the citation from Psalm 43. 22.² Herein the Apostle stands with A against the ἔνεκα of B. Similarly in regard to the inclusion of ἐπ' αὐτῷ in Isaias 26. 18 (Rom. 9. 33; 10. 11), in regard to the insertion of τοῦ before μὴ βλέπειν (Deut. 29. 10: Rom. 11. 8), and in regard to the plural verb in the Deuteronomic excommunication-precept (Deut. 17. 7: 1 Cor. 5. 13). St. Paul likewise formulates the law of two or three witnesses (Deut. 19. 15) after the manner of A (σταθήσεται) against στήσεται of Codex B (2 Cor. 13. 1).

Vollmer makes further mention of the quotations from Psalm 116 and Isaias 65. 1 in Romans, but these are not to the point as being merely divergent from the Sixtine edition of the Septuagint. Neither does Proverbs 22. 28 cited in second Corinthians 9. 7 constitute a case of A against B. Finally, Vollmer is mistaken in reckoning Genesis 21. 10 (Gal. 4. 30) amongst characteristic A readings. The citation rather departs from A in omitting ταύτην after παιδίσκην. There can of course be no question of a B text here, since the B text of Genesis XXI does not exist.

Of the fourteen examples which we have just seen, it will be noticed that seven are from Isaias, three from Deuteronomy, two from Exodus and one each from the Psalter and Osee. The example from the Psalter is so insignificant that no one would think of drawing the conclusion that St. Paul knew the Septuagint Psalms in a text akin to A. In view of the striking case of correspondence between the citation Osee 2. 23 and Codex B, there cannot be an undivided verdict in favour of an A text of Osee. The two examples from Exodus are somewhat doubtful, because there seems to be a very distinct possibility that St. Paul's own text is responsible for the δύναμιν and ὀλίγον now read in some MSS. of the two respective OT. texts. For Isaias and Deuteronomy the assumption that St. Paul's manuscripts

¹ Vollmer (p. 16) following Mangey's edition of Philo's works represents the Alexandrian Jew as following the same reading found in the Codex Alexandrinus, but Wendland's edition reads ἑλαττον instead of ὀλίγον.

² Bleek (p. 370, Note 488) in favour of his B thesis insisted on retaining the ἔνεκα of the Pauline textus receptus.

resembled A would seem to be more tenable. Certainly we must make allowance for conformation of parallel texts. Scribes were found who inserted four additional Psalmic pieces and one Isaian piece into Psalm XIII because they found these joined to 13. 1-3 in Romans. The whole addition is part of the Psalm text in the Vatican and Sinaitic Manuscripts (Lower Egyptian text), also in the Papyrus Codex U (pap. 37 British Museum: Upper Egyptian) and likewise in the Verona Greco-latin Psalter, the Gallican Psalter (Western text) and other Manuscripts and several versions. This is a remarkable case of a wide-spread addition purely due to New Testament influence. Similarly SA show St. Paul's citation of Job: "Quis prior dedit etc." added in Isaías 40. 14 owing to reminiscence of Romans 11. 34, 35. The same sort of New Testament influence may have resulted not only in additions but also in the change of words or of their order, and we have seen examples in which this very likely happened. But even when the cases of probable conformation to the New Testament text have been deducted, a certain number of citations remain in which St. Paul exhibits an A type of text against B. There are some three passages from Deuteronomy and seven from Isaías where the Apostle was probably acquainted with a Septuagint text showing variants that belonged to the archetypal line of the Alexandrinus. On the other hand, B readings are not wanting in Pauline citations. The most noteworthy are the text of Proverbs 25. 21f. (Rom. 12. 20) and the B order of the Decalogue from Deuteronomy 5. 17 f. (Rom. 13. 9.) In the former text St. Paul has $\psi\omega\mu\iota\varsigma$ with B against $\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\phi\epsilon$ in AS; he also has the defining genitive $\piυρ\acute{o}\varsigma$ (B) which A omits. The second table of the Decalogue is given by him in the order: "Non adulterabis, non occides, non furaberis" (B) instead of: "Non occides, non adulterabis," as AF read together with the Masoretic text. It should be further mentioned that there are two doubtful cases (Leviticus 18. 5 and 26. 12) in which some regard St. Paul as acquainted with a textual tradition represented by F, against that of both A and B. But a much better case can be made for an F reading ($\beta\iota\beta\lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$) of Deuteronomy 27. 26 (Gal. 3. 10). The conclusion we are forced to, therefore, is that St. Paul, as we might expect a priori, used no single known type of Septuagint text.¹ What form of text he used for each individual book which

¹ The history of the transmission of the Greek Septuagint is only very imperfectly known. New contributions to it are now coming from the Papyrus Collections (See ALLGEIER, *Dt. 25. 1-3 im Manchester Papyrus PRG 458*, *Biblica* 19 [1938] pp. 1-18). The fragments of Deuteronomy from the second pre-Christian century in the John Rylands-Library Manchester (P. Ryl. Gk. 458) are considered by their

he cites, it is not easy to determine. Certainly a B type of text is not much in evidence anywhere except in the one citation from the Book of Proverbs. Furthermore, the Psalter of St. Paul can scarcely be classed with either A or B, since the two citations from Psalms 43 and 116 prove nothing. For the Pentateuch, a careful examination of the facts will apparently not allow even a tentative verdict in regard to any book except Deuteronomy, the Apostle's text of which seems to have had some affinities with A. Amongst the Prophets also we can single out only the Book of Isaias as showing in seven cases out of twenty-three a text approximating to that of the Codex Alexandrinus. But we must not think of St. Paul as having always read Isaias or Deuteronomy in one uniform recension. We are certain that in the Apostle's day there were plenty of variants in Manuscripts of the Septuagint. The Apostle may have read the same book in slightly different forms at Ephesus and at Rome. As a matter of fact he quotes a text of only four words (Deut. 25. 4) in two different forms in a letter written from Ephesus (1 Cor. 9. 9) and in another written from Rome (2 Tim. 5. 18).¹ Perhaps the change from the usual wording in the former citation is St Paul's own, perhaps he read it in a manuscript at Ephesus.

The Citations in "Hebrews"

We have tried to sum up the facts regarding St. Paul's citations from the Old Testament, in view of a comparison with the texts quoted in the Epistle to the Hebrews. The comparison need not occupy very many pages.² In the first place, there can be no shadow of

editor H. C. Roberts (*Two Biblical Papyri in the J. R. Library Manchester*, 1936) as coming close to the text of A, but Father Vaccari, while admitting that the fragments may prove, for Deuteronomy only, that the MS supposes a type of text different from B and its companions, denies any special affinity with the Codex Alexandrinus (cfr. *Fragmentum Biblicum saeculi II ante Christum*, *Biblica* 17 [1936] p. 503). An assertion regarding one book cannot be transferred to another. Thus Sir Frederick Kenyon notes that the text of Numbers in the Chester-Beatty Papyrus is very close to B, while that of Deuteronomy is different.

¹ It is noteworthy that our great codices give the wording but not the order of words found in the citation to Timothy, whereas the order of words is retained, but the verb changed from *φιμώσεις* to *κημώσεις* in the citation to the Corinthians. We might regret that the second text of the John Rylands Papyrus stops at Deut. 25. 3. But it is hardly likely that the reading of verse 4 would have been that of first Corinthians.

² The Scriptural Materials of the Epistle, with all important text-critical remarks, will be found in Appendix II.

doubt that the author of *Hebrews* quotes habitually from the Septuagint. We might go further, and say that the Alexandrian translation is the only Bible from which the author has drawn, were it not that he quotes Deuteronomy 32. 35 in a non-Septuagintal form, has an allusion to Daniel 6. 23 (*obturav[erunt] ora leonum*, Heb. 11. 33) which is absent from the LXX, but is the same as Theodotion's translation closely representing the Aramaic (*os leonum*), thirdly, he stands with the Hebrew in the opening word of his citation from Proverbs 3. 11, fourthly he follows a grammatical structure in a passage of Isaias 35. 3 (Heb. 12. 12), which is neither the structure found in the Septuagint Isaias nor in a parallel passage of Sirach (25. 23), but is the actual construction of the respective sentence in the Hebrew Isaias. Apart from these four cases, the Septuagint is used by our author apparently without the slightest thought or remembrance of the Hebrew text, and with very little of that free manipulation of Scriptural words which we find so often in St. Paul. The writer of *Hebrews* keeps to his Greek text in a much more academic fashion than St Paul, and his indifference to the primigenial Hebrew is sometimes very striking, as, for instance, when he argues from the Greek meaning of *διαθήκη* (Heb. 9. 15 ff.) and actually uses a corrupt reading which he found in his copy of the Septuagint (Deut. 29. 18, LXX: Heb. 12. 15).

This, we think, is the whole strength of the general argument which would separate *Hebrews* from the Paulines on the ground of the different biblical texts employed in the respective writings. The weakness of the argument will be easily seen, when we reflect on the following points:

Firstly, the Psalter is the Book on which our author most largely draws. Now it so happens that St Paul has used very little freedom in quoting the Septuagint Psalter. In all his citations from the Psalms, except one, in which we may recognise the influence of a Targum (67. 19), the Apostle closely adheres to the letter of the Septuagint. Against this assertion it may be objected that the Apostle deals very eclectically with the opening verses of Psalm XIII (Rom. 3. 10-12), but it will be found that the selection is not due in the least to a reminiscence of the Hebrew text, but is simply a matter of abbreviation and adaptation.¹ Our author uses similar liberty in an abbreviated repetition of some words of Jeremias (Heb. 10. 16, 17).

¹ Even in the opening sentence: "Non est *iustus* quisquam," where the chief word is the Apostle's own, there is no other force working except the Apostle's desire to abbreviate. The insertion of the definite article three times before participles is due to the wish for emphasis.

It might further be objected that, in employing the same half-verse of Psalm CIX, the author of first Corinthians (15. 26) and the author of *Hebrews* (10. 13) follow two different ways, but it is puerile to argue from such differences, without considering the respective contexts, and the mere desire, in each case, of reproducing not so much the words as the thought of the biblical passage. It may be confidently asserted that our author takes no less liberties with his Psalter text than St. Paul does. Three examples of such liberties in *Hebrews* come immediately to one's mind, namely, the adoption of a more suitable order at the beginning of the citation from Psalm CI and the insertion of a phrase in the body of the same citation; secondly, the change of the verb which opens verse 22 of Psalm XXI; and, thirdly, the liberties taken with the text of Psalm XCIV. In the last-mentioned case we observe a little insertion which finds no parallel in any other biblical writer except St. Paul. Between the two strophes of his citation our author glides in a *διό*, just exactly as St. Paul does in the middle of the composite citation in second Corinthians 6. 16 ff. It is by such little peculiarities that a writer often betrays his identity.

To proceed. In the Pauline citations from the Pentateuch, we have not observed any noteworthy departures from the Septuagintal letter, except in one passage of Exodus and several of Deuteronomy. It really seems that, in the Pharaoh-text from the former Book (9. 16), the Apostle's memory recalled the Hebrew text. No such recourse to the original language can indeed be assumed in regard to the three references to Exodus in our Epistle. We must remember, however, that if St. Paul has one hebraizing quotation from Exodus, he has also at least four¹ which are even more exactly Septuagintal than those in *Hebrews*. As a matter of fact, two of the three very brief citations in this latter Epistle show slight variations from the Alexandrian text.² In regard to Deuteronomy, we have the really remarkable phenomenon that the one quotation in *Hebrews* (Deut. 32, 35) which cannot be classed as simply Septuagintal is from this Book and at the same time is common to this Epistle and to Romans. The difference of the respective contexts does not in the least suggest that the latter Epistle borrows from the earlier one. Of the other three or four verbal borrowings from Deuteronomy in *Hebrews* only one (32. 36) is literally close to the text of the Septuagint. In his

¹ These four Exodic passages 16. 18; 20. 17; 32. 6; 33. 19 are placed in his first and most Septuagintal series by Kautzsch.

² Exodus 24. 8 and 25. 40.

use of the fifth Book of Moses, therefore, our author could very well be St. Paul, the Apostle.

Turning to the Prophetic Books, we cannot, with truth, represent St. Paul as indulging in free treatment of their Septuagintal text in regard to more than two of them. The Apostle plainly follows the Greek translation in citing Joel and Malachias. Neither does he depart from it in the one condensed sentence which he extracts from Jeremias. Habacuc cannot be regarded as an exception either. The brief apophthegm which embodies the thesis of "justice by faith" is certainly worded according to the Septuagint, without any respect to any other form of text, and the same is true of the longer citation (Hab. 1. 5) in the Pisidian discourse. Osee and Isaias alone remain, but here we have no adequate means of making a comparison between *Hebrews* and the Epistolary. Osee is certainly treated freely by St. Paul in the two citations¹ which he takes from him, but there is no trace of Hebrew influence in the modifications undergone by the texts at the Apostle's hands. Nay, more, all remembrance of the Hebrew text seems to be positively excluded from the special rendering of *lo-ruhamah*. In *Hebrews* we have no sufficient Oseean material to judge the question of text. The two words (Heb. 13, 15) which may be regarded as an extremely probable allusion to the language of this Prophet are in entire agreement with the Septuagint. Again, the influence of Zacharias on the phraseology of the Epistolary and our Epistle² leaves no room for textual comparison. Aggeus is also in our Epistle but nowhere in St. Paul.³ We should be glad to compare the Isaian text of the citations in the Epistolary with the Isaian materials of our Epistle, but the latter amount only to fourteen words cited from the Septuagint text (Heb. 2. 13), a quasi-citations of five words (10. 27) proper to the Septuagint only, another quasi-citation (12. 11) of seven or eight words, which follows the grammatical construction of the respective Hebrew passage (Is. 35. 3) and eight small verbal allusions which do not amount to two dozen words. With the one exception just indicated, the borrowings are all Septuagintal, but are not sufficient to allow a definite verdict for or against the Paulinity of our author's attitude to the text of Isaias. We see, therefore, that even from the use of Isaias no argument can be constructed.

¹ Osee 2. 23-1. 9-2 1 (LXX); 13. 14.

² 1 Corinthians 13. 5; 14. 25; Ephesians 4. 25; Hebrews 10. 21; 13. 20.

³ There is possibly a slight shade of allusion to Aggeus 2. 14 in Titus 1. 15, but it cannot be regarded as certain.

As to the objections, that our author argues from the purely Septuagintal word *διαθήκη* and that he uses a corrupt form of Deuteronomy 2. 18, the answer to the first must be a denial of the assertion, and to the second, that the relation of the text to its archetype is altogether immaterial, when there is merely question of using certain words from a sacred book to express one's own thought. In elucidation of the first answer, it is sufficient to point out that our author does not argue from the Jeremian word — *berith* or *διαθήκη* — but from his own and his readers' recognition of the new ordinance as a testament actually ratified by the death of the testator. To illustrate the second, it is enough to think of any Scripturist preaching a harvest sermon and using the words: "A fructu frumenti vini et olei sui multiplicati sunt," although he knows that this particular verse of Psalm IV is a mistranslation of the Hebrew and, as it stands, is also probably derived from a corrupted text of the Septuagint being the basis of our Latin Psalter.

It may be freely granted that St. Paul is more a Septuagintalist in *Hebrews* than in *Romans*, but a matter of "more and less" adds no whit of logical force to the machinery which has been set up to demolish the traditional conviction that our Epistle has St. Paul for its author.

It was rather the form of our author's Septuagint text that Bleek tried to forge into an argument against the Epistle's Paulinity.¹ We have already seen that, as regards St Paul, the truth is rather the opposite of what Bleek supposed. The Apostle's citations represent an A text about five times more often than they represent a B text. We must now see what the truth is in regard to *Hebrews*. Bleek's case for the predominant occurrence of the A type of text in our Epistle is so obviously biassed that it would scarcely deserve a detailed examination, were it not that his view of the tremendously A character of the writer's Septuagint is assumed to be correct even in such a recent commentary as that of Dr. Moffat. We must, therefore, examine the arguments in detail.

The most striking point, according to Bleek, is the use (not as a citation but as a reminiscence) of the words of Deuteronomy 29. 18 mentioned above. Our author, like the Codex Alexandrinus inserts *πικρίας* after *ρίζα* and adopts the erroneous reading *ἐνοχλή* instead of the correct *ἐν χολῇ* of the Vaticanus (sic!).² Now the truth

¹ BLEEK, o. c., p. 372 ff. "Was nun den Brief an die Hebräer betrifft, so ist hier das Zusammentreffen mit den besonderen Lesarten des cod. Alexandr. fast eben so vorherrschend als beim Paulus mit denen des cod. Vatic."

² Ibid. p. 372: "Am auffallendsten ist dieses Kap. 12. 15, wo der Verfasser

with regard to the latter point is that *ἐνοχλή* is the original reading of the three codices BAF, but, while the false reading was corrected by a later hand in the Vatican and Ambrosian Manuscripts, it remained uncorrected in the Alexandrinus. The insertion of *πικρίας* is certainly common to our Epistle and the two codices A and F, but since these Manuscripts have the obviously incoherent reading *μὴ τίς ρίζα πικρίας ἄνω φύουσα ἐνοχλή καὶ πικρία* (F *πικρα* corrected to *πικρια*), it seems more than probable that their scribes got the combination *ρίζα πικρίας* from the Epistle to the Hebrews where the genitive *πικρίας* renders the sense of that final *πικρία* which becomes sheer nonsense, when *ἐν χολῇ* is changed into *ἐνοχλή*. One cannot even exclude the possibility that the whole form of this widespread reading is due to a transformation of the true Septuagint text originating with the author of *Hebrews* himself. He could have taken such freedom with a passage used in a purely literary way.

The further examples of A readings urged by Bleek are:

1) Ps. 103/4, *πυρὸς φλόγα* instead of the Vatican reading *πῦρ φλέγον*;

2) Ps. 101/28, *ἐλίξεις* (Vat. *ἀλλάξεις*);

3) Ps. 39/8, *ὀλοκαυτώματα* (Vat. *ὀλοκαύτωμα*);

4) Proverbs 3/12, *παιδεύει* (Vat. *ἐλέγχει*);

5) Ps. 44/6, *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος* (Vat. *εἰς αἰῶνα αἰῶνος*);

6) Ps. 94/8 ff., a) *τοῦ πειρασμοῦ* (Vat. *τοῦ πικρασμοῦ*); b) *ἐδοκίμασάν με* (Vat. *ἐδοκίμασαν*); c) *καὶ εἶπον* (Vat. *καὶ εἶπα*; d) *αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐκ* (Vat. *καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐκ*);

7) Jeremiah 8/8 ff., a) *λέγει Κύριος* (Vat. *φησὶ Κύριος*); b) *ἐγώ* (Vat. *καὶ ἐγώ*); c) *αὕτη ἡ διαθήκη* (Vat. *add. μου*); d) *διδούς νόμους* (Vat. *διδούς δώσω νόμους*).¹

This array looks formidable on paper, but let us see how much truth it really represents.

1) The reading *φλόγα* is not found in the Alexandrinus, but *φλεγα*, as Bleek admits in a note (490), claiming at the same time that it is manifestly a scribe's mistake for *φλόγα*. Why should it not be an attempt to correct *φλέγον* according to Hebrews?² 2) *ἐλίξεις* is

die Stelle Deuteronom. 29. 18 nicht einmal citiert, sondern als Reminiscenz in seine Ermahnung verflcht, und dabei mit dem cod. Alex. nicht bloss hinter *ρίζα πικρίας* hat, sondern auch die auf einem blossen Schreibfehler beruhende Lesart *ἐνοχλή* statt *ἐν χολῇ* was sich cod. Vatic. dafür findet."

¹ I have omitted Bleek's last example, namely, *ἀπὸ μικροῦ* (Vat. *add. αὐτῶν*), because he himself admits that it belongs merely to the old Textus Receptus of our Epistle.

² Swete attributes the attempt at correction to A^a i. e. Baber's second hand. Rahlfs' note on the reading (Ps. 103. 4) is: ... A^c (*φλέγα*): ex Hebr. 1. 7.

not special to A but is the common reading of both codices, Vaticanus and Alexandrinus. The true Septuagint reading ἀλλάξεις is the original word in the Sinaiticus. 3) In the one point mentioned (ὁλοκαυτώματα) our author stands with A in his reading of Psalm 39. 6 ff., and, although this page of the Manuscript is in a rather bad state, there is no reason to regard the text as corrected according to *Hebrews*. At the same time, this very verse of the citation differs from the Alexandrinus and from all the chief codices in reading εὐδόκησας. 4) The citation from Proverbs is particularly interesting. The text is Septuagintal but presents in its first hemistich a slight agreement with the *Hebrew* (υἱέ μου) against the common Greek reading. In the third hemistich it reads παιδεύει with A against ἐλέγχει in B. The reading of A is also that of S, while Philo (*De congressu*. 177) reads with B. An inspection of the *Hebrew* would suggest that Philo and the Vaticanus have the original Septuagint reading. The reason for thinking so is, that, whereas παιδεία in the first hemistich represents the Hebrew *māsar*, παιδεύει in the third hemistich represents the same Hebrew root as is translated ἐλεγχόμενος in the second hemistich. On the ordinary psychological principles of translation we should expect the ἐλέγχει of B instead of the παιδεύει of A and S. Hence it is well within the bounds of possibility that παιδεύει found its way into some Septuagint Manuscripts from the Epistle to the Hebrews. If, however, conformation of the Alexandrinus to the text of the citation can be excluded, this objection is the most impressive of all, because in the one place where St. Paul quotes Proverbs at some length (Romans 12. 20) he seems to follow a distinctly Vatican type of text.¹

Returning to the Psalms, we find that 5) the text of the citation from Psalm 44. 6 f. is not entirely with the Alexandrinus. In the third hemistich it reads ἀνομίαν with B against ἀδικίαν of A.² Consequently the citation is as much with B as with A. 6) The agreement of the two strophes of Psalm XCIV cited by our author with the Codex Alexandrinus, in several points, is beyond all doubt. Bleek, however, is wrong in assuming that our author and A run counter to B in reading τοῦ πειρασμοῦ instead of τοῦ πικρασιουῦ. Once more

¹ The half dozen words taken from Proverbs 4. 26 (Heb. 12. 13) make a pluralized sentence in *Hebrews*, but the Septuagint text from which they are faithfully borrowed is unvaried.

² This B reading does not please Bleek. He suggests that ἀδικίαν is the proper reading in our Epistle. It is quite true that this reading is rather well supported (SA, several minuscules, and Cyril of Alexandria), but it is rejected by all modern editors.

he has confounded the Sixtine edition and the Codex Vaticanus. The reading *ἐδοκίμασάν με* which he adduces is rejected by all critical editors. The other two points observed by him are correct, and he might have added *εἶδον* (*ιδον*) instead of *εἶδοσαν* (*ιδοσαν*) in verse nine. An inspection of the phototypic edition of the Alexandrinus shows, however, that the text of this Psalm has been subjected to much correction. The substitution of *αὐτοὶ δέ* for *καὶ αὐτοί* is almost certainly due to remembrance of Hebrews.¹ It cannot be regarded as a mighty example of textual agreement, if two verbs (*εἶπον*, *εἶδον*) have, as in A, the form which they also happen to have in the Pauline Epistolary and in *Hebrews*.² Moreover, as this is the only place (out of some fifteen in the Psalter) where the Alexandrinus has *εἶπον* against the *εἶπα* of other Manuscripts, we may well suspect that our author, and not a scribe of the Septuagint, was first responsible for this verbal form in the text of Psalm XCIV.

The oracle of Jeremias is the only other citation for which Bleek seeks to establish an A type of text. The observations which he makes regarding the variants are all correct. They amount to the following: *λέγει* (A) instead of *φησὶν* (B), *ἐγώ* instead of *καὶ ἐγώ*, a *μου* which the Alexandrinus attests and Vaticanus omits, the shorter reading of *διδούς νόμους*, with omission of *δώσω*. But, on the contrary, Codex A has *ἐπιγράψω* instead of the *γράψω* of our Epistle and of the Vatican Manuscript; it has the sequence *ἀδελφόν πλησίον* instead of *πολίτην ἀδελφόν* of *Hebrews* and B; and, finally, it has a phrase *καὶ ὄψομαι αὐτούς*, which is an intruder in this Manuscript, recognised neither by our author nor by the scribe of the famous Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1209. With this counterpoise, the approximation of our author's Jeremias to the Codex Alexandrinus is a very millesimal quantity indeed.

We have in this present chapter no cause to plead except that of the dry text-critical truth. From what has been said it may be possible to conclude that our author knew a Septuagint text slightly more like that of the Codex Alexandrinus and slightly less like that of the Codex Vaticanus. But that is all that can be inferred with any shadow of probability, even if so much can be inferred. It is clear that our author like St. Paul used the Septuagint as his Bible, but

¹ Rahlfs admits conformation in this case: "*αὐτοὶ δέ*.... ex Hebr. 3. 10." Elsewhere he notes the agreement only.

² There is really only one example to draw a conclusion from, for *εἶπον* is used in Galatians 2. 14, the only place where St Paul used the first person singular of this verbal form. The third plural of *ιδεῖν* only appears once in the fourteen Epistles, and it has the form *εἶδον* (Heb. 11. 23).

there is even less evidence here than in the case of the Epistolary that the writer used a uniform recension of the type which we have either in the Vatican Codex or in the Alexandrinus. The readings of both Manuscripts are here represented, as in the Epistolary. It is really distorting facts to write such a paragraph as that with which Bleek concludes. "There are very few cases" he says, "in which the author of the letter to the Hebrews, in citing the Old Testament, agrees with a variant of the Codex Vaticanus against a reading of the Alexandrinus. At any rate, I believe, the result of this comparison is to show us very clearly that the citations in the Epistle to the Hebrews depend on a Manuscript which predominantly represented such a recension of the text as we find in our Codex Alexandrinus; on the contrary, the allegations in the Pauline letters depend on a recension which agrees almost in every place with the text preserved in our Codex Vaticanus. And since it is very improbable that Paul should have used different Manuscripts of this version, the said phenomenon may also be used to strengthen the proof that Paul is not the author of our Epistle."¹

The corroborative proof sought by Bleek in our author's use of the Septuagint is really worth as much as the fictitious distinction on which it is based, that is to say, it is worth nothing. St. Paul habitually uses the Septuagint text; so does our author. St. Paul is often free, sometimes betrays the influence of the Hebrew original, and quotes, perhaps twice, under the influence of an Aramaic Targum; our author is less often free in his citations, but at the same time he takes liberties with his Greek text; he also betrays the influence of a Targum, on one occasion, in citing exactly the same text as St. Paul (Deut. 32. 35), and is perhaps in a few small points not entirely impervious to the influence of the original *Hebrew*. If St. Paul approached Theodotion in some citations, the same is true of the writer of *Hebrews*. Moreover, while St. Paul universally uses no uniform recension of the Septuagint text, in *Isaias* and *Deuteronomy* he rather approximates to the A type of text, but as a whole, outside of one citation from *Proverbs*, he shows relatively little affinity with the variants of B; the case is not otherwise with our author, only that, perhaps, he is still more neutral. His affinity with the variations of A has been grossly exaggerated, and on account of the probability of New Testament forms often exercising an influence over the scribes of the Alexandrinus or their predecessors or correctors, very few of the textual agreements of *Hebrews* with this Codex can

¹ l. c., pp. 374, 375.

be indubitably set down as manifesting our author's dependence on an A type of text. Therefore, the form of the Old Testament citations in the Epistle to the Hebrews raises no murmur of dissent against the traditional voice which attributes the Epistle to Paul, Apostle of the Gentiles and diligent reader of that Alexandrian version of the Jewish Scriptures, which was destined by divine Providence to nourish the faith of the Infant Church.

VII

EXEGETICAL PROCESSES OF "HEBREWS" AND PAULINES

Among the Epistles of the New Testament there is none of such striking biblico-exegetical texture as the epistle to the Hebrews. This claim is unhesitatingly made for it, in spite of the fact that the Epistle to the Romans contains a greater number of Old Testament citations. The reason is that a considerable number of the passages cited in Romans are concentrated in chapters nine to eleven, which constitute only an important sub-central fifth of the whole epistle. The argument of the remaining four fifths rests much less on Old Testament data, whereas the "waters of Silo" run through every chapter of *Hebrews*. The statistics given above need not be repeated here. It is not merely a question of numerical quantity but rather of the links which bind the thought of each epistle to the Old Testament. Thus, Romans in its first three chapters—these being about one fifth of the whole—contains relatively little biblical demonstration or exposition. It is true that the Apostle's theme of justification by faith is, in the exordium, majestically stated and immediately brought back to the Old Testament by a citation from Habacuc,¹ but the terrible indictment of the impious gentile world is connected with the Old Testament merely by a few allusions and even the indictment of the Jews does not become distinctly Scriptural, until the Apostle has mentioned the singular privilege of the apostate nation as trustee of "the oracles of God."² Two Psalm passages follow at this point one being rather an allusion than a citation so that we can count, in the forty-eight verses, which separate Habacuc's words in chapter I from those of the *Miserere* in chapter III,³ only a tacit use of the sixty-first Psalm,⁴ a short citation from Isaias,⁵ and an allusive borrowing from Psalm CXV.⁶ The picture of the Jews'

¹ Hab. 2. 4; Rom. 1. 17.

² Rom. 3. 2.

³ Ps. 50. 6; Rom. 3. 4.

⁴ Ps. 61. 13; Rom. 2. 6.

⁵ Is. 52. 5; Rom. 2. 24.

⁶ Ps. 115. 11; Rom. 3. 4.

ugly fellowship with the Gentiles in the sad state of sin ends, indeed, with the longest scriptural enfilade¹ in the New Testament and the exposition of God's justificatory remedy, which follows, is introduced by a Psalm text,² but even here citation is employed merely to confirm the testimony of naked facts. Not once is a text exegetically drawn out.

It is only in chapter IV that a continuous piece of Scriptural argument comes to the front, for some biblical facts and texts of Abraham's history are woven, with the additional help of a Psalm passage, into a demonstration that justification is by faith.³

On the contrary, in the first four chapters of *Hebrews*, which are only two thirds as long as the above-mentioned section of Romans, a series of seven texts⁴ proves the superiority of Christ over the Angels; some verses of Psalm VIII are exegetically treated,⁵ in order to show the subordination of the new world-economy to the Man-God; the necessity of the Incarnation is illustrated and partly proved by three other texts,⁶ while the paraenetic exposition of Ps. XCIV is one of the two most extensive pieces of professional exegesis in the New Testament.⁷

We may similarly compare *Hebrews* 5.1-10.18 with Romans 5.1-8.39. It is true that the respective section of Romans is shorter in the proportion of four to five, but its Old Testament materials are restricted to the grandiose Adam-Christ parallel,⁸ a commandment of the Decalogue⁹ and a short text from Psalm XLIII, the last-mentioned merely serving to give solemn utterance to an idea already in course of expression rather than to stand as an argument proper.¹⁰

In slightly more than the same space, *Hebrews* again cites Ps. II and with the hermeutical key furnished by Psalm CIX, exegetically

¹ A composite testimony of six texts from Psalms XIII, V, CXXXIX, IX, Isaias LV and Psalm XXXV; Rom. 3.10-18.

² Psalm. 142.2-Rom. 3.20.

³ Gen. 15.16, 17.10 etc. and Ps. 31.1; Rom. 4.

⁴ Ps. 2.7; 1 Sam. 7.14; Ps. 96.7; Ps. 103.4; Ps. 44.7, 8; Ps. 101.26-28; Hebr. 1.5-13.

⁵ Ps. 8.5, 6, 8; Heb. 2.6-9.

⁶ Ps. 21.23; Is. 8.18, 8.17b).

⁷ Ps. 94.8-11, paraenetically expounded throughout Heb. 3.7-4.11. In length and hermeneutical abundance the treatment of Psalm 109, in the same epistle, alone outrivals this exposition.

⁸ Rom. 5.12-21.

⁹ *Non concupisces* (Rom. 7.7).

¹⁰ Ps. 43.22; Rom. 8.36.

expounds the typical proof from Genesis of the superiority of Christ over the Levitical High-priest, draws conclusions from nearly every word of Psalm 109. 4, and cites a text from Exodus followed by a long passage from Jeremias, as well as some verses from Psalm XXXIX, in order to show that a New Alliance and a New Sacrifice were to supplant the Old.¹ But that is by no means all. The promise of blessing made to Abraham² and confirmed by oath is introduced as a motive of confidence into the third exhortatory section of the Epistle (5. 11; 6. 20) and the typology of the Israelitic Tabernacle and Israel's annual Expiation is very exhaustively set forth. There is also a description of the sprinkling of blood upon the book and people and instruments of the Sinaitic Alliance, with citation of the words by which Moses inaugurated that Alliance.³ Therefore, looking over those central pages, it is almost mathematically correct to describe them as eighty per cent biblical. It is above all in these two central blocks that the difference between Romans and *Hebrews* is apparent, for the whole argument of the latter Epistle's central piece runs on biblical ground.

Much the same is true of the paraenetic endings of the two Epistles. Although Romans 12-16 contains a dozen well-recognisable citations and in the same compass *Hebrews* can show no more (but slightly less) formal citation, nevertheless the warp and woof of this chief paraenetic section of *Hebrews* (10. 19-12. 21) is really admonition and example, threatening and consolation drawn from the pages of the Old Testament. Nothing could be more biblical than the Hebrew Martyrology contained in chapter XI, and the articulation and rounding off of the exhortations, which precede and follow it, are a contribution from the Hebrew Scriptures. The driving home of the lesson depends in every case on the force of some biblical passage, not to speak at all of the still greater abundance of tacit citation and allusion which this section contains.⁴

Not only is it true to say that *Hebrews* is substantially woven out of the Old Testament, christianized in the fulfilment of its hope, it is also, par excellence, the Epistle of continuous exegesis. Texts are

¹ Ps. 2. 7 and 109. 4; Heb. 5. 6, 7. Gen. 14. 17-20 cited Heb. 7. 1 and, in the light of Psalm 109. 4, made to yield up its contents throughout Heb. 7. 2-25.

² Gen. 22. 16, 17; Heb. 6. 13-15.

³ Exod. 24. 8; Heb. 9. 20.

⁴ Cf. Prat. *op. cit.* vol. 2, Note k., p. 555: «Il est impossible d'énumérer toutes les reminiscences et allusions contenues dans l'Épître aux Hébreux... il y a encore un certain nombre de citations qui, pour être tacites, n'en sont pas moins textuelles.»

here more systematically subjected to exegetical processes than in any other book of the New Testament. To outline those processes is the object of the present chapter.

Exegetical Processes

Every use of Scripture which is not a mere play on its words, involves some judgment on its sense and consequently some degree of exposition. A text, which is cited or used may be expounded *ex professo* and in detail or simply expounded by the context in which it is placed. It may be merely accommodated to fit an analogical situation, but even here some expository light is thrown on its sense. The processes of exegesis, in the case of biblical citation, may, therefore, range from a mere suggestion of the meaning of a text to a clear contextual definition of its sense and, furthermore, to a reasoned deduction of its historical and doctrinal contents and implications. Before trying to classify these exegetical operations, as they occur in *Hebrews*, it will be useful to consider the expository methods of St. Paul in his chief discourses and letters. As biblical citation and argument are extremely rare outside of his Pisidian discourse and the four great Epistles, we may take our examples from these. Naturally mere allusions and biblical reminiscences, though [they may help an exegete to determine the meaning of an Old Testament text,¹ do not come under consideration here.

There seems to be no doubt that St. Paul sometimes accommodates an Old Testament passage, applying it to a subject, to which it bears no prophetic-literal or typical relation. The analogy, which is the basis of such application, is not to be sought in the realm of prophecy but merely in the natural proportion of the relative subjects. There are some obvious cases in the Epistles and some which are open to discussion. Among the obvious cases we may cite the application made by St. Paul of the text: "In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum, et in fines orbis terrae verba eorum."² In the particular context there is no warrant for attributing to the Apostle the notion that the Holy Ghost, in inspiring a poet to cast into one lyrical piece the wonders of the starry sky above him and the wonders of the divine law revealed to Israel, intended to fill the first part of his poem with prophetic symbolism concerning the spread of the Gospel mes-

¹ For instance, the sentence of Romans 16. 20: *Deus autem pacis conterat satanam sub pedibus vestris velociter*, is rightly regarded as a help in the exposition of Genesis 3. 15.

² Ps. 18. 5-Rom. 10. 18.

sage. Clearly, all the poet and the Holy Spirit, through him, wanted to express was the fact of God's praise being sung in the perpetual concert of day and night by the stars of heaven and by the brilliant sun. Though the firmament used no words of articulate human speech, its lights were an order of preachers proclaiming the glory of God to men of every tongue. Thus the eloquent vault of heaven, visible and, as it were, audible in every corner of the earth, is a physical but not a prophetic image of the heralds of the Gospel whose voice has also been ecumenical. St. Paul finds the language of David so admirably adapted to his purpose, that he uses it to destroy the excuse of any Jew who might say: "We do not believe the Gospel because we have not heard it."¹

The point of analogy in the above example is "world-wide audibility." On account of the astronomical character of the image, there seems to be no difficulty in admitting accommodation, but when words, which literally refer to facts of Israel's history are applied to New Testament situations, the question becomes much more difficult, on account of the typological character of that history. There seem, however, to be certain cases of such accommodation in the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles, cases in which we have not sufficient reason for holding that a special preparatory providence of God arranged a figurative forecast. Such seems, for instance, to be the case, when the words of David's vigorous dissociation of himself from sinners: *Discedite a me omnes qui operamini iniquitatem*² serve our Lord to voice a final sentence such as He elsewhere expresses in the words: *Discedite a me maledicti*.³ We are not forced to think that the sick suppliant of Psalm VI indited his elegy as a type of the Supreme Judge. Consequently we take our Lord's words to be an *adaptation* of a Psalm verse. Similarly, when St. Paul directs the Corinthians to ostracize a scandalous brother and uses the words of Moses' excommunicatory sentence against a prophet, who attempts to pervert the people: *Auferte malum ex vobis ipsis*,⁴ he merely adapts a scriptural passage. The Apostle's adaptation of the equalitarian dispensation of manna to the interchange of alms between communities is another example of accommodation.⁵ Accommodation is a matter of proportional

¹ CORNELY-MERK, 136, 2. It is to be noted that, though such words are not prophetic in relation to the subject of application, the statement of a fact in the sacred words of Scripture clothes that statement with special emphasis and solemnity. In this sense the citation possesses a sacred authority.

² Matthew 7. 23; Luke 13. 27.

³ Matthew 25. 41.

⁴ 1 Cor. 5. 13; Deut. 13. 5.

⁵ 2 Cor. 8. 15; Exod. 16. 18.

extension, unless it be only an allusive employment of Scriptural words. It supplies some degree of hermeneutical light but extension is really exegetical when it is not merely analogical but logical. The classical example is St. Paul's use, twice over,¹ of the Mosaic precept: *Non alligabis os bovi trituranti*. The Apostle regards the precept as equivalent to the words of Christ: *Dignus est operarius mercede sua*,² so that he refers the obligation of supporting evangelical labourers to the authority of this word of the " Law " and the " Scripture." The injunction to feed a threshing ox is regarded as a commandment which ordains the maintenance of all workmen and particularly of the ministers of the Gospel, not according to the mere letter, of course, because the letter regards oxen, nor merely by analogical adaptation on St. Paul's part, but as logically expressing the mind of the Holy Spirit, Who spoke through Moses. The exegetical process, by which a precept about oxen is extended to preachers, depends on a step from the less to the greater. The process is actually indicated in the second part of one of the verses in question (Cor. 9. 9): *Numquid de bobus cura est Deo?* The question demands an answer not absolutely but relatively negative, that is: God cares *less* for oxen. So the latent meaning may be expressed thus, *a minori ad maius*: « Dei cura magis praecepit de Apostolo operario quam de bove, Atqui Dei cura praecepit bovem operarium esse alendum, Ergo Dei cura magis praecepit apostolum operarium alendum esse. » The deduction seems to be a human process, but St. Paul insists that he is not announcing a human maxim: *Numquid secundum hominem haec dico? An et lex haec non dicit? Scriptum est enim in lege Moysi: Non alligabis os bovi trituranti.*³ What is commonly said, namely, that the logical content of the proposition is attributable to the Holy Spirit only as " praevisum et provisum " does not seem to square with the plain sense of the text of Corinthians. If the precept to support ministers of the Gospel is a word of the " Law " and of the " Scripture " and emerges from the terms cited out of Deuteronomy XXV, then it seems that we must admit that immediately evident logical inferences are within the ambit of the sense of a Scriptural passage. The text really has that meaning in the great logical context of God's Providence. It would be in the sphere of logical content that the fecundity of Holy Scripture consists. The Bible contains the words of God, and their meaning is not limited to the particular fraction of their potential content on which historical conditions may have more or less

¹ 1 Cor. 9. 9; 1 Tim. 5. 18; Deut. 25. 4.

² Luke 10. 7; 1 Tim. 5. 18.

³ 1 Cor. 9. 8, 9.

exclusively concentrated the thought of the human author. The intention of the Holy Ghost is not circumscribed by the intention of the instrument, if the words in their wider divine context actually convey more than a certain part of their logical force, namely, such part as the hagiographer actually had in view. It is to be noted that St. Paul does not attribute the precept in favour of the apostolic worker to Moses but to the "Law" and to the "Scripture." That the written word of God, even apart from typal senses, says much more than the letter seems to express is the supposition of Catholic Exegesis, throughout the centuries. One whole logical freight of thought is integrated by many parts.¹

Moses in Deuteronomy 25. 4 only expressed a part of the command of the all-provident God on behalf of the creatures that labour to help the human race; St. Paul saw its fuller logical extension. The following words of the Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus* seem to bring out this point: "... Animadvertisse oportet, ad ceteras difficultatis causas quae in quibusvis antiquorum libris intelligendis fere occurrunt, proprias aliquas in Libris Sacris accedere. Eorum enim verbis, auctore Spiritu Sancto res multae subiciuntur, quae humanae vim aciemque rationis longissime vincunt, divina scilicet mysteria et alia multa, idque nonnunquam *ampliore quadam et reconditiore sententia* quam exprimere littera et hermeneuticae leges indicare videantur."² It is necessary to insist upon this, because it is the logical and theological yield of Scripture rather than what may be obtained by grammatico-historical excavation that has so marvellously enriched the epistles of St. Paul.

In virtue of the historical, logical and spiritual continuity of the divine economy, that has united the Israel of the promises and the true "Israel of God"³ in the unity of "Israelitic dignity" much of

¹ Every divine sentence has a context not only in the present circumstances in which it is delivered but also in the whole economy to which it belongs. In the light of God's universal providence the Holy Ghost intended a Mosaic precept regarding an ox that threshes to have such fulness of meaning as to fix the general rule of feeding workers in any sphere. As an illustration we may suppose a person who owns a small flock of fifty sheep and a small herd of twenty cattle. He has one caretaker for both and, as he walks through the fields with the caretaker, the owner says: "John, take good care of those sheep." John knows that his master is habitually more concerned about his cattle than about his sheep. In such a context the words which literally refer to the sheep naturally embrace the oxen as well. If the caretaker has intelligence he will understand them so. The logical extension of the literal words is really within the ambit of the words themselves. It is not precisely a "sensus consequens." It is the mind of the speaker.

² Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus* 15 *Ench. Bibl.* No. 96.

³ Gal. 6. 16.

the letter of the Old Testament passes literally into the Gospel. When we recite our Breviary Psalter, for instance, our minds are not working on analogies and typologies all the time, yet we are not Hebrews of the Old Testament. Let Psalm CXVIII be an example. It is a hymn of delight in the "Way of God," whether that way be the Mosaic Way or the Christian Way. We recite it, as it stands, without any attempt at accommodation or search after types. Faith in God, His revelation, His law, His promises is common to the Israelite and the Christian. Therefore, when St. Paul quotes: *Credidi propter quod locutus sum*,¹ and adds: *Et nos credimus, propter quod et loquimur*, he neither accommodates a biblical passage nor supposes that the Psalmist was a prophetic type of every believer;² he simply voices "the same spirit of faith" as the Israelite singer. There is no question of logical extension here. What we call logical extension + for want of a better name is a deeper logical vision of the things of the New Testament through the letter of the Old; typology on - the other hand is a vision of New Testament things through the things of its ancient shadow.

The typological or typal sense of the Old Testament is also abundantly drawn upon in the New. Persons, with their words and acts, as also places, things and institutions were so disposed in Israel by the guiding hand of Providence as to prefigure or foreshadow a more perfect realization in Christianity. The exposition of these types is frequent in the Pauline Epistles and in *Hebrews*.

We may therefore distinguish four kinds of exposition, namely, 1) by accommodation, 2) by simple literal explanation, 3) by extensive logical interpretation of the letter, and 4) by typological discernment.

We can dismiss accommodation with the little that has already been said about it. It does not set forth the sense of Scripture but, if rational, indicates in some measure the sense of the passage quoted.

Contextual Exposition

Most frequently, the simple letter is allowed by St. Paul to speak + for itself in a particular context. A good example from Romans is the picture of universal depravity pieced together from six texts,

¹ 2 Cor. 4. 13; Ps. 115. 10. It is taken for granted that, whatever judgment one may pass on the verbal accuracy of the Septuagint version here quoted by the Apostle as Scripture, it substantially renders the thought inspired by the Holy Spirit and expressed by the Psalmist.

² It is what is also called the "sensus plenior." See A. BEA, *De Scripturae Sacrae Inspiratione*, pp. 35, 36.

all taken, with one exception, from the Psalms.¹ They only just tell, with the authority and force and majesty of God's word, that all men, Jews and Greeks alike, stand under the slavery of sin: "Not one is just... their throats are an open tomb, their tongues weapons of deceit... their lips infected with the poison of asps... their mouths full of cursing and bitterness... their feet in a hurry to shed blood and strew their path with misery... their eyes averted from the fear of God." The purpose of St. Paul in marshalling this phalanx of texts is to show that the Jews are included, because it was to them that the "Law," namely, Scripture, was addressed. With an array of biblical testimony the Apostle finally shuts the mouth of Jew as well as Gentile and places both as convicted criminals in the condemned cell, to await the scheme of justification which God has prepared.

In the same way the famous text from Habacuc II stands in Romans² and Galatians³ just to say scripturally what the Apostle has been saying himself: *Iustitia Dei... revelatur ex fide in fidem: in lege nemo iustificatur apud Deum*. Even when the word of Scripture says only through the medium of a type what the Apostle has been setting forth, he is content with citing the text and letting it speak for itself. Thus in Romans 9. 22-26, the assertion that we must not dare criticize God's sovereign independence, if He has shown His wrath and His power in bearing patiently with vessels of wrath, shaped (or shaping themselves) for perdition, and shown the riches of His glory towards vessels of mercy, which He has prepared for glory—that assertion implying the elective formation of a people called not only from the Jews but also from the Gentiles, is, in so far as it concerns the vocation of the Gentiles, allowed to rest on the typological text of Osee:

*Vocabo non plebem meam, plebem meam,
et non dilectam dilectam:*

*Et erit in loco ubi dictum est eis: Non plebs mea vos,
ibi vocabuntur filii Dei vivi.*⁴

This is as far as the Pauline exegesis goes for the great majority of his citations from the Old Testament. Only now and again does he reason on the words of a text. We have some interesting examples of the two processes, that of the simple context and that of reasoned treatment, in the discourse delivered in Antioch of Pisidia.

¹ Pss. 13. 1-3; 5. 11; 139. 4; 9b. 7. Isaias 59. 7, 8; Ps. 35. 2; Rom. 3. 10-18.

² Rom. 1. 17.

³ Gal. 3. 11.

⁴ Osee, 2. 31; 1. 10; Rom. 9. 25, 26.

In that discourse, God's choice of the Patriarchs and the history of the house of Israel down to the choice of David leads on to the fulfilment of the ancient promise in the advent, ministry, passion and resurrection of Jesus, the Saviour sent by God to Israel. The promise made to the fathers is fulfilled for their children. God has fulfilled it... raising up Jesus, as is also written in the second Psalm: *Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te*. Whether the "raising up" refers to Christ's coming into public light or to his coming forth from the tomb, the words of the Psalm, in which the Father addresses the Messiah as His Son, proclaim the grand realization of Israel's hope and longing for the promised Saviour. This same proclamation of divine sonship sounded over the whole career of the Word Incarnate. It fits any solemn moment of His Mission whether it be His advent or His resurrection and, as a matter of fact, it was heard spoken of Him by a heavenly voice at the Jordan, as He was about to begin His public ministry, and on Thabor, after He had laid the foundation-stone of His Church and was beginning the special training of the Apostles. St. Paul only deposits it in a context and lets it say what his context requires. The Saviour's resurrection from the dead, in particular, is prophetically vouched for by two texts which apparently prove conjointly, the second receiving a brief word of explanation: "That God raised him from the dead to return no more to corruption, he has said thus: *Quia dabo vobis sancta David fidelia*,¹ and because also in another place, he says: *Non dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem*.² All God's holy and inviolable promises to David shall be fulfilled, including, of course, the setting of a Son of David upon an eternal throne. The resurrection of Jesus is included, because the Scripture says in Psalm XV: "Thou shalt not give thy Holy One to see corruption." St. Paul, like St. Peter before him³ and probably like our Lord himself⁴ contents himself with showing that the words of Psalm XV cannot be understood of David, who in his own generation served the counsel of God and died and was joined to his fathers and saw corruption." Such a word of historical comment is exceedingly rare in St. Paul's Epistles. Of the fifty texts cited in Romans only two receive similar treatment, namely, the testimony of Genesis that "Abraham believed God and it was reckoned to him unto justice," and the oracle to Rebecca about the future of her twin children. He notes that the good fortune of the Patriarch (Ps. 31. 2)

¹ Isaias 55. 3.

² Ps. 15. 10.

³ Acts 2. 29.

⁴ Luke 24. 44-47.

was prior to the covenant of circumcision and that, therefore, it did not depend on circumcision, which was only the confirmatory seal subsequently affixed to it. He also notes that the election of Jacob was intimated even before he was born.

Chain Exposition

But, if the light of history or even a bare *hoc est* seldom appears, texts are frequently allowed to throw light on each other and even to form a chain of argument. It is not necessary to select more than two examples. They are to be found in Romans 9.-11 and Galatians 3. 6-14.

The problem of the apostasy of the chosen people calls a rich anthology of Old Testament texts to the mind of the Apostle. About half of the entire mass of Scriptural citation in Romans is to be found in the one fifth of the epistle that deals with this problem. The passages illustrate one another, supplement one another and carry on the argument to a victorious vindication of God's fidelity. Space does not allow more than a portion to be treated here.

The question that faces one in the presence of Israel's repudiation of Christ is this: Has the word of God gone overboard? The answer is: *No*, and that under a double aspect. Neither in regard to the distribution of His mercy nor the withdrawal of His mercy can God be brought to the bar. His promise was to Israel, to the seed of Abraham. But who are Israel and who are the seed of Abraham? The Scriptures show clearly that the promise was made not to people with certain blood in their veins, but to a spiritual race, to whom the name of Israel and the dignity of Abraham's children should belong because of the divine election which was to make them children of God. God's elective procedure through the Abrahamic line proves this. The children of promise are the object of special choice. As Abraham was approaching centenarian age, his only hope of a seed of blessing was centred in his thirteen-year-old son, Ismael. When the first announcement of another choice on God's part was made known to him, he prayed: *Utinam Ismael viveret coram te*. The Angel of the Valley of Mambre finally made it clear where the blessing should rest. The word of promise is: *Secundum tempus hoc revertar, et erit Sarae filius*.¹ That was a divine choice deciding between the children of different mothers. The human mind could even regard it as a choice consequent upon the fact that Ismael was turning out a "wild ass of a man" (Gen. 16. 12). But that is not so. Another

¹ Gen. 18. 10; Rom. 9. 9.

text settles the question. Twin children of the same father and mother were still in their mother's womb, equally incapable of good or evil, when the divine oracle said to Rebecca: *Maioreserviet minori*.¹ Clearly it is neither blood nor works, but gratuitous love that determined the divine choice, so that, centuries later, God looking as it were, through the vista of history could say through the Prophet Malachias: *Iacob dilexi, Esau autem odio habui*.² Thus was verified the promise: *In Isaac vocabitur tibi semen*,³ with a differentiation between the beloved and the non-beloved, which God himself could qualify in terms of love and hatred.

It seems injustice, but God forbid the thought! It is rather that supreme freedom of the Almighty, which He spoke of to Moses, when He was about to grant him such a generous, but yet partial vision of His glory as mortal man could see without the severance of soul and body: *Miserebor cuius misereor, et misericordiam praestabo cuius misereor*.⁴ God shows His mercy and His pity to whomsoever He wills. Therefore, concludes the Apostle, no effort of will nor nimbleness of limb can obtain it. No one receives a divine favour except through God having mercy. And as to those who become His enemies, these also He makes His instruments to show forth His glory. For the Scripture says to Pharaoh: *Quia in hoc ipsum excitavi te, ut ostendam in te virtutem meam, et ut annuntiatur nomen meum in universa terra*.⁵ We must leave the theological explanation alone, but the Scriptural fact is that God has mercy on some and hardens others. And the conclusion from the Scriptural data is that "whom He will, He makes the object of His mercy, and whom He will, he hardens."

Therefore it would seem, and an objector might say it: God cannot justly find fault with what is His own doing. The obdurate one may say: "Why does He find fault, just the same? Surely no one can resist His will." It is impudence for the creature to answer back to the Creator like that. Using a biblical simile, which occurs at least four times in the Old Testament,⁶ St. Paul says that it is like the pot asking the potter: Why did you make me like this? A potter has the freedom to make out of the same mass of clay vessels for different uses, honourable and dishonourable. No portion of the lump can prescribe to him what it shall be. What, then, can we

¹ Gen. 25. 23; Rom. 9. 12.

² Mal. 1. 2; Rom. 9. 13.

³ Gen. 21. 12; Rom. 9. 7.

⁴ Ex. 33. 19; Rom. 9. 15.

⁵ Exodus 9. 16; Rom. 9. 20.

⁶ Is. 29. 16; Jer. 18. 6; Wisdom 12. 12, 15. 7.

dare to say, if God wills to show His wrath and His power against vessels of wrath fitted for destruction, with which He has borne a long time in patience and if, on the other hand, He wills to show the riches of His glory towards a people whom He has gathered not only from Jewry but from Gentiledom? Osee¹ here comes forward as the prophet of the Gentiles' vocation and Isaias² as the prophet of the Jewish remnant. The vision of the change of the typical Gentile name from *Lo-'ammi* to *'Ammi* and from *Lo-ruhamah* to *Ruhamah* is a magnificent one, denoting the assumption of an immense people to the dignity of sons of the living God.³ On the other hand the vision of Isaias in regard to Israel is that of a diminutive remainder: *Si fuerit numerus filiorum Israel quasi arena maris, reliquiae salvae fient* (Is. 10. 22). The Prophet announces that the Almighty is bringing the matter to a head and cutting it short, that is, He is bringing His word to a speedy accomplishment upon the earth. Only a handful of Israel shall have the blessing of salvation, a small handful, typified by the remnants of the Assyrian invasion in the days of Isaias. That prophet had proclaimed the same thing earlier as he looked through the same or a similar spectacle of national diminution: *Nisi Dominus sabaoth reliquisset nobis semen, sicut Sodoma facti essemus et sicut Gomorrha similes fuissetus* (Is. 1. 19).

The conclusion is that Israel has not attained the justice it was pursuing. The nations have embraced the salvation of God, the chosen people have not, because the latter sought it in another way than God's way of faith. In their pursuit of a selfmade justice by works they stumbled to a fall over the Messianic stumbling-block. Of that stone of ruin and resurrection it stood written in Isaias:⁴

*Ecce pono in Sion lapidem offensionis et petram scandali,
et omnis qui credit in eum non confundetur.*

This much will suffice to show how St. Paul tells a whole theological story by simply allowing Old Testament texts to deliver their logical and typological contents. Though the bulk of Israel is in apostasy, God has been entirely true to His word. Our paraphrase has only just come to the beginning of the second part of the Apostle's exposition, in which he shows that Israel's fall is Israel's own fault, because Israel was not subject to God's economy of gratuitous just-

¹ Osee 2. 23, 1. 10; Rom. 9. 24, 25.

² Isaias 10. 22, 23, 1. 9; Rom. 9. 27-29.

³ KNABENBAUER (*in Proph. Min.* I, 30) and CORNELI (*in Rom.* p. 527 f.) regard the prophecy as spoken directly of the Gentiles.

⁴ Is. 28. 16, 8. 14; Rom. 9. 32.

ification by faith. The last text alone deals with this point. The series of eight biblical passages, which preceded it, exhibit the following concatenation: The word of God was to Israel. But Israel is the Israel of promise not of the flesh (shown by a text from the history of the expulsion of Agar and Ismael),¹ God having manifested His elective purpose in the persons of Isaac² and Jacob,³ a fact that is very strikingly brought out in a passage from the Prophet Malachias.⁴ The justice and freedom of God in regard to subjects of mercy and obduration are shown by texts relative to Moses⁵ and Pharaoh.⁶ Then the argument is brought, in terms of God's sovereign freedom to the matter at issue, namely, the spectacle of a church composed of a huge Gentile majority and a small Jewish minority. Osee⁷ had typically predicted the former and Isaias⁸ the latter. A composite text from Isaias⁹ introduces, as has been said, the explanation, on the Jews' side, of the Jewish position. The further progress of the exposition continues on the same biblical lines.

There is a more complex arrangement of texts in Galatians 3. 6-14, because the movement of the Apostle's thought is much more argumentative. The theme is Scriptural confirmation of what the Galatians knew to be a fact of their own experience, namely that the "reception of the spirit" or, as we should say, the life of grace, is not from works but from the hearing of faith. Abraham is the pattern, on whom his children must be modelled. Now "Abraham believed in God, and it was reputed to him unto justice."¹⁰ Hence we must know that those who are of faith are really the children of Abraham. The Scripture foresaw that God was to justify the Gentiles by faith and told Abraham from the beginning: *Benedicentur in te omnes gentes*.¹¹ It follows that it is those who are sons of Abraham, as being of faith, that are blessed together with the faithful Abraham.¹² So

¹ Gen. 21. 12.

² Gen. 18. 10.

³ Gen. 25. 23.

⁴ Mal. 1. 2, 3.

⁵ Ex. 33. 19.

⁶ Ex. 9. 16.

⁷ Osee 2. 23, 24; 1. 10 (LXX 2. 25, 1. 9).

⁸ Is. 10. 22, 23; 1. 9.

⁹ Is. 28. 16; 8. 14.

¹⁰ Gen. 15. 6; Gal. 3. 6.

¹¹ Gen. 12. 3; Gal. 3. 8.

¹² This is the conclusion of a syllogism, the major of which is from Gen. 12. 3, the minor from Gen. 15. 6. St. Thomas in h. 1, thus reconstructs the syllogism: "Deus Pater nuntiavit Abrahae quod in semine suo benedicerentur omnes gentes,

far is the law from bringing a blessing that its subjects are under a curse, for it is written: *Maledictus omnis qui non permanserit in omnibus quae scripta sunt in libro legis ut faciat ea.*¹ The law does not bring blessing, as is evident, and it is likewise evident from Scripture that in the law no man is justified before God. The Scripture says: *Iustus ex fide vivit,*² but the law is not of faith but of deeds *Qui fecerit ea vivet in illis.*³ It is easy to see the syllogism in this second part of the argument, the order of the propositions being: Conclusion, major, minor. Reduced to its simplest form, it is as follows: "Iustitia est ex fide, sed lex ex fide non est, ergo lex iustificare non potest."⁴ Thus the demonstration of the justificatory power of faith is followed by a demonstration of the justificatory impotence of the law. The idea of curse and blessing is taken up once more and the function of Christ for the removal of the curse and the transmission of the blessing is shown with reference to another Old Testament text. Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law by becoming a curse—malediction personified—for our sakes, for it is written: *Maledictus omnis qui pendet in ligno.*⁵ He took the law-breaker's curse upon him, by being hung on a gibbet, "that upon the nations the blessing of Abraham might come in Christ Jesus, that we might receive the promise of the spirit through faith."

This wonderful paragraph from the Epistle to the Galatians, full of the power of Scripture and of logic, may be profitably subjected to schematic analysis so that what St. Paul extracts from the biblical propositions may appear in its simplest terms and the logical construction of the whole piece be more apparent. The following is an attempt to do so.

The first argument presupposes that the *just* are the *sons of Abraham*, justice and the Abrahamic *blessing*, to be inherited by the nations, being identical. Now the Scripture of Genesis 15. 6 designates *faith* as the mark of the *sons of Abraham*. Another Scripture (Gen. 12. 3) foresees the blessing of all nations in Abraham, that is, as sons of Abraham. The "faithful" and the "blessed" being both equal to the middle term "sons of Abraham," it follows that "those who are of faith are blessed with the faithful Abraham." On the other hand

sed illi qui quaerunt iustificari per fidem sunt filii Abrahae, ergo qui ex fide sunt... benedicentur cum fidei... Abraham."

¹ Deut. 27, 26; Gal. 3. 10.

² Hab. 2. 4; Gal. 3. 11.

³ Lev. 18. 5; Gal. 3. 12.

⁴ S. Thom. in h. 1.

⁵ Deut. 21. 23; Gal. 3. 14.

a Scripture (Deut. 27. 26) lays those who confide in the law under a curse. That the law cannot justify is evident from two Scriptures: " The just man lives by faith " (Hab. 2. 4), but " the Law-man does not live by faith but by deeds " (Lev. 18. 5).¹ Therefore, the Law-man is not just. In other words the Law can do nothing but bring the curse of its own violation. Christ, however, has taken away the curse and left free way for the benediction of Abraham.

Explanation of Typology

It only remains to see how St. Paul deals in particular with the typology of the Old Testament. Two passages stand out in the great Epistles as the classics of typological explanation, namely Galatians 4. 21-31 and 1 Corinthians 10. 1-13. In both cases the Apostle recalls historical incidents and shows that they have a further hidden meaning. In the first case (Gal. 3. 24) the ulterior sense is spoken of as allegory,² that is according to its etymological sense, " the saying of another thing;" in the second case, the things mentioned are said to be τύποι (1 Cor. 10. 6) and to have happened to the Israelites τυπικῶς, " being written for our instruction " (1 Cor. 10. 11). The benefits of God to Israel in the Exodus and the punishments that fell on Israel for non-correspondence with God's benefits are prophetic things, which have their corresponding realization in the benefits and punishments of the Christian economy.

The Galatians who are minded to subject themselves to the Law have not understood what the Law says about itself in the typical history of Abraham. The Patriarch had two sons, one of the bond-woman and one of the freewoman. The son of Agar is a child born according to a natural, fleshly scheme of things, being born according to the flesh; the child of Sara is by birth a child of promise.³ Transferred to the future the two mothers are two testaments, Agar being the testament from Mount Sinai which brings its children into bondage. That testament is prefigured by Agar, and the Mountain of Sinai, with which it is identified, is actually a mountain situated in the Hagarene land of Arabia. The Jerusalem that now is, that is, the Jerusalem of Mosaism is not in a different order of things, rather does it stand in one line of classification with Sinai. It is in slavery together with its children. Sara is not named, but she is implicitly

¹ Negative proposition inferred from positive statement of Leviticus 18. 5: *Qui fecerit ea vivet in illis.*

² Gal. 4. 24: *Quae sunt per allegoriam dicta.*

³ Gen. 16, 17, 21.

designated as the counterpart of Agar, when St. Paul sets the Jerusalem above, that is, the Messianic Jerusalem, over against the Sinaitic Jerusalem, *Quae sursum est Jerusalem libera est, quae est mater nostra*.¹ Her spiritual maternity was magnificently proclaimed by Isaiah, when he bade the widow Israel to rejoice and lengthen the ropes of her tents to house the innumerable offspring that were to be hers:

*Laetare, sterilis, quae non paris:
erumpe et clama quae non parturis:
quia multi filii desertaee,
magis quam eius, quae habet virum.*²

St. Paul tells the Galatians that they are children of the promise, like Isaac, and continues the typological history till Ismael figures as persecutor of Isaac. Now as then, the sons of the flesh persecute the sons of the spirit. But what does the Scripture say: *Eiice ancillam et filiam eius, non enim haeres erit filius ancillae cum filio liberae*?³ St. Paul takes these words (with change of *cum filio meo* into *cum filio liberae*) from the mouth of Sara, who demanded the expulsion of her son's persecutor and his mother. The words have divine authority because they were afterwards approved by God⁴ and consigned as such to the sacred page.

The Law was bondage, the Gospel is freedom. St. Paul sees the bondage of the law in the servile status of Agar and the freedom of the Gospel in the free status of Sara. As the mothers, so also the children. Ismael represents the Jews under the Law of Sinai, Isaac represents Christians under the Gospel—on the one hand the Synagogue, on the other the Church. The Jerusalem of earth (which is the lineal successor (*συστοιχεῖ*) of Sinai, and, one might say, its historico-religious synonym) is the mother of this race of slaves, while the heavenly Jerusalem is the mother of the children of Gospel liberty. The children of the flesh and of the Law are destined to be outcasts, whereas the children of the spirit and of freedom are heirs of the promise. The freewoman's children, who have received their freedom through Christ, must not put themselves once more under the yoke of servitude.

As here, so also in 1 Corinthians 10, a moral warning evokes the typology of an Old Testament history. The "allegory" of Galatians is the preface to a solemn admonition to keep the freedom of

¹ Gal. 4. 25.

² Is. 54. 1; Gal. 4. 27.

³ Gen. 21. 10; Gal. 4. 30.

⁴ Gen. 21. 12.

Christ. The type-picture of benefits and ingratitude in Corinthians is a warning against temptations, particularly such as were connected with idolatry.

The benefits mentioned are five in number, namely, the protecting and guiding cloud, the passage of the Red Sea (these two combining to form a symbol of baptism into the leadership of Moses), the miraculous bread (manna) from heaven and the miraculous water from the rock, the source of this water being a symbol of the Rock of Israel, that is, the Christ that followed them with His blessings. Notwithstanding this royally generous treatment, "the vast majority did not please God and their corpses were strewn in the wilderness."

"Now these things were types of us" that we may not follow the example of Israel's ingratitude and deserve the more terrible eschatological counterpart of Israel's punishment. Five crimes and in the case of three of them, the vengeance which they met, are mentioned. Concupiscence of evil things is the first. Apparently the reference is to Numbers XI, but no mention is made of the "graves of concupiscence," which the fury of the Lord made. Idolatry is the second, with reference to the worship of the golden calf as well as the sacrificial banquet and dancing that accompanied it, as it is written: *Sedit populus manducare et bibere et surrexerunt ludere*.¹ Here again there is no word about the dreadful execution of vengeance to which the Levites dedicated their swords, thereby consecrating their hands to the Lord. Fornication is the third crime and there seems to be little doubt that the idolatrous abominations of Beelphogor² are what St. Paul has in mind, although a difficulty arises from the numerical toll of the victims of God's wrath. According to Numbers 25. 9, twenty-four thousand died of plague on that occasion, whereas first Corinthians says that on account of fornication "there fell on one day twenty-three thousand." It seems impossible, with Cornelius a Lapide, to see here the number slain by the Levites at Sinai, for although the Vulgate in that passage has twenty-three thousand, the Septuagint and Masoretic Text agree in setting the casualties of the Golden Calf at about three thousand. Of two answers suggested by St. Thomas, namely, that the greater number does not exclude the lesser, or that we have to deal with a copyist's mistake, Cornely chooses the latter, but in the face of the exceedingly strong attestation of our accepted reading by the instruments of textual tradition, the former seems more reasonable. The fourth

¹ Exodus, 32. 6; 1 Cor. 10. 7.

² Num. 25. 1-9.

crime is that of tempting the Lord. It was punished by the bites of deadly serpents.¹ The fifth is the murmur that was raised at the severe punishment of the rebellion of Core.² The plague that struck down fourteen-thousand seven hundred murmurers is personified as *ὁ ὀλοθρευτής* with allusion to Wisdom 18. 5.

These five examples of punishment befalling a people, whose history was prophetic, were, as the Apostle testifies consigned to writing as a warning to the Christian generations, "unto whom the end of the ages has come." The Holy Ghost wished them to be prophetic images of the punishments that shall fall upon Christians who give themselves up to such sins as the desire of evil things, or idolatry, or fornication, or the sin of tempting the Lord, or murmuring. The Apostle gives no exposition of the typo-prophetic incidents themselves and no indication of the nature of the antitypal punishments which are represented by the temporal calamities mentioned. He merely points to the moral scope of the types. "Scripta sunt autem ad correptionem nostram." They are, he says, prophetic figures of what can happen to disobedient Christians, and consequently a solemn warning against disobedience.

Modes of Exegesis in "Hebrews"

There is no exegetical process in our Epistle which has not its parallel in the Paulines. The assertion that our author, in Philonic fashion, draws the Scriptures away from their proper sense to give merely allegorical support to doctrines which have nothing to do with them, is completely false. In fact it is much more difficult to explain some of the uses made of the sacred text by St. Paul than to justify the employment of scriptural passages throughout our Epistle. The exegetical purpose of the author is so firm that even accommodation is avoided to a far greater extent than in the Epistolary. This comes chiefly from the fact that a closer logical order pervades *Hebrews* than almost any letter of St. Paul. Every text has its place in an exposition which is dominated by splendid order. The thesis that Christ is super-angelic is made to rest on seven texts³ and his superiority even in the humiliation of his incarnation and sufferings is shown and explained by four other passages.⁴ His superemin-

¹ Num. 21. 4-7.

² Num. 16. 41-50 (17. 6-15).

³ Ps. 2. 7; 2 Sam. 7. 14; Ps. 96. 7 (Ps. 103. 4); Ps. 44. 6 f.; Ps. 101. 26 ff.; Ps. 109. 1.

⁴ Ps. 8. 5 ff.; Ps. 21. 23; Isaias 8. 17; Isaias 8. 18.

ence over Moses is worked out in terms of a Scriptural eulogy of the great Hebrew Prophet (Ex. 12. 7); and the task of the new House of Israel, ruled by a greater leader than Moses, is set in terms of aspiration towards a higher land of promise, towards a state, which is an antitype of the rest promised to the generation of the Exodus (Ps. 94. 8-11) and a copy of God's own sabbath (Genesis 2. 2). Christ's priestly dignity has its warrant in the declaration of divine sonship (Ps. 2. 7) and in the oracle of eternal appointment to sacerdotal office according to the order of Melchisedech (Ps. 109. 4). His priestly entrance, behind the veil as our Precursor has given us firm hold on an anchor which secures the unshakableness of our faith in the blessing formerly promised to Abraham with the double solemnity of an oracle and a divine oath (Genesis 22. 16 f.). The superiority of Christ over Aaron and Levi—a superiority which abolishes the inferior priesthood and the dispensation to which it belonged—is built up point by point from the elements found in the tygal history of Melchisedech (Gen. 14. 17 ff.) and in the oracle which names the Messias his antitype (Ps. 109. 4b) and in the oath-confirmed assertion of the stability of his Melchisedechian priesthood (Ps. 109. 4a, b).

Thus eighteen texts, not a single one of which is either allegorized or accommodated, stand as the Scriptural pillars which, by the solidity of their literal or tygal significance, support the teaching of the first seven chapters of the Epistle regarding Christ the Lord and Saviour, Christ the Apostle of our confession, and Christ the eternal Highpriest.

In the comparison of the priestly ministries, old and new, together with their correlatives of sanctuary and covenant, it is the same. No text is accommodated; no allegory is indulged in. The five main Scriptural elements in the whole piece (Heb. 8. 1-10. 18) are firstly, the divine command indicating the tygal character of the Mosaic tabernacle (Exodus 25. 40), secondly, the direct Jeremian oracle of the New Covenant (Jer. 31. 31-34), thirdly, the typological description of the sanctuary and its expiatory liturgy (Numbers XVIII etc.), fourthly, the bloodseal which stamped the Mosaic *berith* as the figure of a testament to be ratified with the really efficacious blood of Christ's expiation (Exodus 24. 8), and finally the Messiah's programme of obedience, spoken in the tygal person of the Psalmist (Ps. 39. 6f.) to signify the removal of the first order of sacrifice and the establishment of the second. Here, then, the general typological character of the tabernacle, the particular typology of the liturgy, especially of Expiation Day, and the Messias using the words of a typological person combine with the literal words of Jeremias and Moses to weave

the argument of those chapters. The Scripture is asked to speak in a strictly scientific way through letter and type.¹

The use of Scripture changes somewhat in the great paraenetic part (10. 19-13. 17). The number of purely literary borrowings (which are very few in the pages just examined) increases considerably.² Besides, in accordance with the character of the pieces into which the Scriptures are summoned, namely, two purely exhortatory pieces (10. 19-39; 13. 1-17), a history of faith (11. 1-40), an exhortation leading up to a vision of the Church and the heavenly kingdom (12. 1-29)—according, I say, to these varieties we have a series of warning citations,³ an historical series in the great Martyrology,⁴ and a moral series leading on to an eschatological prophecy.⁵ There are altogether some ten or eleven texts verbally cited as having Scriptural sacredness. No one would dream of regarding any of them as involving allegorical application of the inspired text, but two of them, at first sight, seem to be examples of accommodation. If we regard the words: *Non te deseram neque derelinquam* (Hebr. 13. 5), as words spoken by the Almighty to Josue, we shall rightly describe them as accommodated by our author to express the readiness of the same provident Lord to supply every want of the Hebrew community.⁶ But, as it seems more likely that the words are taken from Deuteronomy 31. 6 and are addressed to the whole people of God, the accommodation is less evident, because the assurance of divine help for the chosen people, as such, always remains. We can hardly speak of accommodation, for instance, when we refer the words of Christ: *Ego vobiscum sum*, to the Church of the present day. Similarly in regard to the words of Psalm 117. 6. Here an inspired poet, in the name of the whole people all full of joy over a great deliverance, says, amongst other things: "The Lord is my helper, I will not fear.

¹ For the present we are only asserting the facts which we have observed. It will be granted by any reader of *Hebrews*, that in these ten and a half chapters, the writer is almost entirely intent on Christological and eschatological truths—things that had little or no interest for Philo, the philosophic allegorist. Windisch speaks very loosely and inaccurately when he describes the great central part (4. 14-10. 18) as "eigentlich nichts anderes als ein Midrasch zu Ps. 109 (*Zur theol. Stellung des Hebr.*, o. c., p. 132).

² Is. 26. 11; 35. 3; Prov. 4. 26; Deut. 29. 18; Ps. 49. 14; Os. 14. 3 etc.

³ Deut. 32. 35; 32. 36; Habacuc 2. 3f. Deut. 31. 6; Ps. 117. 6.

⁴ Only two or three of these are closely verbal.

⁵ Prov. 3. 11; Exod. 19. 13; Deut. 9. 19; Aggeus 2. 6.

⁶ Cfr. CORNELY-MERK, *Compendium Introductionis*, I, p. 249: "S. Paulus (Hb. 13. 5) singulis Christianis applicans verba, quae Dominus ad solum Josue dixerat (Jos. 1. 5) accommodatione per extensionem usus est."

What can man do to me? " Such words, the Christian Hebrews, without any accomodation may confidently make their own. If any one, however, wishes to see accommodation in these two texts, we shall not quarrel with him. We simply observe that there is substantial identity of situation, although the circumstances of the hour are different. It is much like the following. The Angel Gabriel said: " Hail, full of grace " to the Blessed Virgin Mary just before the Incarnation. Surely, we do not accommodate but simply use the Angel's words in their original sense, when we honour our Lady with the same salutation today. It is to be noted that these two texts, the only ones in regard to which some suspicion of adaptation may appear defensible, occur in the final chapter, after the body of the Epistle has been terminated.

Particular paraenetic texts

In the great exhortation, therefore, we have only to consider very few texts as offering some degree of difficulty. In the first place it cannot but seem singularly impressive that of the two contiguous passages which are adduced to strengthen the threat against apostasy (Deut. 32. 35, 32. 36) one is quoted by St. Paul (Rom. 12. 19) while the third text (Hab. 2. 4) used in *Hebrews* to round off an exhortation to perseverance in the faith, also lends its chief verse to the Apostle twice over (Rom. 1. 17; Gal. 3. 11). The passages stand, indeed, in different contexts here and in the Paulines, and consequently the accent falls on a different aspect, but the words retain their literal meaning throughout. Thus in Romans 12. 19 the saying " Vengeance is mine, I will repay " supports a warning against private revenge, while in *Hebrews* it supports a threat of the sure vengeance which will fall on apostates. The proposition " God is the Avenger " conveys only one meaning, but that meaning fits the sufferer of evil and the doer of evil differently. Likewise the text of Habacuc stands in Romans and Galatians in reference to the acquisition of justice, which has its beginning and root and foundation in faith. The fuller text is cited in *Hebrews* against the peril of losing acquired justice and life by withdrawing from that faith which is its source. The exegesis which these citations receive in their respective contexts, in our Epistle, creates no difficulty, but it is not so with the verse: *Iudicabit Dominus populum suum*. Whether it be taken from Deuteronomy 32. 36^a or from Psalm 134. 14, the passage speaks of a judgment exercised by God in favour of His people. Here, on the other hand, there is question of a punitive judgment in which it shall appear

how terrible it is to fall into the hands of the living God.¹ The difficulty is only apparent. The first of the two texts of Deuteronomy (32. 35^a) speaks undoubtedly of a retribution of wrath on enemies, and is understood of wrath both in Romans and *Hebrews*. The second (32. 36^a) speaks of a judgment of mercy in favour of God's people, but that judgment necessarily involves the separation of their cause from that of the wicked. The same act which vindicates the just also punishes the wicked. Hence, in a context like the present—one of fire devouring the adversaries—this indirect meaning of the sentence: *Iudicabit Dominus populum suum* comes to the forefront.² Consequently the text is literally used by the author and not turned to signify the opposite of its original meaning.

In chapter XI the doings and experiences and sufferings of the Hebrew heroes of faith are described from one constant point of view. Faith in the unseen and unshaken constancy in the pursuit of a divine hope is the lesson of this historical panegyric. Our author does not read into the record of those men anything which was not really in it. He does not, like Philo, draw persons and events with the cords of allegory into a world of metaphysical abstraction and philosophic ethics. Patriarchs and Prophets and faithful Israelites here move in the Messianic world to which they belong, with their hearts on the hope held out to them in the future. It is pure unscientific indulgence of the imaginative faculty to bring this unmixed biblical martyrology into the hazy realms of Philonism, as writers like Windisch do.³ The pilgrim-life of the Patriarchs, for instance, is described after the manner that the Patriarchs themselves conceived it. Jacob for instance did not think merely of his nomadic existence,

¹ DR. MOFFAT, o. c. p. 152, has a most unsatisfactory note on the two joint citations. He says: "The thought of the original in both passages is God avenging his people on their foes and championing them, not punishing them; but here this fate is assigned to all who put themselves outside the range of God's mercy in the sacrifice of Jesus Christ. They fall under God's retribution." It is at least a very loose way of putting the matter, so that one does not quite know whether the inspired author is regarded as giving the words a meaning of his own or not.

² ZILL in h. l. (p. 548) writes: "Beide Stellen beweisen... wirklich das, was der Apostel damit beweisen wollte, die eine direct, die andere indirect, nämlich dass Gott den Abfall unabwendbar bestrafen werde." Cfr. Ps. 42. 1 and 2 Thessalonians 1. 6.

³ Speaking of our author's affinities with Philo WINDISCH writes (o. c., p. 132): "Verwandte Schriftbenutzung hat nun ähnliche Ideen gezeitigt. Dahin gehört von weniger zentralen Punkten... die Bemerkung über Abel 11. 4, die Betonung der Gerechtigkeit Noas 11. 7... der Erweis des Glaubensgehorsams des Abraham aus dem Umstand, dass er nach dem Unbekannten auszog 11. 8... die Beziehung des Nomadenlebens der Patriarchen auf die Weltfremdheit der Frommen, 11. 13-16.

when he said before Pharaoh: " The days of the years of my pilgrimage are a hundred and thirty years: few and evil have the days of the years of my life been, and have not come up to the days of the years of the lives of my fathers in the days of their pilgrimage " (Genesis 47. 9). This pilgrim-idea of life is truly biblical, and it is worked out even more fully in second Corinthians (5. 1 ff.) than in *Hebrews*. There is certainly no allegorization of Old Testament history in the eleventh chapter of our Epistle, and the few biblical passages which are verbally cited are kept rigorously within the bounds of the letter. The words: *In Isaac vocabitur tibi semen*, are no less historically conceived in *Hebrews* 11. 18 than in Romans 9. 7. In fact St. Paul's purpose in citing them is much more theological than that of our author. The ascription of an unhistorical mentality to the writer of *Hebrews* cannot be supported by a single text. It is only a critic who refuses to find Christ in the Old Testament at all and regards the Messianic principle of O. T. exegesis as an arbitrary construction that could write such a sentence as this: " As in Philo, so here also the exegesis is entirely unhistorical, being entirely forced into the service of the author's interests and special views." ¹

In chapter XII, likewise, there can be no question of texts being angariated for services against which their letter rebels. Divine Wisdom personified as Consolation speaks to the Christian people its age-old lesson on the value and desirableness of discipline. ² The words of Isaias encouraging ³ and of the wise man exhorting ⁴ are used to say to the Christian Hebrews what they had said for centuries to their pre-Christian forefathers. The dangers of a root of bitterness and of a profane and apostate mind like that of Esau find more effective literary expression, when conveyed in words reminiscent of Deuteronomy and Genesis. The terrors of Sinai are most appropriately described in the borrowed language of Moses, and, surely, the setting of the Arabian Mount of terror against the Christian Sion and the heavenly Jerusalem does not betray an author less Jewish and less Pauline than the author of Galatians. In *Hebrews*, of course, the Messianism is more eschatological because a sabbath-country, city or kingdom is the dynamically dominant idea of the whole Epistle. ⁵ The march of humanity is towards an unshakable kingdom or terrors more fearful than Sinai, for " our God is a consuming fire."

¹ WINDISCH, *ibidem*.

² Proverbs 3. 11, 12.

³ Isaias 35. 3.

⁴ Proverbs 4. 26.

⁵ VITTI, art. cit. *Biblica* 17 (1936) p. 145.

The great exhortation finishes in a vision of rest to which our author adds the terrors of a Deuteronomic passage (Deut. 4. 24), the flames of which have been felt more than once in the course of the Epistle.¹ The insistence on the note of terror, side by side with the great hope into which Christ leads his people, sets a distinctly Hebrew stamp on *Hebrews*. This precious admission is made by Windisch in the peculiar terminology of Rudolf Otto: "Die Religion des Hebr. ist durch und durch atlich-numinös bestimmt."² But the same Windisch is caustically critical in regard to the author's exegesis of the contrast between Sinai and Sion, which ends in the citation of a few words from the Prophet Aggeus. When God the Speaker of the Old Testament is represented as speaking on earth and God the Speaker of the New is represented as speaking from heaven, our author is accused of contradicting Exodus 20. 22, Deuteronomy 4.36 and Nehemias 9. 13, and of forgetting that God has spoken in Jesus upon earth.³ Again it is the old story: "quando duo dicunt aliud non semper est aliud." God spoke from heaven in former days but his voice sounded on earth through angels and through Prophets; now he speaks in His Son who is at His right hand in heaven. As the Apostle regards the law of Sinai as a word spoken by angels (2. 2) and thereafter continued by Prophets, but regards the final word of God as being continually spoken through the Son by his Apostles (2. 4; 6. 5; 10. 29),⁴ so the two revelations differ in mode, and can consequently be distinguished in the terms used by the author of *Hebrews*. Westcott not only answers the difficulty very well, but, referring to the two Pentateuchal texts proposed as an objection by Windisch, remarks that "in one sense 'God spake from heaven' when He gave the Law (Ex. 20. 22; Deut. 4. 36) but His voice even then was of earth." Zill also points out that the present participles (λαλοῦντα and χρηματίζοντα) bid us consider the whole respective economies of God's word then and now. The former bears the stamp of an earthly revelation, the latter is all heavenly;

¹ Heb. 2. 3 (4. 13), 6. 8; 10. 27, 31.

² *Commentary*, p. 115. By *Numinosum* (Das Numinöse) is understood the "Hoiy Deity" as an irrational magnitude surrounded in human perception by the "mysterium tremendum" issuing in the anger of God. To inspire fear is the first attribute of the Numinosum. The ideas of Otto are permeated by Kantian philosophy.

³ "Vos vidistis quia de caelo locutus sum vobis (Ex. 20. 22); De caelo te fecit audire vocem suam (Deut. 4. 36); Ad montem quoque Sinai descendisti et locutus es cum eis de caelo" (Prayer of the Levites, Neh. 9. 13).

⁴ See ESTIUS in h. l. The contrast is not between Moses and Christ but between two modes of speaking.

"denn das neutestamentliche Gottesreich ist ein Himmelreich im vollsten Sinne des Wortes. Hier hat das Gotteswort durchaus himmlischen Charakter. Vom Himmel her ertönt sein Ruf, Geheimniss des Himmels bilden seinen Inhalt, zum Himmel zieht es seine Glieder. Aus dieser Verschiedenartigkeit der Offenbarungsweise leitet der Apostel die Erhabenheit der einen Offenbarung vor der anderen und damit den Vorzug des N. B. von dem alten ab.¹ By reason of its heavenly character the New Testament has more terrible sanctions than the Old, but these are chiefly eschatological. By a process of "oversharp" exegesis and after the manner of a consummate *Doctor subtilis* the Apostle is said to draw the two pictures of "tremendousness" out of Aggeus 2. 6.² But again, it is not our author's exegesis which is at fault but its critic. Aggeus was one of the Prophets of the building of the second or Zorobabelian temple. In this particular place he encourages Zorobabel the Governor and Jesus the High-priest and the remnant of the people to go on with the building. Their great motive of courage is God's engagement towards His people at the Exodus. That remains to the present and for the future, but, as the Prophet looks into the future, he sees a still greater manifestation of the Almighty's power than that which happened in the past. The earthquake of Sinai is not expressly mentioned, but is implied in the words joined to the remembrance of the Exodus: "Once more and very soon, at that, I will shake the heavens and the earth and the sea" (2. 6). The Apostle seizes on a shaking which involves not only the earth but the *heavens*. In the mention of such a heaven-and-earthquake in contrast to the mere earthquake of Sinai, he sees the greater world-shock of the Messianic era, a shock and a revolution of things which shall be final. The Prophet gazes, especially, on the forefront of the magnificent perspective, the signs on earth and in heaven (such as really occurred at the birth and death of Christ) that were to mark the procession of the riches of the nations towards the second temple.³ The Apostle, inspired by the same spirit of prophecy as spoke in Aggeus, looks more especially to the furthest end of the vista, where the shaking changes every things transient,

¹ *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, p. 667.

² Windisch in Heb. 12. 26, p. 115: "Die Schrecken des neuen Bundes stehen noch aus und sind viel schlimmer als die früheren. Das Ganze ist durch überscharfe fast spitzfindige Exegese aus Hag. 2. 6 LXX gewonnen.

³ The Vulgate heightens the Messianism of the passage, but does not pervert the substantial meaning, by representing the Messiah himself (*Desideratus cunctis gentibus*) coming. The Alexandrian translator probably did not vocalize his text like the Masoretes (*hemdath kol haggioim*) but rather *h'mudoth*, τὰ ἐκλεκτὰ πάντων τῶν λαῶν.

allowing only what is permanent to stand with the stability of an unshakable kingdom. Windisch, it seems, means to be sarcastic, when he introduces his note on *Hebrews* 12.27 with the remark: "Ein zweiter Exegetenbefund."¹ The shaking of Sinai, he thinks, suddenly becomes in the mind of the writer the shaking of creation.² But what did creation shake? Why not give the Apostle credit for at least a little intelligence? Surely he understood that a shaking supposes something to be shaken—the created and not the creatable. The seismic language is not, of course, to be taken in a merely physical sense. The spiritual convulsions wrought in humanity by the introduction of the two covenants are included. St. Gregory Nazianzen seems to have this passage in mind, when he speaks of two great religious turning-points of history as two earthquakes, to which he adds a third, namely, the passage to an unchanging eternity: "Duae ex omni aevo illustres vitarum mutationes, quae etiam duo Testamenta, atque ob rei celebritatem, *terrae motus* appellantur, altera a simulacrorum cultu ad legem, altera a lege ad Evangelium. Ac tertium etiam terrae motum Scriptura nobis annuntiat, nempe migrationem ab hac vita ad alteram illam motus omnis et iactationis expertem."³ The Apostle, however, does not distinguish more than two quakes, for the Messianic quaking of earth and heaven, when consummated, introduces an eternal and unchanging state of things. A similar length of vista is offered by the prophecy of Joel (3. 1-5) which St. Peter declared to be realized, at least in its germinal beginning, on the day of Pentecost. Windisch quite arbitrarily attributes to the writer of *Hebrews* an exegesis of the Aggean text involving an absolute destruction of the created world, his τῶν σαλευομένων μετάθεσις being equated with ἀπώλεια, so that the Kiel Professor may conclude: "Die Eschatologie des Hebr. kennt darnach keine Erneuerung der geschaffenen Welt." The fact is that the Apostle speaks of the passing of a transient order and a change of the changeable into an unchanging kingdom. He says absolutely nothing in regard to the dissolution of the physical elements of the universe. The finality of the New Testament being what he has in mind, he means that the

¹ He does not, however, use a note of exclamation, but the words cited above are not a sentence.

² This seems to be the obvious meaning of his words: "ἐτι ἄραξ ist in 26 auf die Sinaioffenbarung bezogen, hier wie es scheint auf die Schöpfung." The act of creation seems to be regarded as a shaking of something. It appears so strange that one wonders whether that can be the author's real meaning, but words are words.

³ Oratio XXXI – Theologica V. P. G. XXXV. 160 f. The text is cited by MOFFAT in h. 1.

unchanging kingdom has come, though its consummation has still to be awaited. The spiritual convulsion, which introduced the whole immutable economy of Church and kingdom, has already occurred but its tremors are not yet finished.¹

The capital texts

It is not in this closing part of the Epistle but in the earlier sections that the really basic citations of our Epistle are found. If we omit the citation from Genesis XXII (Hebr. 6. 14), we have a quadruple series, namely the eleven texts that refer to Christ's pre-eminence over the Angel's, the three concerned with the hyper-Mosaic character of the new Leader and of the land into which he leads his people, the four or five which deal with Christ's Priesthood, and finally, the four texts and one real type which show the superior dignity and efficacy of the new sanctuary, ministry, and covenant. We must now deal briefly with these series of citations, delaying only on those points which cause difficulty or seem to show a peculiar method of exegesis.

First group

The final sentence of the Prologue declares the Son to be " so much better than the angels as he has inherited a more excellent name than they." Seven Scriptural testimonies are invoked to strengthen this declaration. The selection is the author's own, for we have no reason to believe that he was acquainted with a sort of theological enchi-ridion in which texts were already gathered together.² The theory

¹ St. Thomas comments thus: " Facit magnam vim in hoc quod dicit: *Adhuc semel*. Quod enim dicit, *adhuc*, ostendit quod mobilia sunt. Sed quod dicit, *semel*, ostendit quod a statu mobilitatis et corruptibilitatis mutanda sunt ad statum incorruptionis et immutabilitatis. Si enim post motionem illam remanerent in statu mutationis, non diceret *Semel* sed *Iterum* et *iterum*... Ex his patet quod ista in veteri testamento, etsi movebantur, non tamen ad statum incorruptionis et immutabilitatis; sed hoc fit tantum in novo, in signum quod promissa veteris testamenti erant mutabilia, non autem novi" (o. c. p. 442).

² There seemed to be no reason why we should examine anew the question of the existence of biblical *Florilegia* or collections of Scriptural testimonies in connection with our Epistle. There is no single case in which our author might be suspected of drawing on such a collection. In the fifth of his Essays on Biblical Greek (*On Composite Citations from the Septuagint*, pp. 203-214), Edwin Hatch (Oxford 1889) raised the question whether systematic collections of biblical texts were in use amongst Hellenistic Jews. The centos of texts in common use amongst early Christian writers, such as Clement of Rome, the Pseudo-Barnabas and Justin Martyr, seemed to favour such an hypothesis. Vollmer took up Hatch's sugges-

that an elaborate collection of Scriptural testimonies existed in N. T. days is supported by no proof. Undoubtedly our Lord's teaching and especially his exposition of the prophetic contents of the Law and the Prophets and the Psalms during the forty days after the resurrection (Luke 24. 44; Acts 1. 3) would have left the Apostles in possession of a great bunch of Scriptural texts, but we have no reason to believe that these soon began to receive thematic arrangement after the manner of a manual. Dr. Rendel Harris, the most extreme protagonist of the "Testimonies" hypothesis, endeavours to throw the activity of the second and third centuries into the first, when he argues that a marshalling of materials like those of Cyprian's first two books of *Testimonia adversus Iudaeos* (P. L, IV, 675-724) had begun in the first years of the Christian era.¹ Michel, having noted that no trace has been discovered of pre-Christian *Florilegia*, either Hellenistic (as suggested by Hatch) or rabbinical (as Vollmer suggested) further dubs as improbable the supposition that early Christian collections existed, prior to the composition of the N. T. books. He does not, however, deny that the beginnings of the collections, which first appear in developed form with Melito of Sardes and Cyprian, may be as early as the end of the first century. The stimulus would have come from Paul himself, but in turn there is no reason to deny that the Pauline system of arranging testimonies according to a dominant idea and also the frequently systematic combination of *Torah* and *Nebiim* have rabbinical influence behind them.²

The selection here in the first chapter of *Hebrews* is almost entirely Psalmodic, and is determined by the points fixed in the Prologue. The description there given of the Son, in whom God has finally spoken, included four chief points: firstly, *Sonship* itself involving

tion and offered the further suggestion that Hebrew *Florilegia* existed offering combinations of texts arranged according to certain catchwords (o. c., p. 41). Thus St. Paul would have remembered a "rain" series, when he combined Is. 55. 10, Deut. 28. 11 and Osee 10. 12 in 2 Cor. 9. 10. Compare also a *λιθος* combination from Isaías in Rom. 9. 33 and 1 Petr. 2. 6; likewise the gathering of four *ἔθνος* texts in Rom. 15. 9-12. Rendel Harris gave two volumes to the subject of "Testimonies" (1916, 1920) in which, working back from Cyprian's *testimonia ad Quirinum*, he endeavours to find vestiges of an anti-Jewish collection in N. T. times.

¹ I can say personally that I have carefully read St. Cyprian's first two books of *Testimonies* without "finding the right line of sight" and without discovering that "the Epistle to the *Hebrews* is composed upon lines which are capable of immediate illustration from Cyprian's first two books of *Testimonies* against the Jews" (R. HARRIS, art. *Did Jesus use Testimonies*, Expository Times, XXXVI, p. 410).

² *Paulus und seine Bibel*, pp. 52-54.

a relation to the Father such as the Apostle expresses in the phrases: *splendor gloriae et figura substantiae eius*; secondly, *royal dignity* whereby the Son has been constituted heir of the universe; thirdly, *creatorship* marked by the facts that through the Son God has created the ages, and the Son himself carries everything by the word of his power; fourthly the *exaltation* of the Saviour to the right hand of God.¹ At the close of the Prologue, the Apostle signifies his intention of showing that the Son's pre-eminence above the Angels is manifested by the better Name which he has acquired as his own. The Name denotes not only the term *Son* but all the qualifications that belong to him. No Angel is more than a messenger and a servant. The Son has that unique title which the Father gives in the same way to no one else; as first-born he receives the adoration of the Angels and a divine throne; he is the Creator, immutable and eternal, before whom even the heavens are temporal and destined to pass away; he is the only One invited by the Almighty to sit at His right hand. The arrangement of the biblical passages is very skilful. God's word glorifies the son six times, and defines the servile position of the Angels twice. The only text which refers entirely to the Angels stands right in the middle of this biblical septenary, that is, in the fourth place. The first series of three texts refers to Christ's dignity as Son, but the inferiority of the Angels already figures in the third passage, which also insinuates the notion of Christ's royalty, brought into special prominence only in the fifth text. Since the fifth text is an antithesis of the fourth or exclusively Angelic text, we may regard the ideas of sonship and heirship as dovetailed into one another, the inferiority of the Angels below the Son and the Heir of the universe being thus brought into remarkable contrast. The sixth passage is closely connected with the fifth, and was probably suggested to the Apostle by the appellation *ὁ Θεός* given to the Messiah in the fifth citation. The series closes with the first words of the hundred and ninth Psalm. Now, if there are any two texts in the Old Testament that deserve to enter into competition for the title "Messianic

¹ With his accustomed clarity St. Thomas expresses the relation of the Prologue to the series of texts: "Apostolus in toto capitulo intendit praeferre Christum angelis quantum ad excellentiam, unde posuit quattuor pertinentia ad excellentiam Christi, sc. quantum ad originem, quia *Filius*; quantum ad dominationem quia *haeres*; quantum ad operationem, quia *ipse fecit saecula*; quantum ad honorem, quia *sedet ad dexteram maiestatis*. Modo Apostolus in parte ista ostendit, quod Christus quantum ad ista quattuor excedit angelos; et primo quantum ad filiationem; secundo quantum ad dominationem ibi; *Et cum iterum introducit*; tertio quantum ad operationem creationis; ibi: *Et tu in principio, Domine, terram fundasti*; quarto quantum ad Patris consessionem, ibi: *Ad quem autem angelorum*.

Oracle of oracles," they are the proclamation of divine Sonship in Psalm II and the invitation of Psalm CIX to the same Messiah to sit at the right hand of Majesty. It is with these two oracles, introduced by practically the same formulae, that the Apostle's Scriptural septenary begins and ends.

The interpretation of these initial and final texts (Pss. 2. 7 and 109. 1) leaves no room for doubt.¹ For our present purpose, namely, comparison of the exegesis of the Paulines and *Hebrews*, it is sufficient to point out that St. Paul cites both sentences as Messianic oracles (Acts 13. 33 and 1 Cor. 15. 25). In fact the use of the two Psalms in the New Testament is the very solid foundation of the traditional Catholic view that both poems refer directly and exclusively to the Messiah.² The principle of exegesis in the present case is, therefore, nothing other than the direct literal application of the two passages to the Christ. The Holy Ghost spoke of Christ and of no one else in announcing the divine oracles *Filius meus es tu* and *Sede a dextris meis*. The question consequently arises whether the other five texts which are here Christologically applied must also be regarded as Messianic prophecies. That assertion can be confidently made in regard to the citations from 2 Samuel 7. 14 and from Psalm XLIV. The former passage is Messianic, not however in the direct, immediate, literal sense but in a typical sense. The oracle spoken by God through Nathan to David immediately refers to Solomon. From verse 12 the text of this chapter of second Samuel reads: "And when thy days shall be finished, and thou shalt sleep with thy fathers, I will raise up thy seed after thee, the seed that shall come forth from thy bowels, and I will establish his kingdom. He shall build a house for my name, and I will establish the throne of his kingdom for ever. I shall be to him as a father and he shall be to me as a son. And if he commit iniquity, I will chastise him with the rod of men, and with the stripes of the children of men; but my mercy I will not take away

¹ Of Psalm II Père Lagrange writes: "Ce psaume est le psaume messianique par excellence et le premier document hébreu qui contienne le terme technique de Messie, joint encore cependant à Jahvé sous la forme *son Oint*" (RB 1905, p. 41). Of Psalm CIX we can say that it is even more indubitably Messianic, "il più celebre di tutto il saltero... La chiesa cristiana in ogni tempo ed anche la giudaica in antichità (cfr. Matteo 22. 41-46 e paralleli) e nel medio evo l'intesero del Messia: i versi 1 e 4 ne sono spesso citati nel nuovo Testamento come verificatisi in Gesù Cristo (VACCARI, *I libri poetici*, Rome, 1925).

² Ps. II, Cfr. Acts 4. 25, 26; 13. 33 (Matt. 3. 17 and parallels, 2 Petr. 1. 17); Apoc. 2. 27, 12. 5, 19. 15, and *Hebrews* 1. 5, 5. 5. Ps. CIX. Cfr. Matt. 22. 44 and parallels, Acts 2. 34, 35; Matt. 26. 64, Eph. 1. 20, Col. 3. 1; 1 Cor. 15. 25, Eph. 1. 22, 1 Petr. 3. 22 and *Hebrews* 1. 13 (1. 3, 8. 1, 10. 12, 12. 2); 10. 13; 7. 21.

from him, as I took it from Saul, whom I put away from before me. And thy house and thy kingdom shall last for ever before thee; and thy throne shall be firm perpetually" (2 Sam. 7. 12-17). Two things stand out clearly from this text, firstly, that the son of David whom God shall regard as His own son, is the king destined to build the temple, that is, Solomon, a Monarch who may commit iniquity and deserve to be chastised with a rod of discipline; secondly, that God's assurance regarding the person and kingdom of Solomon exceeds the historical proportions of the temporal monarchy of the Davidic line. Granting the existence of real prophecy as distinct from poetic aspiration or exaggeration, we are invited to see in this magnificent enhancement of things a future reality belonging to that age, which was always the goal of Israelite hope, namely, the Messianic era.¹ The particular words with which we are concerned: *Ego ero illi in patrem et ipse erit mihi in filium* are singular. God never called any individual, either man or angel, "My Son" until we find it said of a Davidic Monarch. In Psalm 88. 27-30 a similar thing is recalled from the prophetic oracles spoken to David himself: "Ipse invocabit me: Pater meus, es tu, Deus meus et susceptor salutis meae: et ego *primogenitum* ponam illam excelsum prae regibus terrae." The term *Son of God* was applied to the Israelite people collectively (Exodus 4. 11, Osee 11. 1), and even to a tribe (*Ephraem primogenitus meus*, Jer. 31. 9); Angels, also, as a class of spiritual beings were called sons of God (Pss. 28. 1, 88. 7; Job. 1. 6, 2. 1), and special groups of men, as a body, were likewise styled sons of God (Genesis 6. 2, 14, Psalm 81. 6),² but the use of the title "son of God" in the singular, addressed to a single person, is reserved to David and Solomon, and is connected in each case with the eternity of their kingdom. It is, therefore, a term to which the Holy Spirit has reserved a sublim-

¹ The following extract from the comment of Estius on this verse is worth quoting: "Poterat hic obiici: Si literali sensu haec verba competunt in Salomonem: quale est argumentum Apostoli: de nullo angelorum hoc dictum est; ergo Christus est maior angelis? Sed hunc scrupulum iam ante removimus, in explicatione testimonii praecedentis. Nunquam enim haec tam grandia ac magnifica de Salomone dicerentur, nisi in eo velut typo quodam et imagine, Christus fuisset praesignatus. Est enim bene notandum, fere ubicunque in Scripturis aliquid dicitur secundum historiam, quod literae modum excedit, ac fidem humanam superare videtur; huiusmodi sermone nos invitari ad investigandum sensum aliquem reconditum: velut de Christo ac regno eius, aut regni eius adversariis. De Christo quidem ac regno eius, complura talia sunt in scripturis, praesertim in psalmis."

² Whether the "sons of God" in Genesis 6. 1 are a select group, or all men taken collectively, is immaterial for the present discussion. See G. E. Closen, *Die Sünde der Söhne Gottes* (Rome, 1937) pp. 157-170.

ity of meaning which makes its significance typical.¹ "Diligenter est notandum," says Estius, "quaedam in Scripturis literaliter dici, sed sublimiter et supra modum literae: idque propter mysterium, quo litera turgens et gravida sui ipsius modum excedit. Cuiusmodi mysterium nisi subesset, nequaquam tam sublimiter et magnifice scriptura secundum literam loqueretur. Itaque nisi Christus mystice fuisset significatus, numquam David dictum fuisset: *Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te*, nec de Salomone, *Ipse erit mihi in filium et ego ero illi in patrem*."² This verse of Nathan's oracle is used nowhere else in the N. T. except in *Hebrews* and second Corinthians 6. 18. In the latter place it is extended to the Corinthian community, but this is no reason for believing that St. Paul did not recognise its Messianic meaning. On the contrary, its application to the members of Christ's body, is at least an insinuation that the text referred to Christ and his kingdom. Moreover, side by side with the remembrance that St. Paul used these first two Scriptural citations of *Hebrews* we may set the further fact that St. Luke, disciple of Paul, reports the words of the Angel to the Blessed Virgin Mary concerning her Son: "He shall be called the son of the Most High, and the Lord God shall give to him the throne of David his father." As for the early tradition of the distinctly Messianic import of Psalm 2. 7, it is strikingly illustrated by the association of these words with the Baptism of Christ. In St. Luke's narrative of the Baptism, the actual text of this Psalm verse replaced the oracle of the Jordan: *Tu es filius meus dilectus, in te complacui mihi*. The substitution is found in quite a number of biblical texts and Patristic citations.³

The formula of the third citation causes some difficulty. The *παλιν* has been sometimes taken as indicating the third citation in the series, but as the particle *δέ* preceding it is adversative, it seems

¹ Note that even as a collective term designating Israel "*filius meus*" is Messianic-typical, as we learn from St. Matthew's use of Osee 11. 11: "*Ex Aegypto vocavi filium meum*."

² Estius refrains from asserting the directly Messianic character of Ps. II, so that he puts the two texts on the same level, David and Salomon being the types in each respective Psalm. St. Robert Bellarmine's verdict on this exegesis is: "*Ommino errare videntur, qui ad litteram de Davide hunc Psalmum explicare nituntur*."

³ Codex D and the Old Latin codd. Vercellensis, Veronensis, Colbertinus, Corbeiensis II, the Ebionite Gospel (Epiphanius, *haer.* 30), Justin (Dialogue, 88), Clement of Alexandria (Paed. I, 6), Origen, Methodius (Conviv. virg. cap. 9), Hilarius (Ps. II, 29), Augustine (Enchirid. 49) etc. St. Justin's testimony (P. G. VI, 688) is particularly remarkable: "*Vox e caelo venit, quae per Davidem dicta fuerat, tamquam ex Christi persona proferentem, quod ei a Patre erat dicendum: Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te*."

more natural to connect *πάλιν* with the verb, so that we get the translation: "But when he once more (definitively) brings his first-born into the world, he says: And let all the angels of God adore him." The form of the verb (*εἰσαγάγῃ*) denotes the "bringing in" as an event to be definitely realized in a indefinite future. It is not the Son simply (*ὁ μονογενής*) who is to be brought in, but the *πρωτότοκος*, Christ first in rank over a number of brothers. In New Testament usage, that is the glorified Christ (Rom. 8. 29, Col. 1. 18, Apoc. 1. 15). The passage is, therefore, referred to the second coming of Christ as triumphator. The scene suggested is that of Psalm XCVI rather than Deuteronomy 32. 43. The words figure at the beginning of the Psalm's second strophe, after the full magnificent description of a royal theophany: "Yahweh is king: let the earth rejoice; let the many isles be glad. Cloud and darkness encompass him; justice and judgment support his throne. A fire advances before him and burns his enemies round about. His lightnings light up the world; the earth sees and trembles. The mountains melt like wax at the presence of Yahweh, at the presence of the world's Lord. The heavens proclaim his justice and all peoples see his glory." It is at this point that the attitude of his creatures before Yahweh the King is described: "May all that serve idols be confounded, those that glory in things of nought. (Let) all Elohim (fall down and) adore him." The Septuagint and Peshitta have rightly excluded "pagan divinities" as the translation of *Elohim*. They are superior beings, which both the Greek and Syrian interpreters regarded as angels.¹ The precise determination of these superior beings as Angels may be an exegetical tradition, *Elohim* being thus translated three times in the LXX Psalter (8. 5, 96. 7, 137. 1). The Apostle confirms it in two of these three cases, and the presence of Angels in a Judgment Theophany like the present is also supported by the analogous descriptions in the New Testament (Matt. 13. 49, 16. 27 and parallels, 25. 31; 2 Thess. 1. 7). The Psalm is clearly a vision of Yahweh coming to judge, doubtless on some particular occasion in Israelite history. But, seeing that St. Paul regarded the judgments of the Exodus as types (1 Cor. 10. 5 ff.), and since, moreover, all particular judgments are preparations for the general judgment, which is committed to the Son (John 5. 22; cfr. Daniel 7. 13, 14; Matt. 25. 3 ff. and

¹ See J. CALES, *Le livre des Psaumes* in h. l. (II, p. 210): "Les modernes préférèrent assez généralement le sens de "faux dieux," mais il est peu naturel que le psalm. fasse adorer Dieu par des êtres qui, à son sens, n'existent pas. — Nous laissons le mot *elohim*, avec la signification d'êtres surnaturels" en général, de même qu'au verset 9c.

parallels; Acts 10. 41, 17. 31; Rom. 2. 16; 2 Cor. 5. 10 etc.), it is not unreasonable to see in this Psalm a type-picture of "the revelation of the Lord Jesus from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire" (2 Thess. 1. 7, 8). In this interpretation, Yahweh the judge would be the Messiah himself as world-Judge, at whose coming all the Angels will pay the homage of their adoration, acknowledging him to be their Lord. Even if this typology be not admitted, our author can lawfully apply the words of the Psalm to a "First-born" whom he and the Hebrews honour as God. But the typology of a particular judgment prefiguring the general judgment is more likely, inasmuch as the One who is introduced by Psalm XCVI into the world is the *Begotten* of Psalm 2. 7 and the *Beloved Son* of 2 Samuel 7. 14, now qualified as the *πρωτότοκος* ("to whom the Father has given power to make judgment, because he is the Son of Man"), "the firstborn among many brethren," in whose name "every knee shall bow."¹

The text referring to the Angels as creatures and servants, which follows upon their act of adoration to the Firstborn, also has its special difficulty. The citation is placed in opposition to the two which come after it describing the kingship and creatorship of the Son. The citation is from Psalm 103. 4, the words being taken from the Septuagint with one slight variation. The distich is obviously to be translated: "Who maketh his angels spirits (winds) and his ministers a flame of fire (Heb. flaming fire)." That is also the obvious translation of the Hebrew words and the Targumist took them so. But the Psalm context seems to require a different rendering. Instead of making *τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ* object and *πνεύματα* predicate, the order should, apparently (in consistency with the context), be the other way round *πνεύματα* object of *ποιῶν*, and *τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ* predicate, so that the whole distich should read: "Who maketh winds his angels (messengers) and flaming fire his ministers." The reason of this will appear when we consider that the distich is the last of a strophe in a canticle of the Creator's glory. The strophe in question makes successive mention of light as God's mantle, of the sky as a tent with an upper story above the atmospheric waters, of the clouds as God's chariot and the winds as His winged steed. "He is clothed with honour and majesty; he has put on light as a garment. He spreadeth the heavens as a tent; he buildeth upper rooms on the waters. He maketh the clouds his chariot; he goeth about on wings of wind." After hearing that God makes the clouds His chariot and goes about on wings of wind, we should expect that the poet's

¹ John 5. 27; Romans 8. 29; Philippians 2. 10.

next distich would have as its objects those "winds and flaming fire" which God makes His elemental messengers and servants. Is it likely that spiritual beings enter suddenly at this point? The majority of modern commentators think not and, consequently, they translate: "Making his messengers (angels) out of the winds and his ministers out of flaming fire."¹ In his commentary on this Psalm Father Knabenbauer says: "Hoc sensus planus est et ad contextum unice aptus," and he further argues that it is not out of harmony with the sense attributed to the words in *Hebrews* 1. 7.

The idea, of course, that winds and fire are God's servants, is familiar to the poets of Israel. One of them said: "Ignis, grando, nix, glacies, spiritus procellarum, quae faciunt verbum eius" (Ps. 148. 8), and the Prophet Isaias announces: "Ecce Dominus in igne veniet, et quasi turbo quadrigae eius." All the elements are, as it were, the living instruments of His power. It may also be conceded that the Septuagint text is susceptible of the same interpretation as that given by most moderns to the Hebrew text, but the question is whether the Apostle, who undoubtedly understood the text of Angels, follows a wrong construction of the words. The context of the Psalm is the one argument urged against the Septuagint version in the sense which it obviously has and which the Apostle adopts. But is the context so cogent?² It is only the preceding distich that can be really quoted as deciding the context. This certainly speaks of clouds and wings of wind, and is literally translated: "who placeth clouds his chariot, who walketh on wings of wind." The order of the words in the first stichus is to be noted—participle, object, predicate. It is the natural order, and we should not assume without reason that there is a departure from it in the next distich. The only reason which one can give for such a departure is that a sudden

¹ We can quote only a few recent translations. ZORELL: "Qui uteris ut nuntiis tuis ventis, ut ministris tuis flammis ignis." CRAMPON: "Des vents il fait ses messagers, des flammes de feu ses serviteurs." CALÈS: "Des vents tu fais tes messagers, et tes ministres du feu ardent." PANNIER: "Des souffles il fait ses messagers, et ses serviteurs du feu de la flamme." VACCARI: "Che per messageri ha i venti e per ministri i guizzi di fuoco." REMBOLD: "Du bestellest Orkane zu deinen Boten, zu deinen Dienern flammende Blitze." HENNE: "Zu deinen Boten machst du die Stürme, zu deinen Dienern die Feuerflammen." MILLER: Die Winde machst du dir zu Boten, und Flammenblitze dir zu Dienern."

² Father Vaccari, although he adopts the above-mentioned translation in his Italian text, does not regard the other interpretation as excluded. In a note he says: "Può anche intendersi: fa i suoi messageri (veloci come) i venti, e i suoi ministri (rapidi o ardenti come) fiamme di fuoco. O ancora ha per messaggeri gli spiriti, cioè gli angeli." Cf. *Ebrei* 1. 7.

passage from the visible to the invisible order of creation is very unlikely. Such a sudden transition is, however, not contrary to the genius of Hebrew poetry and there are even positive parallels to show that the mention of God's chariot naturally carried the Hebrew mind to the thought of angels. In Psalm 17. 11 we find an extremely close parallel with the distich which we are considering. Exactly the same ideas occur, namely, that of a cloud-chariot and the Almighty rapidly moving, as it were, with wings of wind. "*Inclinavit caelos et descendit, et caligo sub pedibus eius. Et ascendit super cherubim et volavit; volavit super pennas ventorum.*" Again, the chariot of God in Psalm 67. 18 is surrounded by ten thousands, which, in spite of the difficulty of the text may reasonably be taken to mean a multitude of angels, although the chariot here is not a moving cloud but a vehicle of the earth. The living creatures which are associated with the mysterious chariot of Ezechiel (c. 1) are also angels, or Cherubim. We have, therefore, in favour of a mention of angels in this Psalm-text the natural order of the words, the indication of a special associative context by at least one striking parallel (Ps. 17. 11), and the authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews in favour of the obvious grammatical sense of the text ought to prevail, when a context other than the apparent one can be reasonably appealed to as justifying the translation: "who maketh his angels (as) winds."¹ When one reflects, it does not seem extraordinary that in a poem that glorifying God in the works of His creation mention should be made of God's invisible creatures amongst the visible evidences of His Majesty in the higher regions of heaven. (Cfr. Canticle of the three young men, Dan. 3. 55, 58; Psalm 148. 2, 103. 20 ff.). There is also the fact that *mal'ak*, in the seven other passages of the Psalter in which it is used, never means a messenger in general, but an angel (34. 7; 35. 5, 6, 78. 49, 91. 11, 103. 20, 148. 2, of Hebrew Psalter).

The other three texts need not detain us long. As has been said, two of them are Psalm texts which are set in opposition to the above Psalmodic testimony regarding the servile nature of angels, in order

¹ This is the view of St. Robert Bellarmine who writes (in h. l.): "*Nisi obstaret auctoritas Apostoli, potuisset hic locus intelligi de procellis et fulguribus quae fiunt in aëre, ut sensus esset: Qui facis ut spiritus procellarum sint angeli tui, id est, nuntii tui ad homines admonendos... Sed quoniam Apostolus ad Hebr. 1. 7 exponit hunc locum de angelicis spiritibus et hinc argumentum ducit ad probandam Christi divinitatem et praestantiam super angelos, dicendum est Prophetam loqui de veris angelis, et dicere voluisse non solos ventos ac nubes velocissime discurrere per aërem, ut Deo iubenti serviant; sed habere Deum ministros longe sublimiores et potentiores; angelos videlicet, quos mittat ad homines, vel admonendos vel puniendos.*"

to bring out Christ's pre-eminence over them as King and God. These are not quoted as two independent testimonies, it would seem, for the second is joined to the first by a simple *καὶ* and seems to develop an idea which is expressed but does not receive special emphasis in the first. The first testimony is again taken from a Messianic Psalm. In declaring the Messianity of Psalm XLIV Jewish and Christian tradition are at one. The Targum addresses verse 3 expressly to the Messiah: "Thy beauty, o King Messiah, is above that of the Angels, the spirit of prophecy has been poured forth on thy lips." Aben Ezra, explaining the title, says: "This Psalm has been spoken of David and of the Messiah his son." Rabbi David Kimchi paraphrases the first verse: "I begin by declaring that my word, that is, my Psalm, is for the King Messiah."¹ St. John the Baptist (Jn. 3. 29) and St. John the Evangelist (Apoc. 21. 9) as well as St. Paul (2 Cor. 11. 2 and Eph. 5. 26, 27) apply to Christ the imagery of this divine epithalamium. The Fathers uphold the same exegetical tradition in a very strong and decisive way. St. Augustine, for instance, regards it as downright stupidity to regard the poem as a mere marriage song composed for a human Prince. Having quoted vv. 1-10 in full he asks: "Quis non hic Christum quem praedicamus, et in quem credimus, quamlibet sit tardus, agnoscat: cum audiat Deum, cuius sedes est in saecula saeculorum, et unctum a Deo, utique sicut ungit Deus, non visibili, sed spirituali atque intelligibili chrismate? Quis enim tam rudis est in hac religione, vel tam surdus adversus eius famam longe lateque diffusam, ut Christum a chrismate, hoc est, ab unctione, appellatum esse non noverit? Agnito autem rege Christo, iam cetera quae dicta sunt... inquirat ex otio." And having quoted the second part, he says: "Non opinor quemquam ita desipere, ut hic aliquam mulierculam praedicari credat atque describi: coniugem videlicet illius cui dictum est: Sedes tua Deus in saecula saeculorum etc."² "L'exégète catholique," says Père Calès, "ne saurait donc être libre de rejeter le sens supérieur du

¹ Texts cited by PANNIER, *Les Psaumes* (La Sainte Bible, Tome V, Paris 1937).

² *De Civitate Dei*, XVII, 16 (PL. XLI, 548, 549). See also the same Father: *Enarrationes in Psalmos* (PL. XXXVI, 493); St. Justin (*Dialogue* 37, PG. VI, 558 and 64, *ibid.* 621); S. Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* (3, 6 PG. VI, 860 and 4, 63, PG. 1079); S. Basilus in Ps. 44 (PG. XXIX, 388-414); S. John Chrys. in Ps. 44 (PG., LV, 182-208); Theodoretus in Ps. 44 (PG. LXXX, 1188-1197); and amongst the Latins: Cyprian, *Testimonia adv. Iudaeos* 1, 6. 29 (PL. IV, 700 ff.); S. Hieronymus (Ep. 65 *ad Principiam* (PL. XXII, 622-639). The endlessly various hypotheses of modern non-Catholic scholars, such as Hitzig, Ewald, Briggs, Cheyne, Olshausen, Grätz, Duhm may be seen in PANNIER (o. c., p. 176) and PARENTI, *Notae Exegeticae in Psalmos selectos* (Rome, 1934, p. 49f).

Psaume XLV, moins encore de celui du cantique des cantiques, auquel il est étroitement parallèle." The fact of the Messianic character of the Psalm being established, the question whether it is directly Messianic or only typal so is not of particular importance in view of the present discussion. Calès says with some exaggeration: "Il n'est guère aujourd'hui d'exégètes qui soutiennent avec quelque assurance l'allégorisme pur du ps. XLV. Le petit poème a été composé pour un roi et une reine historiques du peuple de Dieu."¹ But there is no agreement as to the identification of the King and Queen that are the historical royal couple of the poem. The opinion which has found most favour is that this beautiful wedding-song was indited for the marriage of Solomon with a foreign Princess, probably, the daughter of the Egyptian Pharaoh (I Kings 3. 1). She happens to be the one foreign wife of David's son whom the Scripture mentions in recounting the history of those days in which "Solomon loved the Lord walking in the precepts of David his father" (I Kings 3. 3). But against the assumption that a matrimonial alliance like this made the heart of a divinely inspired prophet-poet "bubble up with an exquisite word," there are many difficulties. The Law prohibited such marriages (Deut. 7. 2), and, even if we suppose Solomon to have acted in good faith or with some understanding that God tolerated such a marriage in his case, it is clear from the Scriptural narratives that the Egyptian Princess was not another Ruth, who became a daughter of the chosen people, but a pagan woman.² Solomon built a special palace for her because he did not wish her to live in the Palace of David once sanctified by the presence of the Ark of the Covenant. Furthermore, she is subsequently mentioned among the wives that perverted the heart of the wise King (1 Kings 11. 1). It is difficult then to suppose that such a woman was a type of the Messiah's bride. The typical Bridegroom is even more difficult to identify with Solomon. Efforts have been made to set aside the objection that Solomon was not a warrior-king by pointing to such facts as his solicitude to have a strong cavalry and chariot force,³ his activity in building fortified cities,⁴ his success in making the remnants of the old Amorrite, Hethite, Pherezite, Hevite and Jebusite populations tributary to the King of Israel,⁵ his conquest of

¹ *Le Livre des Psaumes*, I, p. 472.

² 2 Paralip. 8. 11; 1 Kings 11. 1.

³ 1 Kings 4. 26, 10. 26; 2 Paralip. 1. 14, 9. 25.

⁴ 1 Kings 9. 17-19; 2 Paralip. 8. 5, 6.

⁵ 1 Kings 9. 20, 21; 2 Paralip. 8. 7, 8.

Emath Suba.¹ But all this is really beside the point, and neither in disposition nor in deed does the picture given of Solomon in Kings and Chronicles correspond with the *gibbor* or hero-bridegroom of Psalm XLIV. The most insuperable of all difficulties against the assumption of Solomon as the royal Bridegroom is the mode of address in the very verses cited in *Hebrews*: "Thy throne, *o God*, is for ever and ever (and the) sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of thy kingdom. Thou didst love justice and hate iniquity; therefore God, thy God anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows." The first words are rightly translated "Thy throne, *o Elohim*." *Elohim* is a vocative and was so rendered by the Septuagintal *ὁ Θεός*,² and still more strikingly by Aquila's *Θεέ*.³ The absence of the article (*ha'Elohim*) is no argument against this assertion, for there are plenty of examples of the absence of the article in such a case.⁴ The attempts made at translation on the supposition that *Elohim* is nominative or genitive cannot be maintained. Thus Westcott adopts the rendering: "God is thy throne for ever and ever." Departing from the better reading, he makes the sceptre God's sceptre: "And the sceptre of uprightness is the sceptre of His Kingdom" (*βασιλείας αὐτοῦ* BS in Heb. 1. 8, against the Septuagint, the Hebrew, and the whole context of the passage, which requires *βασιλείας σου*).⁵ Westcott admits that the phrase: "God is thy throne" is found nowhere else, but pleads that it is no more strange than: "God is thy rock, or thy dwelling-place." Biblical metaphors can certainly be very bold. They admit such imagery as falling back on God as a refuge, abiding in Him as in a dwelling, standing on him as on a secure rock. We could even conceive the idea of reclining on God as the resting-place of our soul, but who has ever thought (*sit venia verbo*) of sitting on God as on a throne. Such an expression is unparalleled and is not to be thought of here. Baethgen's proposed translation: "Thy throne is of God (divine) eternal and perpetual"⁶

¹ Paralip. 8. 3.

² Symmachus and Theodotion also have *ὁ Θεός*. For this vocative see LXX, Pss. 5. 11, 24. 22, 42. 1 etc.

³ St. Jerome Ep. LXV *ad Principiam*, 3.

⁴ Pss. 5. 11, 25. 22, 36. 7, 42. 2, 43. 1, 44. 2, 44. 5, 48. 10, 38. 11, 51. 3, 51. 12 etc. (Hebrew numbers).

⁵ WESTCOTT, in h. l. (o. c. p. 25) "It is scarcely possible that *אלוהים* in the original can be addressed to the king. The presumption therefore is against the belief that it is a vocative in the LXX. Thus on the whole it seems best to adopt in the first clause the rendering: God is thy throne... This interpretation is required, if we adopt the reading *αὐτοῦ* for *σου*."

⁶ Leviticus 26. 42 has been appealed to as establishing the possibility of this

is no unnatural as to draw from Cambridge Hebraist, Cook, the following remark: "It is certain that no such interpretation would have been thought of, had not a doctrinal bias intervened."¹ The golden rule of adhering to the obvious sense compels us to admit that the hero of this poem is addressed as Elohim. It is the only example in the Hebrew Bible of the term Elohim being used as a title of direct address to a single individual. The nearest approach to the language of the Psalm, inasmuch as there is question of one person and not of a class, is the word spoken to Moses in Exodus 7. 1: "I have given thee as a god to Pharaoh;"² but even here the term is indubitably a metaphorical appellative, whereby Moses is designated as a giver of divine commands, which Aaron shall speak before Pharaoh, as if he were the Prophet of Moses. In all other cases the word, when not employed of false gods, is used with a plural signification to denote some class of beings endowed with superior dignity. The one true God is often spoken of as being exalted above all gods.³ By this phrase pagan divinities are meant in the words of Jethro to Moses (Exodus 18. 11), and probably in all other similar passages, where the context seems to admit the notion of putative divinities. It is possible, however, that angels are sometimes meant (Ps. 136. 2) and in three cases (Pss. 8. 6, 96. 7, 137. 1) the Septuagint translators have certified that Angels were designated or at least included. When the witch of Endor told Saul: "Deos vidi ascendentes de terra" (1 Sam. 28. 13) she was speaking apparently of the spirits in Sheol. Besides these passages, only a very small residue of texts remain in which Elohim is an appellative of human dignitaries. Judges or magistrates as a class are so designated in Exodus,⁴ but always with the article (ha' elohim) except in one passage (22. 27). Psalm LXXXI may be regarded as the classical and only example of the use of Elohim in directly addressing judges of the people. "God stands in a divine assembly (TM ba'adath-El); in the midst of Elohim he judges"... then, after accusing them, he prefaces a sentence of death against them with the words (v. 6): "I indeed said: You are Elohim and sons

translation, but there seem to be reasons for doubting the soundness of the text. Toy (*Quotations in the N. T.*, p. 206) mentions the parallel but refuses to use it.

¹ Cited by A. PARENTI, *Notae Exegeticae in Psalmos selectos*, p. 43.

² Cfr. Exodus 4. 16: Et tu eris illi (Aaroni) in Deum (l'Elohim).

³ Deuteronomy 10. 17; 1 Paralip. 16. 25; 2 Paralip. 2. 5; Psalms 85. 8, 94. 3. 95. 4, 96. 9, 134. 5.

⁴ Exodus 21. 6; 22. 8, 9, 28 (7, 8, 27) Hebrew. It is interesting to note that St. Paul cited the last passage: "Principem populi tui non maledices."

of the Most High you all." It would seem that the claim of the Messias to the title Elohim is even more exclusive than his claim to the title son. Of Christ alone it was said in the singular number: *Filius Altissimi vocabitur* (Luke 1. 32). Likewise the Scripture which "cannot be dissolved" gives the title Elohim to the Messias alone outside of all special categories of human dignity. Therefore, we conclude that the Fathers of the Church were justified in giving the term in Ps. XLIV its full meaning.¹ It may even be that they were forestalled by Isaias the Prophet, for if our Psalm is anterior to the eighth century, the great Prophet may very well have had its language in mind, when he put *El gibbor* as the second of his Messianic titles (Is. 9. 5; cfr. Ps. 44. 4; 7, *gibbor, Elohim*). For these reasons we regard the Psalm as directly Messianic.

The Apostle does not use verses 7 and 8 to prove the divinity of Christ but to establish his royalty. The emphasis is on the throne, and the sceptre, and the anointing of the Messias, but the proclamation of his divinity in 6^a and perhaps also in 7^b (*unxit te, Deus, [vocative] Deus tuus*) is used as a basis for a citation from Psalm 101, which can scarcely be regarded as Messianic. Even though this elegy was not written with any reference to the Word Incarnate,² its final verses come very appropriately as a supplement to the royalty verses of Psalm XLIV and hang quite well on the proclamation of divinity contained in the preceding passage. It is, therefore, not a case of Messianization due to the Greek equivalent of Yahweh, namely, *κύριος* becoming the special title of the Messias.³ The Messias having been addressed as *God* in the preceding citation, a text addressed to Yahweh as Creator and Eternal God can appropriately be added as words of address to the Messias.

The chain of seven rings ends with a text, about the Messianity of which it is quite superfluous to say a word. "Sit at my right

¹ THEODORETUS in h. l. (PG. LXXX, 1191) sums up the exegesis of the ancients thus: "Per haec docet et Deum esse eum et aeternum Regem, qui nec principium accepit nec finem accepturus est. Hoc autem declarat in saeculum. Idecirco et Symmachus aeternum illum dixit: Thronus tuus, o Deus, aeternus."

² It is not wise to be very assertive with regard to what the Holy Spirit may have wished to express through an elegiac prayer for the restoration of Sion. It might be contended that, as the petition is for the building up of the Holy City, the request addressed to Yahweh is implicitly a request to the Lord Messias, the real Restorer of Sion. But the contention seems far-fetched.

³ Windisch does not consider the close connexion of the Messianic and the non-Messianic text when he writes: "Wie stark die Ausbildung des Christusbegriffes durch Deutung der *κύριος*-stellen LXX auf Christus beeinflusst worden ist, zeigt sich hier besonders deutlich" (o. c., p. 16).

hand, until I place thy enemies as the footstool of thy feet" is a passage about which Christ Himself, St. Peter in his first Pentecost Sermon,¹ and St. Paul in his letters² have left no room for doubt. Both the primitive tradition of the Jewish Synagogue and the perpetual tradition of the Christian Church have interpreted this Psalm as directly referring to Christ.

The exegetical process observed in this series of seven texts is very simple. Christ is better than the Angels, because he has been directly addressed as Son (Psalm 2. 7), has been typally in Solomon proclaimed to be such (1 Sam. 7. 14), and as Yahweh-Judge has been foreshown in a particular Theophany of the Book of Psalms (96. 7) wherein he appears receiving the adoration of the Angels. These are only servants of God like the winds and the lightnings (Psalm 103. 4), whereas Christ is the eternally enthroned, sceptred and anointed King of whom as God (Psalm 44. 6, 7) creatorship and eternity are predicated (Psalm 101. 25-27). Lastly to him alone the Almighty has said: "Sit at my right hand."³ Thus six texts proclaim four attributes of Christ. Against the servile name of Angel they set a Name which means Son, Heir, Creator, Consessor.

It is not to Angels but to Man that the sovereignty of the Messianic world belongs. This thought is quite according to the mind of St. Paul, for it is in the same sphere of ideas as the thought expressed in first Corinthians (6. 2 f.): "Do you not know that the saints shall judge the world?... Do you not know that we shall judge Angels?" This language goes beyond Wisdom 3. 8, but may be said to fully represent the judicial authority given by the Ancient of days to the saints in Daniel 7. 22. It is by participation in the Messianic sovereignty that the saints shall judge all creation. St. Paul saw this human sovereignty proclaimed in the eighth Psalm, which speaks of the glory given to man as including universal empire. "God has set all things under his feet"—everything below God Himself (1 Cor. 15. 27). The key to the exegesis of the Psalm is its Messianism. The same exegetical key is applied to the poem in *Hebrews*. God's mindfulness of the human race and His loving-kindness in visiting that race with His favour is brought into light by three points found in the Psalm: firstly, man's natural inferiority to the Angels in the realm of creation, but his subsequent coronation with glory and honour, and his universal lordship, so that all things, nothing excepted, "have been placed under his feet." It is only in Christ that the dignity

¹ Matt. 22. 44 and parallels, 26. 64 and parallels.

² Acts 2. 34 (cfr. 1. Petr. 3. 22).

³ 1 Corinthians 15. 25 (cfr. Rom. 8. 34; Eph. 1. 20, Col. 3. 1).

thus conferred on mankind is realised. The important words, that is, the words exegetically drawn out by our author are: "Minuisti eum paulo minus ab angelis: gloria et honore coronasti eum: omnia subiecisti sub pedibus eius." The Psalm is a simple but powerful meditation on the littleness of man before God, Whose name is wonderful throughout the whole earth, Whose majesty is spread out over the heavens. It is really the sight of the firmament's splendour that begets the poet's reflexion: "What is man that God should lavish such care on him?" The first point raised by commentators in regard to the Psalmist's detailed description of the divine benignity towards man is whether: "Minuisti eum paulo minus ab angelis" expresses the idea of comparative smallness in relation to superior creatures or comparative greatness in relation to inferior creatures. The Apostle following the LXX took the words in the former sense. The sentence is regarded as diminishing man, not a little below the Creator but a little below a higher class of creatures. Is this view of the text lexically and logically correct? Should Elohim not rather be translated simply "God," and the whole sentence be regarded as the first of three degrees of God's care to raise man to honour? Thou hast honoured this *enosh* and this *ben-adam* so much that thou madest him little less than God. Such is the view of many moderns.¹ But although there is an allusion to Genesis 1. 26: "Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram," Elohim in our Psalm does not mean the transcendent God, but a godlike creature or, as we should say, "a god"—that is, a divine being. It seems out of place for the Psalmist to say that man just as he is (*enosh*) has been made little less than the God of majesty Whom he has just so magnificently described. Elohim therefore means some divine creatures + below God. Now, as we know of no other class of god-like creatures except angels, Jewish tradition, represented not only by the Septuagint but also by the Syriac Peschitta, the Targum, and the later Jewish commentators Rashi, Kimchi, Aben Ezra, translated *melohim* by words equivalent to our comparative phrase: "than angels." The Psalmist thereby says that man is not by nature the supreme creature

¹ Toy (*Quotations* etc. p. 213) continues the question of v. 5 thus: "What is man that thou art mindful of him and the son of man that thou visitest him, and hast made him a little inferior to God, and with glory and honour hast crowned him?... thou hast put all things under his feet." WINDISCH (p. 20): "Der Vergleich mit den Engeln Ps. 8. 6 bedeutet nicht wie im ursprünglichen Text die Höhe der Erhebung des Menschen (ἄγγελοι ist Uebersetzung von אֱלֹהִים) sondern die zeitweise Erniedrigung des eigentlich Erhabeneren." Nairne (Cambridge Greek Testament, Hebrews p. 42): "In the Hebrew he says: Thou hast made him little less than God."

of God yet, there is no limit to his elevation—an elevation which altogether goes beyond the words of Genesis 1. 28 and 9. 5. We think, therefore, that the sequence of thought in the Psalm and even the construction of the Hebrew phrases: *wattēhassērēhu... wēkabod wēhadar tē'attērēhu* etc. admits the translation: While thou didst make him little short of angels, with glory and honour thou crownest him (thou settest him over the works of thy hands). All things thou hast placed under his feet." In considering man's diminution below the angels, human mortality must have been the chief idea in the Psalmist's mind.¹ It was his capital shortcoming in comparison with the Angels, not God's making indeed, but the Psalmist does not consider man just at the moment of his creation but as he has been and is in history under the firmament of heaven. There is no reason to suppose that the *βραχύ τι* of man's diminution is a measure of time (a little while) rather than the distance between the angels' immortality and his mortality. The whole context of the Apostle shows that it was this difference that he had in view. His exegesis of the Psalm verses is firm and rigorously literal, but also goes to the full length of their Messianic content. Diminution below the angels belongs to all men; coronation with glory and honour can be regarded as partially realised in man's intellectual superiority over the world in which he lives; but absolute dominion over everything made by God is beyond the limits of the *enosh*. Yet here, as in first Corinthians 15. 26 and Ephesians 1. 22, this absolutely universal subjection of all creation to the Man of the Psalm is what is insisted upon. The subjection of everything (*τὰ πάντα*) to him means that nothing remains unsubjected (*ἀνυπότακτον*). Certainly it is not the

¹ The Greek Fathers saw the "shortening" of man below the angels in his mortality which supposed even the condemnatory sentence of God. Thus St. Chrysostom who discusses the text very accurately, even citing the Hebrew, comments as follows (in Ps. VIII, PG. LV, 116): *Minuisti eum Paulo minus ab angelis. Alius, Paulo minus a Deo. Alius Paululum quiddam a Deo. Hebraeus autem, Outhas-reou mat me eloim. Hic meminit condemnationis et veteris peccati, mortem in medium adducens. At eam quoque solvit cum venisset Unigenitus.*" Theodoretus, likewise (in h. l. PG. LXXX, 918): *Minuisti eum paulo minus ab angelis. Hic sententiam post praevaricationem latam commemorat. Mortalitate enim minor factus est angelis.*" Also St. Cyril of Alexandria: "Rationales quidem supernae virtutes longam et interminabilem agunt vitam. Rationalis similiter in terra homo, etsi superis non est par, aliquantum tamen infra angelorum dignitatem iacet, ob suam cum terreno corporis coniunctionem: minorque est quatenus morti et corruptelae obnoxius, idque post transgressionem: ex hac enim et corruptela et mors extiterunt. Imminutus igitur infra angelos dicitur Christus propter mortis perpeccionem: pati enim carne proprie sustinuit, quanquam in divina natura mansit impassibilis." (PG, LXIX, 759).

first Adam and his children that can pretend to such heights, but the second Adam. The first was *τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος* (Rom. 5. 14). The full sense of the Psalm is not found in him, but in the spiritual eminence of the *ἔσχατος Ἀδάμ* (1 Cor. 15. 45) who is the supreme Administrator of the world to come (*τῆς οἰκουμένης τῆς μελλούσης* (Hebr. 2. 5). The thought is altogether Pauline, but *Hebrews* further says, as indeed first Corinthians also, (15. 27) that all is not yet actually subject to him.¹ "But him who was lessened a little below the angels, namely, Jesus, we see on account of the suffering of death crowned with glory and honour, in order that by the grace of God he should taste death for every man." It is not the fact of the passion only but the mortality which he assumed for the salvation of mankind that lowered Jesus a little below the angels, one of whom strengthened him in his agony (Luke 22. 43). Through death he destroyed that mortality and has taken the crown of honour and glory as the Saviour in whose death all men can conquer death.

The spiritual fraternity of the Messias with those whom he sanctifies is recalled in chapter II as an idea associated with his consummation through death. This spiritual fraternity is based on three OT texts, and on the third of them is built an argumentum convenientiae for the Son's participation in flesh and blood. The passages are from a Psalm and from the eighth chapter of Isaias. As Psalm XXI, best known by the Aramaic words of its initium: *Eloi, Eloi, lammah sabachtani*, is one of the very greatest of Messianic prophecies, in fact, almost a Gospel of the Passion of Jesus Christ, there is no difficulty to be raised against our author making the Messias come forward with a verse of it on his lips: "Nuntiabo nomen tuum fratribus meis: in medio ecclesiae laudabo te" (Ps. 21. 23). Really the Passion section of this psalm is so vivid a picture of the scenes of Golgotha that the great majority of Catholic scholars regard it as immediately spoken not in the name of a suffering Israelite poet, but in the name of the suffering Christ. This first distich of the triumphant section of the poem is also like a lamp lighting the scene beside the empty tomb on the Sunday of the Resurrection. The words of Jesus to the holy women who were the first to carry his triumph to the as-

¹ The distinction between subjection *de iure* and *de facto* solves the apparent antilogy between *Hebrews* and Corinthians on the one hand and Ephesians on the other. The last-mentioned Epistle represents Christ as already in possession of this universal sway: "(Deus) operatus est in Christo, suscitans illum a morte et constituens ad dexteram suam in caelestibus: supra omnem principatum et potestatem et virtutem et dominationem et omne nomen, quod nominatur non solum in hoc saeculo, sed etiam in futuro. *Et omnia subiecit sub pedibus eius.*"

sembly were: *Ite nuntiate fratribus meis* ut eant in Galilaeam, ibi me videbunt (Matt. 28. 10); and a little later to Mary Magdalene: "*Vade autem ad fratres meos et dic eis: Ascendo ad Patrem meum et Patrem vestrum, Deum meum et Deum vestrum* (John 20. 17).¹ The fraternal solidarity of Christ with his own is otherwise expressed in the two words of Isaias which are added to the Psalm text: "*Ego ero fidens in eum. Et iterum: Ecce ego et pueri (mei) quos dedit mihi Deus*" (Is. 8. 17, 18). The two words were spoken by the Prophet at one time. Confidence in God is a sentiment that is human and filial; the Prophet standing with the two Godgiven children, their three names being signs and portents of "salvation from Yahweh" and of "the return of an Israelite remnant" and of a "speedy victory over foes,"² formed such a human and spiritual society as very appropriately prefigured the union of Christ and his own. But, as this view of the citations is denied³ it is necessary to say a word on the context. At a solemn moment in Judahite history, a moment when the prophet and a few disciples stood alone as believers in the permanence of God's promises to his people, a moment between the giving of the sign of a virgin-born Emmanuel (Is. 7. 14) and the prophecy of the establishment of his kingdom (9. 23), Isaias had received his second son as a guarantee that the Syro-Ephraimite coalition so dangerous to Judah should soon disappear, but Judah itself should be laid waste by the Assyrians, only to be saved from annihilation

¹ See Justin's simple exposition of the connexion between the Psalm verse and the things recorded in the apomnemoneumata of the Apostles (*Dialogus cum Tryphone*, 106). To compare this placing of Messianic Psalm words in the Messiah's own mouth here and in *Hebrews* 10. 5-7 with Philo's attribution of the words of the Patriarch Jacob to the Logos is ridiculous. Windisch in commenting on our present passage mentions the parallel as if it were something really striking: "Christus der Sprecher in der LXX hier und 10. 5-7, wie bei Philo der Logos vgl. de somn. II, 135." When one looks up the text of Philo, he finds the following banal sentence: "Such a one (Joseph) his father rebukes in the family circle, not Jacob, but what was older than Jacob, namely, the right word saying: 'What is this dream that you dreamed?'"

² Yesha 'yahu means: God is salvation; Shear-yashub means: A remnant shall return; and Maher-shalal-hash-baz means: Quickly comes booty, speedily comes prey.

³ WINDISCH in h. I. (p. 22): "Ein zweites Herrenwort Is. 8, 17 f. (LXX beginnt t καὶ περ. ἔσομαι vgl. Is. 12. 2, II Regn. 22, 3), merkwürdigerweise durch ein καὶ πάλιν zerteilt, das aber wohl fälschlich eingesetzt ist; 13^a für sich ist ja kein Beleg für Gleichstellung des Sohnes mit den Menschen, höchstens für die Haltung des Sohnes im Leiden 12. 5 ff. Aus den Söhnen des Jesaia sind Gottes Kinder geworden, die der gottergebene Christus anvertraut bekommt Jo. 6. 37-39; 17. 2, 6, 12, 24; dass er sie nun als seine Brüder betrachtet, ist freilich nicht ausgesprochen."

through Emmanuel (8. 1-10)—at this moment the Prophet is divinely warned not to associate himself with the incredulous ways of the people for whom Yahweh will be a stone of stumbling and a rock of ruin. Isaias therefore gathers his sons and apparently his disciples with them and stands ready to see that God's testimony and revelation will remain as a sealed treasure in their hearts. In the name of this holy remnant on which salvation depends, the Prophet as its Leader declares: "I will wait upon the Lord who hideth his face from the house of Jacob, and *I will hope in him*. See, *I and the children whom God has given me*—we are for signs and portents in Israel from the Lord of hosts who dwelleth on Mount Sion" (8. 17, 18). If the Prophet at this moment does not impersonate Christ as many of the ancients thought,¹ he is at least a type of the Saviour with the children whom His Father gave him "non ex sanguinibus neque ex voluntate carnis sed ex Deo." The Sanctifier and the sanctified are of one Father. He speaks a word of spiritual and human fellowship and fraternity when he says in his mortal flesh: "Ego ero confidens in eo," and similarly when he calls his disciples "the children whom God gave him." The text does not say that the children are the children of the Messias, the "mei" after "pueri" being an addition of the Vulgate both in the text of Isaias and in the citation of *Hebrews*. Neither the Hebrew Isaias, not the Greek Septuagint, nor the Greek text of our Epistle have these words. The children may very well be the children of God (ex uno omnes) and brothers of the Messias. Although, indeed, Christ is both father and brother of his people, the relationship of filiation and paternity between him and his disciples seems to be out of place here, for the notion of fraternity first announced in verse 11 is repeated in verse 17, while our citation belongs to an intermediary verse 13. Admitting the typical sense of the double passage, Christ voices in it exactly what the Apostle's context brings out, a fraternal association of the Sanctifier and the sanctified firstly, in a human and filial trust in regard to what is here called consummation, secondly, their fraternal association with him as sons of God.²

¹ See KBABENBAUER, *Comm. in Isaiam Prophetam* (Paris, 1923), Vol. I, p. 237: "Non desunt ex antiquis qui propter Heb. l. c. totum locum immediate et unice de Christo explicant. Cfr. EUSEBIUS, *Comm. in Hesaiam* (PG. XXIV, 145), S. CYR. ALEX. *in Isaiam* l. I, *Oratio* V (PG, LXX 258: "mox personam ipsius Emmanuelis introducit") also St. Basil (if the commentary PG. XXX, 117 ff. is his) and Thomas Aquinas.

² The object of Christ's confidence was not essential beatitude, but the glory which should crown his passion. St. Thomas comments on the two citations very

From what has been said it should be clear that the eleven texts of the two first chapters of *Hebrews*—the largest group in the Epistle—are simply made to deliver their literal or typological content. The Apostle's exegesis results mostly from the context, but in the case of Psalm VIII the meaning is developed, as likewise the implications of the principle of fraternal solidarity of the Son and the sons declared in Psalm XXI and Isaias VIII.

We may now proceed to consider briefly the remaining groups of citations in the rest of the dogmatic portion of the Epistle, only with a view to seeing whether any unpauline methods of exegesis reveal themselves.

Second, Third and Fourth Groups

In the second group (Moses – Sabbatismos group) there are three texts, but two of them can be dismissed in a few words. There is no question about the exegesis of Numbers 12. 7. Its exposition in *Hebrews* 3. 2-6 does not go beyond the plain historical sense of the words: "My servant Moses is faithful in all my house." The most noteworthy point is that the house of God once denoted the Israelite people but now the Christian people, a thought familiar to St. Paul who regards the Church as the "Israel of God" (Gal. 6. 16) and "the truly circumcised" (Philipp. 3. 3). Similarly with regard to Genesis 2. 2, because the sentence: "God rested on the seventh day from all his works" is taken simply to mean "ceased from his works." The Apostle is not working with elements foreign to the Scriptures. The archetypal relation of God's sabbath to the religious sabbath of Israel is found in the formulation of the third precept of the Decalogue (Ex. 20. 8-11; Deut. 5. 12-14; cfr. Exod. 31. 17). The sabbath is actually designated in 2 Macc. 15. 1 as ἡ τῆς καταπαύσεως ἡμέρα. Again, Canaan is described by Moses as Israel's κατάπαυσις (Deut. 12. 9; cfr. 3 Kings 8. 56), so that the typology of the third chapter of *Hebrews* was already prepared in the Ancient Bible. The idea of a final rest after the labours of life is also genuinely Hebrew (Apoc. 14. 13)¹ and finds sufficiently clear expression in first Thessalonians

happily, by saying: "*Ego ero fidens in ipso pro gloria capitis et membrorum, quod supra dixit consummationem... Deinde, cum dicit: Et iterum etc., ostendit quod non solum ipse est a Deo sed etiam pueri.*"

¹ The second chapter of the fourth book of Esdras cannot be cited as a Jewish witness of this thought, for, although the main portion of the Book was written by a Jew of the first Christian century, the two first chapters, from which the beautiful "Requiem aeternam dona eis Domine" (2. 33) of our office of the Dead is

4. 17 (*semper cum Dominus erimus*), in second Thessalonians 1.7 (*requiem nobiscum in revelatione Domini Iesu de caelo*), and in second Corinthians 5. 8 (*peregrinari a corpore*). Our author finds this rest promised in Psalm XCIV. In the warning portion of that Psalm (6-11) the march of the exodus toward Canaan becomes the pilgrimage of life. The *Rest* to which the hearers of the Psalm must tend cannot be the rest of Canaan for that was given to the Israelites hundreds of years ago by Josue, but today the same thing can happen as happened to the generation of the Exodus. Massah and Meribah are names that recall Israelite hard-heartedness, unbelief, and rebellion. The whole period of forty years in the desert was a history of straying from the ways of God, so that God swore and maintained His oath that this people should not enter into the promised rest. The Rest that the people of God may now miss by imitation of the unbelief, sin, and disobedience of Israel is not the rest of a temporal country but the spiritual Rest which is symbolised by God's repose after the work of creation.

If we choose to call this portion of *Hebrews* a homiletic midrash, we shall have to distinguish three parts in it, firstly, a series of moral points turning on the danger of infidelity (3. 12-19) and very like first Corinthians 10. 1-13; secondly, a discussion on the Rest which is open to believers (4. 1-10); and thirdly a final exhortation to hasten to the Rest and avoid infidelity (4. 11-13). In the first part the deterrent example of the Israelites is held up in terms of the need of daily care (*hodie*) against hardening (*nolite obdurare corda*). Perseverance is the only response to a warning which always speaks of Today. The Israelites as a people embittered God; on account of their sins He was angry with them for forty years and their bodies fell in the desert; because of infidelity He swore the oath which excluded them from His rest. Infidelity excluded them. It is with the second part that the typo-eschatological character of the rest appears. The promise still remains for the generation of today, but may be missed in the same way. Faith is the means of entering the place of repose. It still remains, because God swore concerning this Rest long after his own sabbath of creation. The first to whom it was promised in figure did not enter it. Hence in David God determines an indefinite today with regard to a Rest which is evidently not that which Josue gave the people. Another Rest is left for the people

adapted, are generally ascribed to a third century Christian hand. The same idea, however, is also found in 8. 52: "*Vobis enim apertus est paradisus... aedificata est civitas, probata est requies.*"

of God consisting of a cessation from labour like that of God Himself after the hexaemeron. The final exhortation (4 11 ff.) adds nothing to the exegesis of the Psalm passage.

Even Dr. Moffat notes how little in the style of Philo this midrash is. No subtle meaning is attached to the words; there is no philosophizing on the relation of the Rest to God. "All such speculations are remote from our author. He simply assumes a) that God's promise of *κατάπαυσις* is spiritual; it was not fulfilled, it was never meant to be fulfilled in the peaceful settlement of the Hebrew clans in Canaan; b) as a corollary of this, he assumes that it is eschatological."¹

* * *

The third or priestly set of texts present only one difficulty. There are (counting with perfect strictness) three Psalm texts and a Genesiac text. The Psalm texts (2. 7, 109 4b, 109. 4a) are from undeniably Messianic Psalms. The second of them declares Christ "a Priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedech." The typical person of Melchisedech is, therefore, introduced from Genesis and asked to deliver up the significance which David prophetically saw in this singular figure. It is here, especially, that the hermeneutical canons of Philo are said to be brought into play by Siegfried² and others, but Windisch may be taken as one of the most radical critics of our author's exegesis of the Melchisedech passages. His introductory remark on chapter VII is as follows: "The whole chapter is a midrash on Ps. 109. 4 and Genesis 14. 17-20. These two passages of the Old Testament, in which mention is made of Melchisedech, are brought together and, in regard to the Messiah Jesus having already appeared, conclusions are drawn, of which the biblical authors never thought."³ The same author affirms very categorically that in *Hebrews* the Melchisedech who met Abraham is not regarded as a man but as a divine being in human form, a double and precursor of Jesus the Son of God. He possesses unlimited life, without beginning or end and also the dignity of a Priest before God for all eternity. Because there was really no room for the Son beside this figure, the author of the Epistle takes away all independent significance from him. He speculates about the whole Melchisedech phenomenon with the sole purpose of ousting the Levitical Priesthood. As soon as this happens, Melchisedech retires into the background, in order to allow Jesus, the only

¹ *Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, p. 53.

² SIEGFRIED, *Philo von Alexandria als Ausleger des A. T.*, pp. 323 ff.

³ *Der Hebräerbrief*, p. 59.

Highpriest of our confession, to play his unique role. From verse 18 on, Melchisedech is completely forgotten. Our author's exposition is such as to invite a surmisal that he is making use of some earlier and extraneous teaching, in which speculation and cult were joined together. Contact with the same traditions as those used by Philo is to be regarded as probable, for Philo sees in Melchisedech a manifestation of the Logos. "Hebrews, indeed, is not to be considered as directly dependent on Philo; but the writer must have been acquainted with similar exegetical traditions, which he pressed into the service of his particular thesis, using them to show the supereminence of the Priest Christ over Levi and Aaron.¹

Now, anyone who studies the admirably close reasoning of Hebrews VII will see that the Apostle finds the key to the typical significance of Melchisedech in the words of the great Messianic Psalm CIX: "Thou art a priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedech." The Messias is a priest, and his eternal priesthood was prefigured in the person of Melchisedech, whom God the Author of the divine record in Genesis XIV assimilated to His Son. The Melchisedechian "ordo" the Apostle understands to be not a line of succession but an ordinance by virtue of which the antitype was to exhibit the traits that occurred in the history of the figure (*secundum similitudinem Melchisedech alius exurgit sacerdos* Heb. 7. 15). In the light of the similitude proclaimed by the Holy Spirit through the mouth of David the Apostle scrutinizes the history of Melchisedech. So far is he from stripping Melchisedech of historical significance, that on the contrary every personal feature of the Priest-king of Salem is investigated, for if this Melchisedech is assimilated as a typical image to the Son of God (Heb. 7. 3), every particle of information which may be elicited from the Scripture about him is of importance. The peculiar particulars of the Apostle's exegesis are that the etymologies of his personal name and of his royal title, the absence of his parentage and genealogy, and also the absence of any birth and death notice are invoked as revealing his assimilation to the Son of God. Now an etymological exposition of this same Melchisedech is found in a passage of Philo which identifies him with the Logos. The parallel is noteworthy, but it is sufficient to read the text translated at the foot of the page to see how the allegorical etymologies of Philo differ in purpose from those of our author.² Etymology often

¹ Ibid. Excursus: *Die Melchisedekspekulation*, p. 61.

² *Leg. Alleg.* III 79, 80. Philo is explaining that everything is a gift and grace of God, when he introduces Melchisedech thus: "And Melchisedech also God has made King of Peace—for so Salem is interpreted—and He made him

of the purely popular kind was always familiar to the Hebrews (cfr. Gen. 29. 31 ff., 49. 8 ff.; Jeremias 1. 11; John 9. 7) and the prophetic significance of names was a matter of long tradition (Genesis 17. 5; Num. 13. 17; Isaias 7. 7, 7. 3, 8. 3, 18; cfr. the etymological play on the three names Johanan, Zacharias and Elizabeth in the *Benedictus*, Luke 2. 72, 73). Hence it is not at all surprising to find the Apostle using it, especially when its exegetical correctness was guaranteed by the descriptions of the Messiah given in the pages of the Old Testament. The very Psalm, from which the key to the Melchisedechian type is taken proclaimed the Christ a King. He is prominent as King of justice in Psalm LXXI and in Jeremias 23. 5, 6.¹ The Hebrew Isaias gives him the title "Prince of peace" (*Sar shalom* 9. 6) and the title "Pax" of the shepherd of Bethlehem (Mich. 5. 5) is adopted by St. Paul in Ephesians 2. 14. Both qualities of the Messiah are strikingly united in the prophecy of Palm Sunday (Zach. 9. 9, 10): "Ecce rex tuus veniet tibi iustus et salvator... et loquetur pacem gentibus. The etymological exposition found in Hebrews 7. 1, 2: "King of justice" and "King of peace" (*Shalem* cfr. Ps. 75. 3) is therefore no aerolith from some mysterious proto-Philonian firmament.

The "agenealogical" point in the Apostle's exegesis, which, as we saw in an earlier chapter, finds an anaemic allegorical cousin in the "motherless" Sara of Philo's *de ebrietate* 61, is not a surprising exegetical revelation either, when we consider how uppermost in the mind of the Apostle the comparison of the Melchisedechian and Levitical priesthoods are. The credentials of an Aaronite priest were his genealogy.² It was a priesthood of fleshly succession. It cannot,

his own priest, without having pointed before hand to any work of his. Rather did He make him such from the first, a King and an Eirenaïos, and one worthy of His own priesthood. For he is called a Just King; but king is the opposite of tyrant since the former introduces laws and the latter lawlessness. The tyrant 'Nous' imposes its orders on soul and body... the king does not order so much as persuade; besides he gives such orders that the living bark makes a happy voyage through life, being piloted by the good pilot, namely, the orthos Logos. Let the tyrant therefore be called, an archon of war, but the king hegemon of peace (Salem.)" And later (82): "The Logos is a priest who has Him who is as inheritance and thinks exaltedly about Him and grandly and magnificently."

¹ Jer. 23. 5, 6: "Ecce dies veniunt, dicit Dominus, et suscitabo David germen iustum, et regnabat Rex et sapiens erit et faciet iudicium et iustitiam in terra... et hoc est nomen quod vocabunt eum: Dominus iustus noster (*Yahweh Sidqenu*)."
Cfr. Is. 11. 4, 5; Malachias 11. 2. Compare also Romans 10. 4; 1 Corinthians 1. 30; 2 Cor. 5. 21; Philipp. 3. 9.

² See the case of the priestly family of Berzellai. A priest married one of the daughters of David's benefactor, Barzellai the Galaadite, and took the name of

therefore, but appear singularly striking that this extraordinary Melchisedech, who tithed and blessed the Patriarch Abraham, should have made his appearance as an isolated figure, without any of the certificates of flesh and blood, disappearing at once from the biblical record only to be named again, when a prophet of Israel in one of the greatest oracles ever delivered to that chosen people, declares in words from God's own mouth and with the added solemnity of an irrevocable divine oath that the Messiah is a Priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedech. We can easily conceive that the Holy Spirit could intend to give such a picture of Melchisedech as would foreshadow the Messiah not only by what was said but by what was left unsaid. The eternity of the Melchisedechian priesthood prophetically asserted in the Psalm disclosed this intention of the Holy Spirit to the Apostle. Otherwise our dim vision might have never discovered it, just as we might not have discovered, without the aid of St. Paul (Gal. 3. 16) that "seed" in the singular number excluded the possibility of any individuals or groups of men receiving the Abrahamic blessing, except in the one seed of Abraham, Jesus Christ. There are more wonders in the Scriptures than are dreamt of by rationalistic exegetes who regard revelation as a brain-spun system resulting from a collection of religious experiences and speculations. Here, for instance, there is divine revelation in the very limitation of the portrait. Moses perhaps set down all he knew of Melchisedech, but the Holy Ghost used that limited knowledge to sketch "per viam exclusionis" the eternal Son of God, a Priest for ever. As St. Thomas excellently says: "*Melchisedech dictus est sine patre et sihe matre sine genealogia, et quod non habet initium dierum neque finem, non quia ista non habuerit, sed quia in Scriptura sacra ipsa de eo non leguntur.*"¹

This first point of the Apostle's exegesis is to show the assimilation of the Genesiac Melchisedech to the Son of God. From the same Scriptural passage he proves the superiority of the typical Melchisedech over Abraham and Levi. Melchisedech received tithes from Abraham and blessed him. - Levitical priests by authorization of the Law tithe their Abrahamite brethren. It is a privilege of their genealogy. But one who has no Levitical genealogy stands in Scripture

Barzellai. "His descendents returned from Babylonian Exile. But, as Nehemias 7. 64 narrates: *Hi quaesierunt scripturam suam in censu et non invenerunt et eiecti sunt de sacerdotio.*" The parallel passage of Esdras 1. 62 has: "*Quaesierunt scripturam genealogiae suae et non invenerunt et eiecti sunt de sacerdotio.*" Without the *ketab hammithyahh*^{sim} (cfr. LXX) they were *ἀγενεαλόγητοι*.

¹ *Summa Theologica*, 3, 22, 6 ad tertium.

as the tither of Abraham himself, whom he also blessed as a superior blesses an inferior.¹ His native title to tithe and to bless was recognised by the Patriarch. The Levitical tithers die off one by one, but Melchisedech shows a certificate of life, a certificate of Scriptural silence indeed but a real certificate, since he appears only in the power of life and does not die as far as the biblical record is concerned. The next and last point, namely, that the tribe of Levi was made tithe-payer² to Melchisedech through Abraham, their physical progenitor, seems somewhat startling and is actually introduced by a "so to speak." By Abraham's act, his posterity, Levi included, were, as it were, put in the position of tithe-payers to Melchisedech. Levi contracts Abraham's inferiority to the Priest who took tithes from him and blessed him. "The act of his father determined his relation to Melchizedek, just as if Abraham had made himself Melchizedek's vassal."³

Our author now returns to Psalm CIX and from its fourth verse deduces that a new priesthood means a new law, especially, since it is not based on fleshly succession but on the power of unbreakable life. This priesthood is better than the old because it has been introduced with the solemnity of an oath and belongs to one who remains for ever, always living to make intercession for his people. The words on which the four arguments pivot are *a) secundum ordinem Melchisedech* (the Priest being no Levite but a Judahite), *b) in aeternum*, as implying the force of indissoluble life, *c) Iuravit Dominus*, as adding a new solemnity to the institution of the new priesthood, *d) in aeternum*, as excluding the plurality of priests in a successional priesthood. Christ has a priesthood which cannot pass from him to another.

* * *

The fourth and last Scriptural group of the dogmatic part of the Epistle (8. 1-10. 18) consists of two pairs of texts separated from one another by the type picture of Expiation Day. The first of the first pair concerning the tabernacle which Moses was ordered to make according to the pattern shown to him on the Mountain has already occupied our attention in connection with Philo's supposed influence

¹ The active verbs of "tithing" and "blessing" stand in the perfect sense, to show that Melchisedech's quality as receiver of tithes and giver of blessings is a permanency.

² The perfect passive of the verb of tithing is used.

³ WESTCOTT, *Commentary on Heb.* 7. 10, p. 180.

on the writer of *Hebrews*.¹ We saw that our author found in the words of Exodus 25. 40: "Vide, omnia facite secundum exemplar, quod tibi ostensum est in monte" an indication that the Levitical priests served a type and a shadow of the heavenly institutions of the future. It is a recognition of the typology of the Israelite tabernacle and is therefore in the very same category as St. Paul's recognition of the typology of the Pasch (1 Cor. 5. 7) and of circumcision (Coloss. 2. 11).

The Jeremian testimony to the New Testament receives a strictly literal interpretation.² That great Messianic prophecy had been alluded to in the formula of consecration of the chalice at the last Supper (Luke 22. 20; 1 Corinthians 11. 25), and the thought of it filled the mind of St. Paul as he wrote the third chapter of second Corinthians (3. 3, 6, 14). Three points of the prophecy are emphasised in *Hebrews*. Firstly, it passes a verdict of divine censure on the first or Sinaitic Covenant (Heb. 8. 7, 8^a); secondly, it promises a New Covenant and consequently declares the former one antiquated, which means that it is soon to disappear (8. 13); thirdly, it points out the remission of sins as the special characteristic of the New Covenant (10. 17, 18). The author presses the word *New* (8. 13 and 9. 15), but so does St. Paul (1 Cor. 11. 25; 2 Cor. 3. 6), and in any case why should he not press an important word which proved his point? To say that he imitates Philo in this is much like saying that any one who makes a syllogism is an imitator of Aristotle.

The lesson drawn from Old Testament worship as concentrated in the daily or usual liturgy and the annual liturgy of Expiation day is also a matter of literal-symbolic and typological exegesis. The usual round of daily and festal service brought any one of the officiating priests into the outer sanctuary or Holy. Once a year the Highpriest alone, with the blood of expiation for his own and the people's sins, entered the inner sanctuary or Holy of holies. The daily liturgy, in going no further than the first hall of the tabernacle, was designed by the Holy Ghost to symbolize the present state of the Old Law, a

¹ Eighth point, chapter III, pp. 202-204.

² One of the many foolish things in Siegfried's book: *Philo von Alexandria als Ausleger des AT* is the remark on p. 174 regarding the Philonic method of pressing the meaning of a word, here alleged to be imitated by the Apostle: "Heb. 8. 8 ff. wird in der Erklärung von Jer. 31. 31 f. das Wort *καὶ* gepresst und daraus die Unzulänglichkeit des Bundes mit Israel erwiesen. Denn wäre—so wird geschlossen—dieser Bund bereits vollkommen gewesen, so würde die Verheissung eines neuen überflüssig gewesen sein. Der Ausdruck stempelte daher jenen Bund zu einem alten, das Alte aber sei das dem Untergang sich zuneigende."

state of outer purification, which did not reach the inner chamber of conscience but was, like the food and drink regulations, a temporary and preparatory ordinance imposed until the time of *diorthosis* or betterment should come. The Apostle marks a clear distinction, on the one hand, between the daily service which was a picture (*παράβολή*) of the Jewish present and, on the other hand, the annual service which his whole reasoning indicates as a *type*. Christ's entrance as Priest of the good things to come into the heavenly sanctuary in his own blood, having wrought eternal redemption, fulfils the type of Expiation Day. The sacred Cube of the Israelite sanctuary was a prophetic figure of the heaven into which Christ as Eternal Redeemer entered once for all.¹ In our Epistle's magnificent exposition of these points the same basic idea dominates as is found in the Apostle's words to the Colossians. There he points to the circumcision of Christ in baptism, to the pardon of all sins obtained through Christ and concludes (2. 16): "Nemo ergo vos iudicet in cibo, aut in potu, aut in parte diei festi, aut neomeniae aut sabbatorum: quae sunt umbra futurorum: corpus autem Christi," the author of *Hebrews* did not learn the typology of Old Testament worship from Philonian circles.

The citation of Exodus 24. 8 is merely introduced to show that the seal of typical blood was on the Old *berith*, because the New *berith* ratified by the death of Christ was to be a *diatheke* in the full sense of the term. Nothing beyond their historical meaning is ascribed to the words of Exodus. The Mediator of the New Covenant actually made a testamentary sacrifice of himself because he was to make men heirs of an eternal inheritance. The blood of the Mediator's death sealed the Covenant and made his legacy available as an inheritance. The Apostle does not argue from the word "Testament" but recognises in the historical mode of its establishment the testamentary character of Christ's covenant. Since it was to have this quality,

¹ The above distinction between "parable" and "type" is only partly expressed by the Apostle but may be clearly deduced from his exposition (cf. especially 9. 9 and 9. 24). A parable suggests what *is*, a type points to what *shall be*. The figurative character of the Tabernacle is thus described by St. Thomas, *Summa Theologica* 1^a, 2^ae, 102, 4 ad quartum: "Per exterius tabernaculum, quod dicitur Sancta, significatur status veteris legis, ut Apostolus dicit, *ad Hebr.* IX: quia in illud tabernaculum semper introibant sacerdotes, sacrificiorum officia consummantes. Per interius vero tabernaculum, quod dicitur, Sancta Sanctorum, significatur vel caelestis gloria; vel etiam status spiritualis novae legis, quae est quaedam inchoatio futurae gloriae, in quem statum nos Christus introduxit; quod figurabatur per hoc quod Summus Sacerdos semel in anno solus in Sancta Sanctorum introibat."

Moses prefigured it by putting the seal of animal blood on the Old Covenant and all its appurtenances. This relation between Exodus 24. 8 and the establishment of the New Testament is nothing exclusively proper to *Hebrews*. It is indicated by way of illusion in the consecration of the chalice at the Last Supper.

The last text which we have to examine is an interesting one. To sum up what he has said in the two preceding chapters, our author says: " The law having a shadow of the good things to come, not the very image of the things can never by those yearly sacrifices, which they are perpetually offering, bring to perfection those that approach (as worshippers). For in that case, would they not have ceased to be offered? because the offerers once cleansed would no longer have any conscience of sins. But in those sacrifices there is a calling to mind of sins year by year; for it is impossible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sins. Wherefore, as he enters unto the world, he says:

" Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not,
but a body thou hast framed for me;
In holocausts and sin-offerings thou didst not have pleasure.
Then said I, behold I am come
(in the roll of the book it is written of me)
to do, o God, thy will."

The Apostle's exegesis of this passage from Psalm XXXIX is conveyed in a few words. " Saying above: *Sacrifices and offerings and holocausts and sin-offerings thou wouldest not, nor (in them) have pleasure* (which sacrifices are offered according to the law), then hath he said: *Behold I am come to do thy will*. He taketh away the first, that he may establish the second. In which *will* we have been sanctified through the *offering* of the *body* of Jesus Christ once for all."

The argument of the Apostle supposes the Psalm to be Messianic. If the placing of the words cited in the mouth of the Messiah were a mere accommodation, the two assertions attributed to him could not be so expressly insisted upon (10. 8, 9) as words that signify a removal of an old system and the establishment of a new system.¹ But the

¹ J. CALÈS (*Les Psaumes*, I, p. 435) scarcely holds the reins strongly enough when he writes: " La grande question est celle du messianisme. Le Ps. XL est messianique. Aucun catholique n'en doute; et les protestants n'en doutèrent pas tant qu'il crurent à une révélation surnaturelle. L'épître aux Hébreux (X, 5-10), qui met sur les lèvres du Christ les v. 7-9, si elle n'impose pas avec évidence une telle doctrine — on pourrait à l'extrême rigueur penser à une accommodation — la rend à moins plus que probable, dès lors que le texte s'y prête sans trop d'efforts."

Messias may be understood as speaking this Psalm—beginning in a Magnificat and ending in a De profundis—directly and immediately or through the typical person of David who is regarded as the author of the hymn. Direct Messianism has had the preference of the Fathers and of some of the most illustrious catholic commentators on the Psalter such as Agellius and Bellarmine. There is really no difficulty against it. If, however, we assume typical Messianity with the majority of modern commentators, we shall have to meet the question: How is it that David declares so absolutely that God does not want the legal sacrifices? There are relative rejections of sacrifice in other O.T. texts (1 Sam. 15. 22, Ps. 50. 18; Mich. 6. 6-8, Os. 6. 6; Is. 1. 10-20) but always in a comparative sense. They were less pleasing than obedience, contrition, mercy, moral purity. Nowhere is there such an absolute denial of their acceptableness as in this place. The answer given is that in the particular circumstances in which David then was—living a fugitive life, probably—God did not require any material sacrifice from him. This answer seems to suffice in order to save the typical character of the hymn. At any rate Christ speaks in it and the Apostle fixes exegetical attention on five points. Firstly, "Thou wouldest not" removes the legal sacrifices; secondly, "Behold I am come" establishes a new sort of *sacrifice*; thirdly, That *sacrifice* though instinct with obedience is not metaphorical but real; fourthly, it is the sacrifice of the *body* of Christ; fifthly, it is the *will* of God that this be the *sanctifying* sacrifice offered once for all. The third and fourth points depend on the reading: "Corpus autem aptasti mihi," but we have seen that this reading renders substantially, at least, the sense of the Psalm-verse.

It may not be demonstrable, but I cannot help thinking that this very Psalm passage was in the mind of St. Paul, when he wrote to the Romans (12. 1, 2): "Obsecro itaque vos fratres per misericordiam Dei ut exhibeatis *corpora* vestra *hostiam* viventem sanctam, Deo placentem, rationabile obsequium vestrum. Et nolite conformari huic saeculo, sed reformamini in novitate sensus vestri: ut probetis quae sit *voluntas* Dei bona, et beneplacens et perfecta."

Really close attention to the text of our Epistle discovers innumerable Pauline contacts, even in the use of Holy Scripture. In regard to exegetical methods in particular, it is not possible to fix any chasm between *Hebrews* and the Paulines. The special theme of the letter called for a greater abundance of typological places, but the typology of the Old Testament Scriptures is a Palestinian-Jewish and Christian dogma, which was quite familiar to the Apostle of the Gentiles and is not to be confounded with the non-Messianic allegory

of Philo the Alexandrian. St. Paul sought to discover what God spoke to the Fathers through the prophets about the economy of salvation centred in Him who is " the end of the Law " (Rom. 10. 4). For the Apostle the Jewish *politeia* was the shadow, the evangelical *politeia* the reality (Coloss. 2. 7). As Theodoretus says: " Umbram autem futurorum vocavit legem, docens ab illa esse praefiguratam Novi Testamenti gratiam. Hoc autem etiam subiunxit: ' Corpus autem Christi.' Hoc est, evangelica vitae ratio (*politeia*) locum obtinet corporis, lex vero umbrae. Umbra autem praecedit corpus, oriente luce: ita ut sit umbra quidem lex, corpus vero gratia, lux autem Christus Dominus " (In Ep. ad Col. 2. 17; PG. LXXXII). The metaphor " shadow and body " is used by Philo of the language of oracles—words being the shadows of what they allegorically mean (*de confusione linguarum* 190)—but Philo had no conception of the Messianic typology indicated by this same metaphor in Colossians 2. 17 and *Hebrews* 10. 1. He and St. Paul use similar language to denote two entirely different conceptions. To seek Alexandrian allegorical methods in our Epistle is a perverse way, and a sure way of misunderstanding the whole Epistle.

VIII

CONCLUSION

Each of the seven chapters of this essay has delivered its own conclusion. Consequently, no elaborate summary of results is here called for. It may, perhaps, be said that the essay does not justify its title, since only one half of it has been dedicated to the examination of Old Testament usage in the Epistle to the Hebrews. However, as the four chapters on the Old Testament were planned exclusively in view of the critical problem,¹ they could not very well be made to stand apart from a discussion of the general contents and style of the Epistle. The third chapter on the literary form of *Hebrews* grew to a length far beyond my expectations, but some slight discussion of the biblical factor in the Epistle's style partly vindicates this chapter for the main subject of research. In any case an essay may be reasonably entitled *a potiori parte*, and Old Testament usage in *Hebrews* certainly has the lion's share of these pages.

In the first chapter, the value of the historical testimony to the Pauline origin of our Epistle has been supposed and not discussed anew.² Those pages were meant to be introductory. They show sufficiently that Catholic scholarship has held for the Pauline origin of *Hebrews*, while freely admitting that the language and form set it apart, to some extent, from the other thirteen letters of the Apostle. Up to the days of Humanism and Protestantism a purely critical opinion of Origen regarding a redactor was rejected in favour of another purely critical opinion which involved a more integral view of Pauline authorship. In spite of the elegance of style, a general scrutiny of the contacts of the Epistle with the thoughts and phrases and literary modes of the Paulines seems to substantially confirm the latter view, namely, that of the quasi-integralists.

¹ My original intention was to add a second part which would be purely exegetical. This intention has not been carried out, but the seventh chapter contains all the leading ideas of the prospective exegetical part.

² It has recently been very well reviewed in L. Pirot's Commentary on the first article of the Biblical Commission's Response regarding *Hebrews* (*Supplément du Dictionnaire de la Bible*, II, Fasc. XVII, 1410-1424).

The theological doctrine of the Epistle, which is considered in the second chapter, reveals that the thoughts are not only genuinely Pauline but must have come from a richly gifted person who had developed in a unique way in his own spirit the thought, especially the Christological thought, of the earlier and later Pauline Epistles. The organic architecture of the Epistle presents such a coherently Pauline development as can scarcely be due to any other mind than that which shaped the theology of the Corinthian and Captivity letters.

The detailed literary and stylistic analysis attempted in the third chapter has resulted in the massing of a phalanx of objective literary facts calculated to neutralise very largely the impression received from the special elegance of our Epistle. The factors that have gone into the literary shaping of this "word of exhortation" are all distinguishable in that great intellectual fount from which thirteen Apostolic letters flowed. There remains, it is true, a *je ne sais quoi* of order and calm and elegance which is not found in equal measure in the Pauline letters; but, considering the variations in the Apostle's style (such as a comparison between Romans and Ephesians reveals them) we have no right to attribute this to any other reason than some secondary circumstances of elaboration, psychological mood, or amanuensis. In face of the phalanx of facts that reveal St. Paul and in view of the express attestation by ancient tradition that Paul is the author of *Hebrews*, this seems to be the reasonable position for a literary critic to take.

The examination of the Scriptural Materials of *Hebrews* in chapter IV brings in no vote against its Paulinity, but rather brings to light that the same biblical zones, from which St. Paul mostly drew, also furnished the primary and secondary texts of our Epistle.

We saw in the fifth chapter that the formulae of citation, which are consistently proper to this letter—since it is the letter of God speaking—are not out of keeping with the rich formulary of St. Paul, nor do they reveal a peculiar view of biblical inspiration, nor are they so allied to the Philonian formulae as critics have pretended.

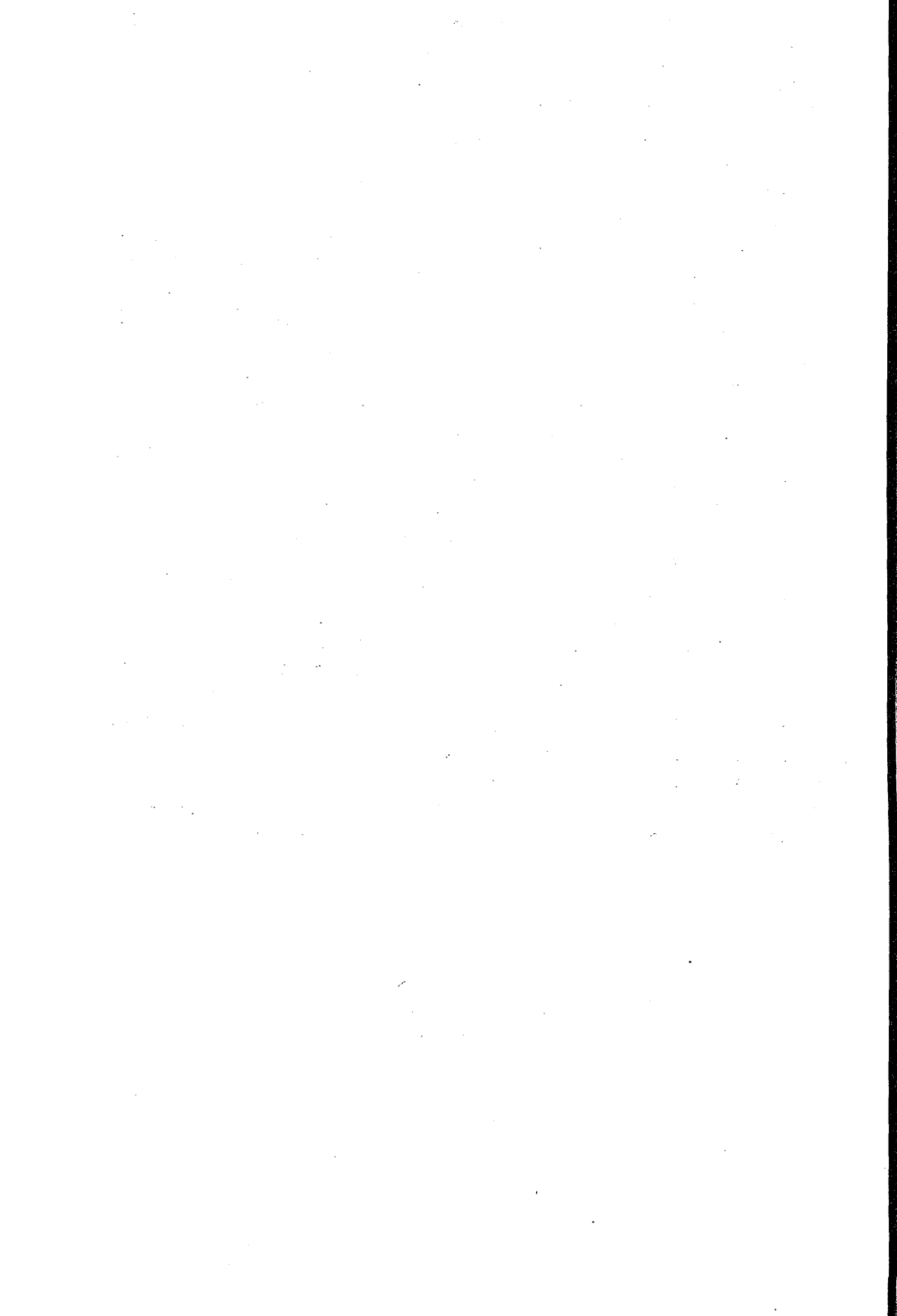
The sixth chapter, to which Appendix II bears special relation, discusses the form of the texts cited in our Epistle. The use of the Septuagint version and the details of wording in the citations fix no gulf between *Hebrews* and the Corpus Paulinum.

In the seventh and last chapter, the exegetical processes of the Paulines have been summarily described, and a fairly detailed view of the exegetical treatment of quotations in *Hebrews* subjoined. Tedious comparison has been omitted, but the reader has been left

to compare the two and decide for himself whether the O.T. exegesis of *Hebrews* belongs to another school than that of Paul, quondam disciple of Gamaliel and Apostle of Jesus Christ.

To some, perhaps, this whole dissertation will seem a retrogressive performance, but the author is conscious that he has endeavoured humbly and laboriously and honestly to attain that progress which consists in forming a sober objective verdict not according to any preconceived theory but according to the facts of the case. Many indications are forthcoming that true progress very often means a return to positions which we should never have left. For myself personally the result of this study is a strong conviction that Paul, the Vessel of Election, is in a very full sense the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Not only the conception of the letter, under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, but also the logical arrangement and all the substantial constituents of the literary form are the fruit of his great Apostolic mind and heart.

Like the Church to which it was written, the Epistle to the Hebrews fell on evil days. Within a few years of its delivery at Jerusalem, the Christians to whom it was addressed had "to fly to the mountains". It may have been read again and again as a word of consolation by the little Judeo-Christian remnant at Pella. It was known and honoured at Rome a quarter of a century after the catastrophe of Jerusalem. But from Egypt it came forth into full ecclesiastical light, a few decades later, with the authentic name of St Paul. The historical or literary criticism which in modern times has been levelled at that title is largely a fusillade of phantom arguments. Admittedly, the form of the Letter is singular, but that does not warrant the deletion or serious dilution of the superscription: *Epistola beati Pauli Apostoli ad Hebraeos*.



APPENDICES

I

HAPAXLEGOMENA OF ST. PAUL'S LATEST WRITINGS

In order to supplement the first section of Chapter III, the hapaxlegomena of the Captivity Letters, of the Letter to the Hebrews and of the Pastorals are here gathered together. As *Hebrews* stands chronologically between the two groups (having been certainly written before the outbreak of the Jewish War) the 121 unique words of the Captivity Group and the 172 unique words of the Pastoral Group may be regarded as a cloud of witnesses attesting the ever-ready abundance of St. Paul's vocabulary during the four or five years within which *Hebrews* was written.

HAPAXLEGOMENA OF THE CAPTIVITY EPISTLES

EPHESIANS

ἄθεος	ἐτοιμασία	μεσότοιχον
αἰσχροτής	εὐνοία	μωρολογία
αἰχμαλωτεύω	εὐτραπεία	πάλη
ἄνοιξις	θυρεός	παροργισμός
ἀνανέομαι	καταρτισμός	πολυποίκιλος
ἀπαλγέω	κατώτερος	προελπίζω
ἄστροφος	κληρόομαι	προσκαρτέρησις
βέλος	κλυδωνίζομαι	ρύτις
ἐκτρέφω	κοσμοκράτωρ	συμμέτοχος
ἐλαχιστότερος	κρυφή	συμπολίτης
ἐνότης	κυβεία	συναρμολογέω
ἐξισχύνω	μακροχρόνιος	συνοικοδομέω
ἐπιδύνω	μέγεθος	σύσσωμος
ἐπιφαύσκω	μεθοδεία	

The total is 41, but there are four other words which the Epistle has exclusively common with Colossians, namely, ἀνθρωπάρεσκος, αὐξησης, ἀφή, ὀφθαλμοδουλία.

COLOSSIANS

ἀθυμέω	δογματίζομαι	παρηγορία
αἰσχρολογία	ἐθελοθρησκία	πιθανολογία
ἀνεψιός	εἰρηνοποιέω	πλησμονή
ἀνταναπληρώω	ἐμβατεύω	προακούω
ἀνταναπόδοσις	εὐχάριστος	προσηλδύω
ἀπεκδύομαι	θεότης	πρωτεύω
ἀπέκδυσις	καταβραβεύω	στερέωμα
ἀπόχρησις	μετακινέω	συλαγωγέω
ἀρεσκεία	μομφή	σωματικῶς
ἀφειδία	νεομηνία	φιλοσοφία
βραβεύω	ὁρατός	χειρόγραφον

The total is 33 exclusive of the four words mentioned under the heading of Ephesians.

PHILIPPIANS

ἀγνώω	εὐφημος	πολίτευμα
αἰσθησις	εὐψυχέω	προσφιλής
ἀκαιρέομαι	ἰσόψυχος	πτύρομαι
ἄλυπος	κατατομή	σκοπός
ἀναθάλλω	καταχθόνιος	σκύβαλον
ἀπουσία	κενοδοξία	σύζυγος
ἄρπαγμός	λήμψις	συμμητηής
αὐτάρκης	μεγάλως	συμμορφίζομαι
γενσίως	μνέομαι	σύμφυχος
ἐξανάστησις	ὀκταήμερος	συναθλέω
ἐπεκτείνομαι	παραβολεύομαι	ὑπερυψώω
ἐπιπόθητος	παραμύθιον	
ἐτέρως	παραπλήσιον	

The number is 37, counting σύζυγος which may however be a proper name. There is also a word χορηγία which Philippians has in common with Ephesians only. The five hapaxlegomena of Philemon are ἀποτίνω, ἄχρηστος, ἐκούσιος, ὀνήνημι and προσοφεῖλω.

HAPAXLEGOMENA OF HEBREWS

ἀγεναλόγητος	αἰσθητήριον	ἀμῆτωρ
ἀγνόημα	αἵτιος	ἀνακαινίζω
ἀθέτησις	ἀκατάλυτος	ἀναλογίζομαι
ἄθλησις	ἀκλινής	ἀναρίθμητος
αἵρειος	ἄκροθίνιον	ἀνασταυρώω
αἵματεκχυσία	ἄλυσιτελής	ἀνταγωνίζομαι
αἶνεσις	ἀμετάθετος	ἀντικαθίστημι

ἀπαράβατος
ἀπάτωρ
ἀπαύγασμα
ἄπειρος
ἀποβλέπω
ἄρμος
ἀφανής
ἀφανισμός
ἀφομοιόομαι
βοηθός
βοτάνη
γενεαλογέομαι
γεωργέω
γνόφος
δάμαλις
δεκάτη
δεκατόω
δέος
δέρμα
δημιουργός
δήπου
διάταγμα
διηνεκής
διϊκνέομαι
διόρθωσις
δοκιμασία
δυσερμήνευτος
ἐάνπερ
ἐγγυος
ἐγκαινίζω
ἐκβαίνω
ἐκδοχή
ἐκλανθάνομαι
ἐλεγχος
ἐμπαιγμός
ἐνυβρίζω
ἐξις
ἐπεισαγωγή
ἐπιλείπω
ἔπος
εὐαρεστέω
εὐερέστω
εὐθύτης

εὐλάβεια
εὐλαβέομαι
εὐπερίστατος
εὐποιῶ
θεατρίζομαι
θέλησις
θεράπων
θυέλλα
θυμιατήριον
ἱερωσύνη
ικετηρία
καθαρότης
κακονχέομαι
καρτερέω
καταγωνίζομαι
κατάδηλος
καταναλίσκω
κατασκιάζω
κατάσκοπος
καῦσις
κεφαλῖς
κοπή
κριτικός
κῶλον
λειτουργικός
λεῦπειτικός
μερισμός
μεσιτεύω
μετάθεσις
μετέπειτα
μετριοπαθέω
μηδέπω
μηλωτή
μήν
μισθαποδοσία
μισθαποδότης
μυελός
νέφος
νόθος
νομοθετέω
νωθρός
ὄγκος
ὀλιγωρέω

ὀλοθρεῖω
ὁμοιότης
ὄρκωμοσία
πανήγυρις
παραδειγματίζω
παραπικραίνω
παραπικρασμός
παραπίπτω
παραπλησίως
παραρέω
πείρα
πήγνυμι
πολυμερῶς
πολυτρόπως
πρίζω
προβλέπομαι
πρόδρομος
προσαγορεύω
προσοχθίζω
πρόσφατος
πρόσχυσις
πρωτοτόκια
σαββατισμός
στάμνος
συμπαθέω
συγκακονχέομαι
συναπόλλυμαι
συνδέομαι
συνεπιμαρτυρέω
τελειωτής
τιμωρία
τομός
τράγος
τραχηλίζομαι
τρίμηνος
τροχιά
τυμπανίζω
ὑπείκω
ὑποστολή
φαντάζω
φοβερός
χαρακτήρ
χερουβείν

HAPAXLEGOMENA OF THE PASTORAL EPISTLES

	1 Timothy	2 Timothy	Titus
ἀγαθοεργέω (Acts 14/17)	6/18	—	—
ἀγνεία	4/12, 5/2	—	—
ἀγωγή	—	3/10	—
ἀθλητής	6/17	—	—
ἀθλέω	—	2/5	—
αἰδώς	2/9	—	—
αἰρετικός	—	—	3/10
αἰσχροκερδής	3/8	—	1/7
ἀκαίρως	—	4/2	—
ἀκατάγνωστος	—	—	2/8
ἀκρατής	—	3/3	—
ἄλλως	5/25	—	—
ἄμαχος	3/3	—	3/2
ἀμοιβή	5/4	—	—
ἀναζωπυρέω	—	1/6	—
ἀνάλυσις	—	4/6	—
ἀνανήφω	—	2/6	—
ἀναψύχω	—	1/16	—
ἀνδραποδίστης	1/10	—	—
ἀνδροφόνος	1/9	—	—
ἀνεξίκακος	—	2/24	—
ἀνεπαίσχυντος	—	2/15	—
ἀνεπίλημπτος	3/2, 5/7, 6/14	—	—
ἀνήμερος	—	3/3	—
ἀνόσιος	1/9	3/2	—
ἀντιδιατίθεμαι	—	2/25	—
ἀντίθεσις	6/20	—	—
ἀντιλυτρον	2/6	—	—
ἀπαίδευτος	—	2/23	—
ἀπέραντος	1/4	—	—
ἀπόβλητος	4/4	—	—
ἀπόδεκτος	2/3, 5/4	—	—
ἀποδοχή	1/5, 4/9	—	—
ἀποθησαυρίζω	6/19	—	—
ἀποτρέπομαι	—	3/5	—
ἀπρόσιτος	6/16	—	—
ἄρτιος	—	3/17	—
ἀστοχέω	1/6, 6/21	2/18	—
αὐθεντέω	2/12	—	—
αὐτοκατάκριτος	—	—	3/11
ἀφθορία	—	—	2/7
ἀφιλάγαθος	—	3/3	—
ἀψευδής	—	—	1/2
βαθμός	3/13	—	—

	1 Timothy	2 Timothy	Titus
βδέλυκτος	—	—	1/16
βέλτιον	—	1/18	—
βλαβερός	6/9	—	—
γάγγραινα	—	2/17	—
γενεαλογία	1/4	—	3/9
γόης	—	3/13	—
γραῶδης	4/7	—	—
γυμνασία	4/8	—	—
γυναικάριον	—	3/6	—
δειλία	—	1/7	—
διαβεβαιόομαι	1/7	—	3/8
διάγω	2/2	—	3/3
διαπαρτριβή	6/5	—	—
διατροφή	6/8	—	—
διδακτικός	3/2	2/24	—
δίλογος	3/8	—	—
διώκτης	1/13	—	—
ἐγκρατής	—	—	1/8
ἐδραΐωμα	3/15	—	—
ἐκγονος	5/4	—	—
ἐκδηλος	—	3/9	—
ἐκζητήσις	1/4	—	—
ἐκστρέφομαι	—	—	3/11
ἐλεγμός	—	3/16	—
ἐνδύνω	—	3/6	—
ἐντευξίς	2/1, 4/5	—	—
ἐντρέφομαι	4/6	—	—
ἐπανόρθωσις	—	3/16	—
ἐπαρκέω	5/10, 16 bis	—	—
ἐπιδιορθόω	—	—	1/5
ἐπίορκος	1/10	—	—
ἐπιπλήσσω	5/1	—	—
ἐπιστομίζω	—	—	1/11
ἐπισωρεύω	—	4/3	—
ἐτεροδιδασκαλέω	1/3, 6/3	—	—
εὐμετάδοτος	6/18	—	—
εὐσεβῶς	—	3/12	2/12
ἥρεμος	2/2	—	—
θεόπνευστος	—	3/16	—
θεοσέβεια	2/10	—	—
ἱεροπρεπής	—	—	2/3
ἰουδαϊκός	—	—	1/14
κακοπαθέω	—	2/9, 4/5	—
καλοδιδάσκαλος	—	—	2/3
καταλέγομαι	5/9	—	—
κατάστημα	—	—	2/3
καταστολή	2/9	—	—
καταστρηνιάω	5/11	—	—

	1 Timothy	2 Timothy	Titus
καταφθείρω	—	3/8	—
καυστηριάζομαι	4/2	—	—
κενοφωνία	6/20	2/16	—
κνήθω	—	4/3	—
κοινωνικός	6/18	—	—
κόσμιος	2/9, 3/2	—	—
λογομαχέω	—	2/14	—
λογομαχία	6/4	—	—
μάμμη	—	1/5	—
ματαιολογία	1/6	—	—
ματαιολόγος	—	—	1/10
μεμβράνα	—	4/13	—
μετάλημψις	4/3	—	—
μηδέποτε	—	3/7	—
μητρολήψης	1/9	—	—
μονόομαι	5/5	—	—
νεόφυτος	3/6	—	—
νεωτερικός	—	2/22	—
νηφάλιος	3/2, 11	—	2/2
νομίμως	1/8	2/5	—
ξενοδοχέω	5/10	—	—
οικοδέσποτέω	5/4	—	—
οίκουργός	—	—	2/5
όργιλος	—	—	1/7
όρθοτομέω	—	2/15	—
παραθήκη	6/20	1/12, 14	—
πάροις	3/3	—	1/7
πατρολήψης	1/9	—	—
περιούσιος	—	—	2/14 (LXX)
περιπείρω	6/10	—	—
περιφρονέω	—	—	2/15
πιστόομαι	—	3/14	—
πλέγμα	2/9	—	—
πλήκτης	3/3	—	1/7
πορισμός	6/5, 6	—	—
πραγματεία	—	2/4	—
πραΰπαθία	6/11	—	—
πρεσβύτες	—	—	2/3
πρόγονος	5/4	1/3	—
πρόκριμα	5/21	—	—
προπετής	—	3/4	—
πρόσκλησις	5/21	—	—
ρήτῳς	4/1	—	—
σεμνότης	2/2, 3/4	—	2/7
σκέπασμα	6/8	—	—
στόμαχος	5/23	—	—
στρατολογέω	—	2/4	—
στυγητός	—	—	3/3

	1 Timothy	2 Timothy	Titus
συνκακοπαθέω	1/8	2/3	—
σωτήριος	—	—	2/11
σωφρονίζω	—	—	2/4
σωφρονισμός	—	1/7	—
σωφρόνως	—	—	2/12
σώφρων	3/2	—	1/8, 2/2, 5
τεκνογονέω	5/4	—	—
τεκνογονία	2/15	—	—
τεκνοτροφέω	5/10	—	—
τυφδομαι	3/6, 6/4	3/4	—
υγιαίνω	1/10, 6/3	1/13, 4/3	1/9, 13, 2/1, 2
υδροποτέω	5/23	—	—
υπερπλεονάζω	1/14	—	—
υπόνοια	6/4	—	—
υποτίπωσις	1/16	1/13	—
υψηλοφρονέω	6/17	—	—
φελόνης	—	4/13	—
φιλάγαθος	—	—	1/8
φιλανδρος	—	—	2/4
φιλαργυρία	6/10	—	—
φιλαντος	—	3/2	—
φιλήδονος	—	3/4	—
φιλόθεος	—	3/4	—
φιλότεκνος	—	—	2/4
φλύαρος	5/13	—	—
φρενοπάτης	—	—	1/10
φροντίζω	—	—	3/8
χαλκεύς	—	4/14	—
χρήσιμος	—	2/14	—
ψευδολόγος	4/2	—	—
ψευδώνυμος	6/20	—	—
ώφέλιμος	4/8	3/16	3/8

An examination of this list will reveal that, of the total count of 172 hapaxlegomena in the Pastoral trilogy, 73 are strictly peculiar to first Timothy, 47 to second Timothy and 29 to Titus. Only two hapaxlegomena, namely, *υγιαίνω* and *ώφέλιμος* are common to all three Epistles and only one is common to second Timothy and Titus. In regard to the other pairs — 1 Timothy and 2 Timothy, 1 Timothy, and Titus — only 10 words are common in each case. Thus the writer repeats only 23 words of this whole additional vocabulary, using 149 terms once and once only. Assuming, as in all justice and truth we must, that St. Paul wrote the Pastorals, the above facts stand as proof not only of the abundance of his lexical supply but also of the thoroughness with which he dominated his treasure. He was in no sense the slave of favourite words and could, as occasion demanded, marshal a host of new terms to meet a fresh need.

II

CITATION FORMULAE AND CITATIONS

As a table of reference for chapters IV, V and VI, the text of the citations of *Hebrews* and their introductory formulae are here given, the order of the Epistle rather than that of the Old Testament Books being followed. The annotations have reference to the form of the Old Testament text.

FIRST GROUP - (Christ and the Angels) 1. 5-13

I

τίνι γὰρ εἶπέν ποτε τῶν ἀγγέλων·
 υἱός μου εἶ σύ,
 ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε, (Ps. 2. 7).

II

καὶ πάλιν·
 ἐγὼ ἔσομαι αὐτῷ εἰς πατέρα,
 καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται μοι εἰς υἱόν; (2 Sam. 7. 14).

III

ὅταν δὲ πάλιν εἰσαγάγῃ τὸν πρωτότοκον εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην, λέγει·
 καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ.
 (Ps. 96. 7; Deut. 32. 43 LXX).

IV

καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀγγέλους λέγει·
 ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα
 καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πυρὸς φλόγα· (Ps. 103. 4).

V

πρὸς δὲ τὸν υἱόν·

- a) ὁ θρόνος σου, ὁ Θεός, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος,
- b) καὶ ἡ ῥάβδος τῆς εὐθύτητος ῥάβδος τῆς βασιλείας σου.
- c) ἠγάπησας δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἐμίσησας ἀνομίαν·
- d) διὰ τοῦτο ἔχρισέν σε, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός σου
- e) ἔλαιον ἀγαλλιάσεως παρὰ τοὺς μετόχους σου. (Ps. 44. 7. 8).

VI

καὶ·

- a) σὺ κατ' ἀρχάς, Κύριε, τὴν γῆν ἐθέμελίωσας,
- b) καὶ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου εἰσιν οἱ οὐρανοί·
- c) αὐτοὶ ἀπολοῦνται, σὺ δὲ διαμένεις·
- d) καὶ πάντες ὡς ἱμάτιον παλαιωθήσονται,
- e) καὶ ὡς περιβόλαιον ἐλίξεις αὐτούς,
- f) ὡς ἱμάτιον καὶ ἀλλαγήσονται.
- g) σὺ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς εἶ
- h) καὶ τὰ ἔτη σου οὐκ ἐκλείψουσιν. (Ps. 101. 26-28).

VII

πρὸς τίνα δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἶρηκέν ποτε;

κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου,
 ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου
 ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου;

On these seven citations the following brief remarks will suffice:

No. I, also cited with identical wording in the Pisidian sermon (Acts 13. 33) and *Hebrews* 5. 5, is taken exactly from the Septuagint. The text presents no variants and agrees entirely with the Hebrew.

No. II, which is also freely adapted by St. Paul as the final citation of the long composite text found in 2 Corinthians 6. 16-18, reads here according to the unvarying Septuagint form, and also corresponds exactly with the original Hebrew.

The provenance of No. III is controverted. The grammatical form of the citation corresponds with the second hemistich of the concluding strophe of Moses' great Deuteronomic Canticle: εὐφράνθητε, οὐρανοί, ἅμα αὐτῷ. b) καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ. c) εὐφράνθητε, ἔθνη, μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ, d) καὶ

ἐνισχυσάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες υἱοὶ Θεοῦ. Of this whole distich, the Masoretic Hebrew text and our Latin Vulgate have only the single hemistich *c*): *Laudate gentes populum eius*, which is cited in the above Septuagintal form by St. Paul (Romans 15. 10). It seems highly probable that *a*), *b*) and *d*) are accretions from other sources (Isaïas 44. 23; Psalm 96. 7; and a doublet of the same, coloured, it would seem, by Psalm 28. 1). Whether all these accretions were in some Greek copies of the Canticle about the year 65, it is impossible to say. Certainly St. Justin read every one of these verses in his Septuagint, for he quotes the whole strophe, in its full Greek form, in the Dialogue with Tryphon (130). If our author quotes from the Mosaic Canticle, his text was different from the textual forms which passed into the Manuscripts B and A. Both of these read "sons of God" instead of "angels of God", but our citation is nearer to A, inasmuch as it adds πάντες before υἱοὶ Θεοῦ. However, the difficulty attendant on supposing a citation of a text where the reading ἄγγελοι is not certain, together with the reasons advanced in chapter IV, adds weight to the supposition that our author really cites from Psalm 96. 7, while the Deuteronomic text floated before his mind. In the Psalm, the reading is certain: προσκυνήσατε αὐτῷ πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ. "Angeli" translates the Hebrew "Elohim". So the Greek translators understood the word, it not being likely that the inspired Psalmist called on the pagan divinities to adore Yahweh.

The fourth citation slightly departs, in the second member, from the generally received reading of the Septuagint, and thereby also from the Hebrew, which the Greek accurately renders. The change of "flaming fire" (πῦρ φλέγον) into "flame of fire" (πυρὸς φλόγα) is probably due to the author himself, and not to a Manuscript of the Septuagint used by him. The reading πυρὸς φλέγα in the Codex Alexandrinus seems to be a scribe's attempt to conform his text to *Hebrews*. Swete attributes it to Baber's second corrector (See *Pref. to Edition of LXX*, p. xxii f.). Rahlfs attributes it to a corrector simply.

No. V reproduces a form of the Septuagint which varies somewhat from that of any of the great codices. It agrees with the Sinaiticus and Alexandrinus in using the longer phrase: εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος, as against εἰς αἰῶνα αἰῶνος of the Vaticanus; the καὶ at the beginning of *b*) is not in the Septuagint; and the article ἡ stands before the second ῥάβδος rather than the first; in verse *c*) our author reads ἀνομίαν with B, as against ἀδικίαν of A. Consequently, the text of the citation is in about equal agreement with A and B. Though moderns mostly follow some other way of translating the TM,

it must be admitted that the Septuagint furnishes a very defensible rendering.

The word-order in No. VI: (1) σὺ (2) κατ' ἀρχάς (3) Κύριε (4) τὴν γῆν (5) ἐθεμελίωσας is not represented by any great Manuscript of the Greek version. It is, however, closer to the order of the Alexandrinus (2, 1, 3, 4, 5) than of the Vaticanus (2, 4, 1, 3, 5), so that it would seem probable that here, at least, our author was familiar with this type of text; but perhaps another hypothesis is equally tenable, namely, that the fifth-century scribe of A partly followed the word-order of *Hebrews*. The only other variants of importance are the word ἐλίξεις (e) and the addition ὡς ἱμάτιον (f). The latter is the author's own addition. The former is common to both A and B; but the correct reading of the Greek Psalter, in conformity with the Hebrew and the Latin, is ἀλλάξεις, now definitely adopted in the Göttingen edition: (*Psalmi cum Odis*, 1931).

No. VII, namely, the first verse of Psalm 109, needs no comment. The Septuagint text, literally cited by our author, faithfully renders the Hebrew original.

SECOND GROUP - (Incarnation) 2. 5 ff.

VIII

Οὐ γὰρ ἀγγέλοις ὑπέταξεν τὴν οἰκουμένην τὴν μέλλουσιν, περὶ ἧς λαλοῦμεν. διεμαρτύρετο δὲ πού τις λέγων·

- a) τί ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος ὅτι μυνήσκη αὐτοῦ,
- b) ἢ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ὅτι ἐπισκέπη αὐτόν;
- c) ἠλάττωσας αὐτόν βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους,
- d) δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφάνωσας αὐτόν,
- e) πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ. (Ps. 8. 5, 6, 7 b).

IX

ὁ τε γὰρ ἀγιάζων καὶ οἱ ἀγιαζόμενοι ἐξ' ἐνὸς πάντες· δι' ἣν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἐπαισχύνεται ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦς κχλεῖν, λέγων·

ἀπαγγελῶ τὸ ὄνομά σου τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου,
ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίας ὑμνήσω σε· (Ps. 21. 22).

X

καὶ πάλιν·

ἐγὼ ἔσομαι πεποιοῦς ἐπ' αὐτῷ· (Isaias 8. 17 b).

XI

καὶ πάλιν ·

ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ παῖδιά ἃ μοι ἔδωκεν ὁ Θεός. (Isaias 8.18 a).

In regard to the quotation from Psalm VIII, the only variation in the traditional form of the Septuagint text is A's reading of *τίς* for *τί* (a). The translation of Elohim as "Angels" is similarly found in the Targum, the Peshitta and the Jewish Commentators, Rashi, Kimchi, Aben-Ezra. A's reading of *τιμὴν* in d) is a scribal error.

No. IX, which is a quotation from Psalm 21. 23, is identical with the Septuagint, apart from the substitution of *ἀπαγγεῶ* for *δηγῆσομαι*. The Greek translation, which verbally reproduces the Hebrew, is unvaried in the Manuscript tradition.

The first of the two contiguous verses from Isaias is almost identical with the unvarying Greek reading: *πεποιθὼς ἔσομαι ἐπ' αὐτῷ*. The identity is complete in the case of No. XI. In both verses the original is faithfully rendered.

THIRD GROUP - (Moses and the Divine Sabbath-rest) 3. 1 ff.

XII

God's testimony to Moses in Numbers 12. 7, which the LXX accurately renders from the Hebrew, is not formally quoted, but the words *πιστὸς ἐν ὄλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ ὡς θεράπων* (3. 5) are evidently extracted literally from the text: *οὐχ οὕτως (+ ὡς AF) ὁ θεράπων μου Μωϋσῆς · ἐν ὄλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ μου πιστός ἐστιν*. There is no question of our author adopting one out of many variant texts, for the additional *ὡς* of the Alexandrinus and Ambrosianus has nothing to do with the *ὡς* of *Hebrews* 3. 2, 5. Perhaps, on the other hand, it indicates the influence of *Hebrews* on these codices.

XIII

Διὸ καθὼς λέγει τὸ πνεῦμα το ἁγιον ·

- a) σήμερον ἐὰν τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε,
- b) μὴ σκληρύνητε τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν
- c) ὡς ἐν τῷ παραπικρασμῷ
- d) κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ πειρασμοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ,
- e) οὐ ἐπείρασαν οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν ἐν δοκιμασίᾳ
- f) καὶ εἶδον τὰ ἔργα μου τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη.

- g) διὸ προσώχθισα τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ
 h) καὶ εἶπον· αἰὲ πλανῶνται τῇ καρδίᾳ·
 i) αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν τὰς ὁδοὺς μου,
 j) ὡς ὤμοσα ἐν τῇ ὀργῇ μου·
 k) εἰ εἰσελεύσονται εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσίν μου. (Ps. 94. 8-11).

The differences between this Septuagintal extract and the Hebrew are not very great. In c) παραπικρασμός translates the local name Meribah, and similarly πειρασμός in d) is the etymological equivalent of the place-name Massah. In e) our author has changed the verb ἐδοκίμασαν, which exactly represents the Hebrew, into ἐν δοκιμασίᾳ, but the meaning is not changed. The plural τὰ ἔργα supposes a different vocalisation of the consonantal text from the Masoretic. Our author transfers the "forty years" from the following clause to the end of this strophe, and further separates it from the strophe announcing the divine judgment by the conjunction διό, inserted into the text as a pure addition. In d) τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ translates not *b'dor* simply, but *baddor hahku'*, which was also the reading followed by the Peshitta and St. Jerome. The Hebrew of h), reading 'am (instead of 'od; one Ms has ט), gives the sense: "a people of wayward-ones in heart are they."

Neither are the differences of our text from the traditional Septuagint very great. Besides the three already mentioned in connection with ἐν δοκιμασίᾳ, the position of τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη, and the insertion of διό, there are only four others to be noted, namely εἶδον for εἶδосαν in b), ταύτῃ for ἐκείνῃ in g), εἶπον for εἶπα in h), αὐτοὶ δέ instead of καὶ αὐτοί in i). The Alexandrian Manuscript also happens to read ἴδον, εἶπον, αὐτοὶ δέ, but an inspection of the phototypic edition published by the British Museum in 1884 shows that the text of this particular Psalm has been much corrected. It was no doubt conformed to *Hebrews*, a proceeding which, in this instance, seems to have been widely employed. (See Rahlfs' critical apparatus to Psalm 94; o. c., p. 246).

XIV

..... τῶν ἔργων ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου γεννηθέντων.
 εἰρηκεν γὰρ που περὶ τῆς ἐβδόμης οὕτως·
 καὶ κατέπαυσεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ
 ἀπο πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ. (Genesis 2. 2).

The Greek Genesis 2. 2 is exactly reproduced, with the addition of the words: ὁ Θεὸς ἐν. These were added also to the Septuagint text in the Lucianean recension.

FOURTH OR SACERDOTAL GROUP (5.1 f.)

XV

Psalm 2. 7 is cited as above, but under the formula: ὁ Χριστὸς οὐχ ἑαυτὸν ἐδόξασεν γεννηθῆναι ἀρχιερέα, ἀλλ' ὁ λαλήσας πρὸς αὐτόν. To the oracle of divine filiation is added that of priesthood: καθὼς καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ λέγει.

σὺ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα
κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδέκ. (Ps. 108. 4).

The Septuagint reads σὺ εἶ ἱερεὺς (Codex S), but A omits the verb, probably under the influence of the citations in *Hebrews*. The Psalm is missing in the uncial Codex B (hiatus extending from the end of 105. 26 to the middle of 137. 6) but the fifteenth century hand, which supplied the missing leaves in cursive script, also omitted εἶ. There is nothing to note in regard to the citation of the words ὥμοσεν Κύριος, καὶ οὐ μεταμεληθήσεται in *Hebrews* 7. 21.

XVI

At the beginning of chapter VII, the history of Melchisedech is summarised from Genesis XIV. Though there is not question of formal quotation, the words of the Septuagint are adhered to, with only one noticeable substitution, namely, ἐμέρισεν for ἔδωκεν.

XVII

To these must be added a further citation from Genesis 22. 16: τῷ γὰρ Ἀβραάμ ἐπαγγελίμενος, ὁ Θεὸς, ὥμοσεν καθ' ἑαυτοῦ, λέγων.

- a) εἰ μὴν εὐλογῶν εὐλογήσω σε
- b) καὶ πληθύνων πληθυνῶ σε.

The Sixtine edition follows the Lucianean reading ἡ μὴν; similarly the manual edition of Rahlfs. Codex A reads as *Hebrews*. We do not know the reading of B, since that Codex has come to us in a mutilated condition, beginning with the last four words of Genesis 47. 28 (p. 41 of the Codex). The same is true of S, for the small fragment of Genesis which has been preserved begins at 23. 19. Our author himself has taken the liberty of replacing τὸ σπέρμά σου by the pronoun σε in the second clause.

FIFTH GROUP (COVENANT) 8. 1 ff.

XVIII

ὑποδείγματι καὶ σκιᾷ λατρεύουσιν τῶν ἐπουρανίων, καθὼς κεχρημάτισται
Μωϋσῆς μέλλων ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν σκηνήν.

- a) ὅρα (γὰρ, φησὶν) ποιήσεις πάντα
b) κατὰ τὸν τύπον τὸν δειχθέντα σοι ἐν τῷ ὄρει. (Exodus 25. 40).

The Septuagint, which is here quoted with two variations, is quite in agreement with the Hebrew. The bracketed words constitute the argumentative and citational formula. The author adds πάντα, and his addition later passed into the fifth century Codex Ambrosianus (F) and into the Manuscripts which represent the Lucianean recension (*Librorum V. T. canonicorum pars prior graece* ed. P. de Lagarde, Göttingen, 1883). The participle *δεδεγμένον* is here changed to *δειχθέντα*.

XIX

The long quotation from Jeremias 31. 31 ff. (LXX 38. 31 ff.) offers most interesting variations. It follows on the remark that "if that first covenant had been faultless, place would not have been sought for a second."

μεμφόμενος γὰρ αὐτοὺς λέγει.

- a) ἰδοὺ ἡμέραι ἔρχονται, λέγει Κύριος,
b) καὶ συντελέσω ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰσραὴλ
c) καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰούδα διαθήκην καινὴν,
d) οὐ κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην ἣν ἐποίησα τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν
e) ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιλαβομένου μου τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν
ἐξαγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου,
f) ὅτι αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐνέμειναν ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ μου,
g) καὶ γὰρ ἡμέλησα αὐτῶν, λέγει Κύριος.
h) ὅτι αὕτη ἡ διαθήκη ἣν διαθήσομαι τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰσραὴλ
i) μετὰ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκεῖνας, λέγει Κύριος,
j) διδοὺς νόμους μου εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν,
k) καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν ἐπιγράψω αὐτούς,
l) καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτοῖς εἰς Θεόν,
m) καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσονται μοι εἰς λαόν.
n) καὶ οὐ μὴ διδάξωσιν ἕκαστος τὸν πολίτην αὐτοῦ

- ο) καὶ ἕκαστος τον ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, λέγων·
 γνῶθι τὸν Κύριον,
 ρ) ὅτι πάντες εἰδήσουσίν με
 q) ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου αὐτῶν.
 ρ) ὅτι ἴλεως ἔσομαι ταῖς ἀδικίαις αὐτῶν,
 s) καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν οὐ μὴ μνησθῶ ἔστι.

The wording is Septuagintal, but contains the following variations from the critically established text (see Eberhard Nestle, *Das Buch Jeremia griechisch und hebräisch*, Stuttgart, 1934, p. 69).

a) B reads *φησιν Κύριος*, but Codex A, and also S and Q (Marchalianus) agree with our Epistle.

b) Instead of *συντελέσω ἐπὶ*, the Manuscripts of the LXX have *διαθήσομαι τῷ οἴκῳ* etc. Symmachus has the same reading as *Hebrews* and, according to Nestle, the minuscule 41.

c) *τῷ οἴκῳ* etc. as above.

d) *διεθέμην* instead of *ἐποίησα*. The original scribe of Q took over the reading of *Hebrews*.

g) καὶ ἐγώ for the *κἀγώ* of our Epistle and of Codex A, which latter, however, here reads *φησιν Κύριος* with the other Manuscripts of the LXX.

h) B adds *μου* after *διαθήκη*, but SAQ omit.

i) All authorities have *φησὶν Κύριος*.

j) B has *διδούς δώσω*, while AQ omit the second word.

k) B has *γράφω* instead of the *ἐπιγράφω* of *Heb.* and AQ (some slight variations of the Sinaiticus under j) and k) need not be noted here). The order of words in Codex Alexandrinus is, however, noteworthy. It reads *ἐπιγράφω αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς καρδίας αὐτῶν*.

l) A and the first hand in S add: *καὶ ὄψομαι αὐτούς*, before this clause.

m) SAQ have the same reading as our Epistle, as against the *οὐ διδάξουσιν* of B. In this line and the next n) the Alexandrinus reads *ἀδελφόν* and *πλησίον* respectively, instead of the *πολίτην* and *ἀδελφόν* of *Hebrews* and Codex B.

o) The *οἰδήσουσιν* of B is apparently a scribal error.

p) B has *αὐτῶν* after each adjective. A reads as our Epistle.

On the whole, the text of the citation is closer to A than to B, but the differences between the citation and Codex A, in the portions marked k), l), n), are so considerable, as to make it doubtful, whether our author really read the same type of text as the scribe of the Alexandrine Manuscript had before him.

The Septuagint text of this passage differs from the Hebrew in a few points, only one of which (if we can be certain that the common-

ly received translation of the Hebrew is correct) amounts to a real divergence. Firstly, the strict translation of f) is: "They broke my covenant, saith the Lord"; secondly, j) literally says: "I will give my law in their interior" (beqirbam); thirdly, the plural imperative of the TM would require *Cognoscite Dominum* at the end of o). The sense is not really touched by these slight variations nor by the omission of ἔτι after διδάξωσιν; but κάγω ἡμέλησα αὐτῶν g) seems a rather wide departure from כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה לָהֶם, which is generally translated: "Although I was their Lord (or husband)"; Vulgate: *et ego dominatus sum eorum*; likewise rendered by Aquila with the verb κυριεύω. Nevertheless, it cannot be regarded as certain that the Septuagint represents a faulty translation. Some think that the translator of Jeremias (unless we admit Thackeray's hypothesis of two translators), who used the Greek κατακυριεύω in Jeremias 3.14 to render the same verb, construed with the self-same preposition, had another reading (perhaps נִעְלַתִּי) before him here (see footnotes of W. Rudolf's edition of Jeremias in Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*). At any rate, the Syriac Peshitta agrees with the Septuagint, for it translates: "contempsi eos." It may, therefore, be conjectured that, in accordance with the analogy of Arabic, the verbal root נעל also had the meaning of "fastidire, despicere" (cfr. Westcott, Additional note on VIII, 8, o. c., p. 243).

It should be noted that in the free repetition of part of the text (h, i, j, k, s) in *Hebrews* 10.16 f., τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰσραὴλ becomes πρὸς αὐτοὺς (h); εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν becomes ἐπὶ καρδίας αὐτῶν (i), while ἐπὶ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν migrates into the next verse (k). The last verse is expanded into: καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀνομιῶν αὐτῶν οὐ μὴ μνησθήσομαι ἔτι.

XX

The words whereby Moses ratified the Sinaitic Covenant are cited in a modified form probably under the influence of Christ's allusive employment of the words at the last Supper (Matt. 26. 28). Our author quotes thus:

Μωϋσῆς πάντα τὸν λαὸν ἐράντισεν, λέγων·

τοῦτο τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης

ἧς ἐνετείλατο πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁ Θεός.

The Septuagint reads (apparently without any variants): ἰδοὺ τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης ἧς διέθετο Κύριος πρὸς ὑμᾶς περὶ πάντων τῶν λόγων τούτων (Exod. 24. 8). For ἐνετείλατο compare Psalm. 110. 9 and Sirach 45. 3.

XXI

Our next citation is highly interesting. Seeing that the blood of sheep and goats was powerless to take sin away, the Apostle represents Christ, as he comes into the world, pronouncing a programme which meant the abolition of all former sacrificial insufficiency by an all-sufficient sacrifice:

Διὸ εἰσερχόμενος εἰς τὸν κόσμον λέγει·

- a) θυσίαν καὶ προσφορὰν οὐκ ἠθέλησας
- b) σῶμα δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι·
- c) ὀλοκαντώματα καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτίας οὐκ εὐδόκησας.
- d) τότε εἶπον· ἰδοὺ ἤκω,
- e) ἐν κεφαλίδι βιβλίου γέγραπται περὶ ἐμοῦ,
- f) τοῦ ποιῆσαι ὁ Θεὸς τὸ θέλημά σου. (Ps. 39. 7-9).

There can be no doubt whatever that our author cites the Septuagint text of Psalm 39. He was acquainted with that text in a form which is abundantly attested by our textual witnesses, but, according to some, was not the original Septuagint version. It is in the hemistich *b*) that the Greek varies most considerably from the Hebrew. The latter has the wording: *'oznaim karitha lli*, and the correct literal translation of the text is: *aures fodisti mihi*, as given by St. Jerome in his Psalter from the Hebrew. But it does not seem that the Septuagint ever had the exact Greek equivalent of *karitha*, for, as far as I know, *κατηρτίσω* is the invariable Greek reading (*ῥουξας* [Ps. 21. 17] or any word of similar meaning being unattested). The Latin Psalter derived from the Septuagint has "perfecisti" (cfr. Old Latin of Augustine's *Enarratio in Ps.* 39, the first Hieronymian revision or *Psalterium Romanum*, the second Hieronymian revision or *Psalterium Gallicanum*), and, consequently, the Old Latin translation depends on *κατηρτίσω*. This verb, it seems, must go back to a different Hebrew reading from the Masoretic or, possibly, it represents a loose translation of *karitha*.

With regard to the object of *κατηρτίσω* it has been supposed that an original *ὥτια* was changed by scribal corruption into *σῶμα*. This could have occurred, it is said, rather easily in transcribing a continuous uncial text like *ΗΘΕΛΗCΑCΩΤΙΑ*. The sigma of *ἠθέλησας* may have been attached to the first vowel of *ὥτια* and *τι* may then have been written as an M. But, it must be admitted that the arguments for an original *ὥτια* in the Septuagint are weak. Our author

read $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$, and so did the maker of the Old Latin Psalter (cfr. Augustine's *Enarratio* and the Roman revision of St. Jerome). Origen's hexaplaric recension had $\acute{\omega}\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha$, as we know from the Vulgate Psalter (which is a revision of the Old Latin on the basis of Origen's text), also from the commentary of Eusebius of Caesarea (PG. XXIII, 326: $\tau\acute{\alpha} \acute{\omega}\tau\alpha \dots \kappa\alpha\tau\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\tau\acute{\iota}\omega$, the thought being reproduced without express citation of the biblical hemistich), as well as from the hexaplaric Armenian Psalter, and from the Syrohexaplaric text published by Ceriani (*Monumenta sacra et profana e codicibus praesertim Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, Tom. VII, Milan, 1874). Codex Lat. 11947 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, which is a sixth century MS of the Old Latin Psalter incorporated by Sabatier in the second volume of his famous edition of the "Biblorum sacrorum latinae versiones antiquae," seems to be the only other noteworthy witness for the reading $\acute{\omega}\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha$. Thus Rahlfs, who adopts $\acute{\omega}\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha$ into his LXX text, sets out the evidence pro and con in the following not very wonderful way: $\acute{\omega}\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha$ La Ga = M (sic "omnes interpretes," i. e. $\alpha' \sigma' \theta' \epsilon' \epsilon\tau \epsilon\beta\rho'$ ($\omega\sigma\nu\alpha\dot{\iota}\mu$ teste Sy) $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ rel.: = Hebr. 10. 5." As the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, Quinta (perhaps also Theodotion) and much less $\epsilon\beta\rho\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ do not bear on the question at issue, the reading $\acute{\omega}\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha$ is supported only by the hexaplaric recension, and one MS of the Old Latin, as against all the great codices of the Greek Septuagint, which stand for $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$. The Holmes-Parsons edition of the LXX mentions only two minuscules (142, 156) as giving the reading $\acute{\omega}\tau\alpha \delta\grave{\epsilon}$ (Cfr. Eusebius loco supra citato). Consequently, as far as the voice of textual witnesses goes, one may very seriously doubt if the original Septuagint read $\acute{\omega}\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha$. In the supposition of $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ being the primitive reading, it seems impossible to decide whether the translator had another wording before him, or just loosely rendered the general meaning (Cfr. Calès, *Le livre des Psaumes*. I, p. 430). This is the only notable difference between the Septuagint and our present Masoretic text. Verbally it is a considerable difference, but in the context of this Psalmic strophe, the same general notion of "an instrument of obedience" is conveyed by "digged ears" and "a body fitted."

In the Septuagint tradition of the following hemistich ϵ), there are some variations. Our citation reads $\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omicron\kappa\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ with the Codex Alexandrinus, with the sixth century Greco-Latin Psalter of Verona (R) and the seventh century Psalter of Zurich (T = Turicenses), while the singular $\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omicron\kappa\alpha\dot{\iota}\tau\omega\mu\alpha$ is found in SB, and is the exact rendering of the Hebrew. Again our author employs $\omicron\upsilon\kappa \epsilon\dot{\upsilon}\delta\acute{\omicron}\kappa\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ where SART have $\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\eta\tau\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ and where B has $\eta\tau\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma$, this

last being the nearest equivalent of the Hebrew *sha'alta*. It is reproduced in the *postulasti* of our Vulgate Psalter.

Apart from the transposition in *f*) of ὁ θεός (with omission of *μου*) from its place after θέλημά σου and the omission of ἐβουλήθην at the end, there are no further variations.

In one point, therefore, the citation in our Epistle agrees with A against B. Here indeed there seems to be no question of a scribal conformation of A to the text of *Hebrews*, for our author has in no way suggested the reading ἐξήγησας of the Alexandrine Manuscript.

GROUP BELONGING TO FINAL EXHORTATION

XXII-XXIII

Of the two texts cited from Deuteronomy 32. 35, 36 only the first presents particular interest from a textual point of view. The two are introduced thus:

οἶδαμεν γάρ τὸν εἰπόντα·

ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις,

(ἐγὼ) ἀνταποδώσω· (Deut. 32. 35).

καὶ πάλιν

κρινεῖ Κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ. (Deut. 32. 36).

The first of these is cited by St. Paul in Romans 12. 19, under the formula *γέγραπται γάρ*, and with the additional formula *λέγει Κύριος* following the citation. It differs from the Hebrew, which reads literally: "To me vengeance and recompense." It also differs from the Greek, which reads ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκδικήσεως ἀνταποδώσω. Although the citation partially agrees with both texts—the beginning with the Hebrew and the end with the Alexandrian version—it may be reasonably supposed that our author remembered it in a Targumic or proverbial form. The Targum of Onqelos really comes very close to our citation, even in regard to the insertion of ἐγώ, for it reads literally: "Before me vengeance and I will repay" (*qodo-may pur'anutha wa'ana 'ashalleim* – *Walton's Polyglot Bible*).

The second citation agrees verbally with the Greek and the Hebrew.

XXIV

The text of Habacuc cited at the end of chapter X is not formally introduced, but is connected with the immediately previous exhorta-

tion to persevering confidence by an *ἔτι γάρ* joined to a few words from *Isaias* 26. 20:

ἔτι γὰρ μικρὸν ὅσον ὅσον,

a) *ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἥξει καὶ οὐ χρονίσει·*

b) *ὁ δὲ δίκαιός μου ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται*

c) *καὶ ἐὰν ὑποστείληται,*

οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐν αὐτῷ. (*Hab.* 2. 3, 4).

The first thing to be noted regarding this text is that there is an intentional transposition of parts, in view of the optimistic conclusion which the author desires to attach, in chiasmic form, to the citation, namely, that "we are not of withdrawal unto perdition but of faith unto the gaining of the soul." For the sake of this combination of thoughts, c) and b) exchange places, as the text passes from the Prophetic to the Apostolic page. The words are taken from the Septuagint which, particularly in c), differs considerably from the Hebrew. The literal translation of the Masoretic text is as follows: "Coming, it (the vision or revelation) shall come (i. e. shall certainly come) and shall not delay; behold, it (his soul) is puffed up, his soul is not upright in him, but a just man in his faith shall live." In order to judge the merits of the corresponding passage of the Greek *Habacuc*, it is necessary to remember that the Prophet, placed before the spectacle of his people becoming a prey to all sorts of subversive forces, including a foreign invasion, sets himself at his prophetic post on the watch-tower of Israel to observe what *Yahweh* will say to him regarding the future. While the phalanx of destruction advances with all the confidence of human arrogance, the Almighty communicates an oracle of salvation to His Sentinel: "Write the vision and engrave it on tablets, that one may run as he reads it. For there is yet a vision for an appointed time; it hastens to an end and shall not disappoint. If it delays, wait for it." It is just at this point that the vision of salvation is introduced as surely coming. The Greek translator does not keep to the Prophet's terms of a vision (*ὄρασις*) coming, but, instead, thinks of a personal Saviour (*ἐρχόμενος ἥξει*). Besides this, in our author's citation the article is prefixed to the participle, on the analogy of *Psalm* 117. 26 (cfr. *Matt.* 3. 11; 11. 3; 21. 9; 23. 39). The sense of the first verse is not, however, travestied either by the Greek translator or by the writer of *Hebrews*. In its Old Testament context, the second verse tells the fate which awaits the "arrogant soul" of the picture, when the salvation seen in vision actually appears. That soul boasting in its human strength, like a fisherman who deifies and adores his nets (*Hab.* 1. 16), shall be

out of the right way. By whatever process the Septuagint translator arrived at his version, we cannot refuse to admit that the thought of both texts is fundamentally the same. The "pride-swollen soul" is the one "who has withdrawn from God," and, when it is said that "he is not right," the same thought may be otherwise expressed by saying that "God takes no pleasure in him." The third verse (the second of our citation) is a much closer rendering of the verbal elements that belong to the substance of the Hebrew text. There is certainly no essential difference between the sentence: "The just man shall live by his faith" and the sentence: The just man shall live by my faith" (i. e. by faith in Me), for there is question of faith in God in any case. Only the Hebrew emphasises the believing subject and the Greek the object of belief.

With regard to the form of our citation in relation to the Septuagint text, the conditional sentence *ἐὰν ὑποστέλληται* etc. is identical in both places, if we except the *καί* prefixed to it in *Hebrews* and regard as entirely negligible the scribal mistake *εὐδοκίς* in the Sinaitic Manuscript. In the first member, besides the addition of the article, there is a slight variation at the end. All the principal witnesses of the Septuagint version attest *οὐ μὴ χρονίσῃ* but *Hebrews* has *οὐ χρονιᾷ* or *οὐ χρονίσει*. The second member of our citation (third of the original and Septuagint) is by far the most interesting. It is quoted by St. Paul in Romans 1. 17 and Galatians 3. 13, under the formulae *καθὼς γέγραπται* and *γέγραπται γάρ*, as a dogmatico-scriptural argument, whereas in *Hebrews* the whole text fulfils an exhortatory function. It is text-critically certain that St. Paul cited the simplest form: *ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται* in Galatians. Romans adds the *δέ* of the Septuagint before *δίκαιος*, but for the rest it is practically certain that the same form is used as in Galatians, since the attestation of *μου* after *πίστεως* by Codex Ephraem rescriptus, as well as by the Vulgate and the Syro-Harklensian version, cannot prevail against the united voice of a multitude of Greek codices. The Septuagint version does actually read a *μου* in this verse and practically all the codices place it after *πίστεως*. The sole important exception is the Alexandrinus, which places the *μου* after *δίκαιος*, and this is precisely the best attested reading in *Hebrews* 10. 38a. It would seem, therefore, that our author had read Habacuc in a Manuscript which belonged to the textual ancestry of Codex A, whereas St. Paul knew the same text in another form. There is, however, in this case also, a possibility that our author modified the Alexandrian text for purposes of emphasis and that this modification influenced the scribe of A. The possibil-

ity of the first of these points will appear, if we consider that the author of *Hebrews*, in this instance, freely manipulated his text, adding an introduction from another prophet, inserting a definite article before ἐρχόμενος, and transposing the very verse in question. The likelihood of the second is rendered credible by the fact that another fifth-century scribe, namely that of Codex C, conformed the citation of Romans 1. 7 to that of *Hebrews* 10. 38, and on the contrary the scribes of no less than five uncial Manuscripts (DEKLP) omitted μου in this place in *Hebrews*, while D conforms this same line of the citation to the common form of the Septuagint, placing μου after πίστεως. It may be added that SA are the main witnesses for the commonly received reading of our text in *Hebrews*, for the Vatican Manuscript is mutilated at *Hebrews* 9. 14. We have no reason, however, for calling the reading ὁ δίκαιός μου into doubt, especially as our oldest witness, the Chester-Beatty Papyrus copy of *Hebrews* now adds its testimony in favour of it. But, in face of the evidence that the influence of a parallel worked strongly on scribes, we must remain in uncertainty whether the author of *Hebrews* quoted a Manuscript of Habacuc like the Alexandrinus, or whether the scribe of A conformed his Septuagint text of Habacuc to *Hebrews*.

XXV

The two short fragments of Genesis 5. 22, 24 which are practically quoted in the elogium of Enoch (*Heb.* 11. 5) follow the free but correct rendering of the Septuagint. "He was not found, because God translated him" renders the Hebrew: "He was not, because God took him;" and the expression: "pleased God" renders the Hebrew: "walked with God." The reference to the Genesiac text in our Epistle is as follows:

(πίσται Ἐνὼχ μετετέθη τοῦ μὴ ἰδεῖν θάνατον)

a) καὶ οὐχ ἠύρισκετο διότι μετέθηκεν αὐτὸν ὁ Θεός.

πρὸ γὰρ τῆς μεταθέσεως μεμαρτύρηται

b) εὐареστηκέναι τῷ Θεῷ.

XXVI

The words from Genesis 21. 12 in *Hebrews* 11. 18 are cited exactly as in the Septuagint and Romans 9. 7, and represent the original text verbally. Without any formula (not even the introductory "But")

of Romans), they are quoted in our Epistle, as an oracle delivered to Abraham, thus:

πρὸς ὃν ἐλαλήθη ·

ἐν Ἰσαὰκ κληθήσεταιί σοι σπέρμα.

XXVII¹

By a personification, which is only slightly less bold than that of Galatians 3. 8, a Scripture of the Book of Proverbs (3. 11, 12) figures in *Hebrews* 12. 5 f. in the guise of God speaking, as it were, conversationally with men, after the manner of a father addressing his children:

καὶ ἐκλέλησθε τῆς παρακλήσεως, ἥτις ὑμῖν ὡς υἱοῖς διαλέγεται ·

a) νιέ μου, μὴ ὀλιγώρει παιδείας Κυρίου,

b) μηδὲ ἐκλύου ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐλεγχόμενος ·

c) ὃν γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ Κύριος παιδεύει,

d) μαστιγοῖ δε πάντα υἱὸν ὃν παραδέχεται.

This version harmonises almost completely with the consonantal Hebrew text (admitting, however, that ἐκλύου seems a loose translation of קָלַף), but there is one word which the Alexandrian interpreter vocalised differently from the later Masoretes; for, in the last member, his reading must have been *kē'ēb* i. e. *dolore affecit* (Piel), although the verb *kā'ēb*, which means "to be in pain" is not found elsewhere in the Scriptures, except in the qal and Hiphil forms. The Masoretic punctuation קָלַף is the same as that followed by St. Jerome, who translates: *Et quasi pater in filio complacet sibi* (more literally, *sicut pater filium volet*). A diligent examination of the parallelistic structure of the whole distich seems to favour the pointing of the Alexandrian translator rather than that of the Masoretic tradition. The first stich is constructed according to a parallel system, and the author seems to indicate his intention of continuing the same arrangement in the subsequent stich. Therefore, we should expect that the verbs of "loving" and "disciplining," in the first hemistich c), should be balanced by two corresponding verbs in the second hemistich d). Such are the verbs of "afflicting" and "liking," which the Septuagint version supposes.

¹ The text from Genesis 47. 31: προσεκύνησεν ἐπὶ το ἄκρον τῆς ῥάβδου αὐτοῦ is omitted here. Enough has been said about it in chapter IV.

The relation of the citation to the forms of the Greek Septuagint itself requires a few words of remark. The citation agrees with the *Hebrew* against the common Septuagint text in reading *vié μου* instead of *vié* simply. Besides, in the third hemistich the second verb is *παιδεύει* and not *ἐλέγχει*. In reading thus, our author is at one with the codices SA against Codex B. Which of the two was the original Septuagint reading? It is exceedingly difficult to say. One would be inclined to follow Rahlfs in choosing *παιδεύει*, because the Vaticanus seems to stand practically alone amongst Greek biblical codices in reading *ἐλέγχει*. But on the other side stands the antecedent probability that a Greek translator would not have had recourse to two different verbal roots in order to render *יִחַדְתִּי* and *יִחַדְתִּי*. Moreover, the evidence in favour of *ἐλέγχει* is undoubtedly strengthened by the fact that Philo (*de congressu eruditionis gratia* 177) cites the whole distich, and exhibits this particular hemistich in precisely the same form as Codex B. From this fact we may conclude that B represents a particular form of text derived from an archetype which had *ἐλέγχει*. But on the other hand the reading *παιδεύει* cannot be regarded as a distinctive reading of one special type of Manuscript represented by the Codex Alexandrinus, for the Sinaiticus, which is more closely related to B than to A likewise has the reading *παιδεύει*. Has the Epistle to the Hebrews been the real determinant of a departure from an original Septuagint reading *ἐλέγχει*? This is a question which we do not seem to have the means of answering.

XXVIII

Omitting the texts from Isaiah 35. 3 and Proverbs 4. 26 as already sufficiently considered, the next particularly interesting use of OT words occurs in 12. 15. The words of Deuteronomy 29. 18 are employed in the following form:

μή τις ῥίζα πικρίας ἄνω φύουσα ἐνοχλή.

The Vulgate translates the Hebrew text of Deuteronomy: (*Ne sit inter vos radix germinans fel et amaritudinem*). If we prescind from the rather generic rendering of two poisonous plants (*rosh* and *la'anah*) as *fel* and *amaritudo*, St. Jerome's translation is accurate. The citation in *Hebrews*, on the contrary, must be translated: "Nequa radix amaritudinis sursum germinans impediatur." We may regard it as certain that the original Septuagint exhibited the text: *μή τις ἐστὶν ἐν ὑμῖν ῥίζα ἄνω φύουσα ἐν χολῇ καὶ πικρίᾳ*. This is the reading

of the early fifth century Manuscript of the Freer collection (see facsimile of the Washington Ms. of Deuteronomy and Joshua edited by H. A. Sanders, Michigan, 1910) and of the contemporaneous Codex Sarravianus-Colbertinus (phototypic edition by H. Omont, 1897). The corruption represented by our citation was, however, very widespread. It is the reading registered in BAF. This reading remained uncorrected in A but was corrected into *ἐν χολῇ* by later hands in B and F. Unfortunately we have not the witness of the Sinaiticus, of which no fragment remains for Deuteronomy, nor of the Chester-Beatty Papyri, one of the fragments of which comes up to the first letter of *ὑμῖν* and then undergoes a mutilation involving a hiatus of seventeen lines, the next line beginning in the middle of the long verse which follows. A and F show a further coincidence with our Epistle, namely, the addition of *πικρίας* after *ρίζα*. The other manuscript variants, which may be seen in Brooke and McLean's edition of Deuteronomy (p. 651), do not concern us here. Our Epistle uses the particular words of Deuteronomy according to a corrupted form, which was widespread. This does not necessarily bring the author into any special relation of dependence on the text represented by Codex A. On the contrary, the presence of *πικρίας* after *ρίζα* in AF begets a very strong suspicion that these MSS were influenced by *Hebrews*.

XXIX

In the description of the fearful circumstances which made the Israelites dread the experience of God speaking immediately to them, a singularly impressive word from the divine regulations in regard to the barricading of Sinai is chosen:

οὐκ ἔφερον γὰρ τὸ διαστελλόμενον·

κὰν θηρίον θίγη τοῦ ὄρους λιθοβολήσεται. (Exodus 19.13).

The quotation is very free. The Septuagint gives the sense of the Hebrew quite well and says: *πᾶς ὁ ἀψάμενος τοῦ ὄρους θανάτῳ τελευτήσει. οὐκ ἂν ᾖ αὐτοῦ χεῖρ· ἐν γὰρ λίθοις λιθοβολήσεται ἢ βολίδι κατατοξευθήσεται· εἰς τὴν κτηνὴν τε, εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον τε, οὐκ ἔσται.*

A comparison of the words in uncial type with the half-dozen words of the citation will show that two of them (*θίγη* and *θηρίον*) are not drawn from the Septuagint.

On the short sentence *Μωϋσῆς εἶπεν· ἐκφοβός εἰμι καὶ ἔντρομος* and its relation to the *ἐκφοβός εἰμι* of Deuteronomy 9. 19 see Chapter IV.

XXX

Towards the end of chapter XII the contrast between the preparatory revelation of Sinai and the final revelation of the New Testament, sets "then" and "now" before the Apostle in terms of the prophecy of Aggeus 2. 6:

οὐ ἡ φωνὴ τὴν γῆν ἐσάλευσεν τότε, νῦν δὲ ἐπήγγελται
λέγων·

ἔτι ἅπαξ ἐγὼ σείσω

(οὐ μόνον) τὴν γῆν

(ἀλλὰ καὶ) τὸν οὐρανόν. (*Hebrews* 12. 26).

The words of the Septuagint, which furnish this Scriptural testimony regarding the last age, are διότι τάδε λέγει Κύριος παντοκράτωρ· ἔτι ἅπαξ ἐγὼ σείσω τὸν οὐρανόν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν κτλ. Since the enumeration of heaven and earth and sea denotes the whole of visible creation, our author gives the text a form which harmonises with his argument. The translation ἔτι ἅπαξ does not cover the whole meaning of the Hebrew עַד עַד לְפָנַי טֵיב "yet once, it is a little while," but it conveys the main idea. The additions οὐ μόνον... ἀλλὰ καὶ in our Epistle are interpretative. A shaking which involves heaven, in contrast to a previous shaking of the earth, denotes a final change, τὴν τῶν σαλευομένων μετάρθεσιν ὡς πεποιημένω.

XXXI

As has been said in Chapter IV, the source of the citation in *Hebrews* 13. 5, which embodies a motive of disinterested conduct, is not certain. With its introductory formula it reads:

Ἀφιλάργυρος ὁ τρόπος· ἀρκοῦμενοι τοῖς παροῦσιν·

αὐτὸς γὰρ εἶρηκεν·

οὐ μὴ σε ἀνῶ

οὐδ' οὐ μὴ σε ἐγκαταλίπω.

Philo of Alexandria quotes what he describes as a λόγιον τοῦ Ἰλεω Θεοῦ in precisely the same textual form (*de confusione linguarum* 166). There are four or (counting Genesis 28. 15) five passages which may have become fused together in Jewish memories to give the saying this popular form (Deut. 31. 6, 31. 8; Josue 1. 5; I Paralip. 28. 20). On the whole, the wording is nearer to Deuteronomy 31. 6 (words of Moses to the people): οὔτε μὴ σε ἀνῆ οὔτε μὴ σε ἐγκαταλίπη,

than to Deuteronomy 31. 8 (words of Moses to Josue) οὐκ ἀνήσει σε οὐδὲ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπη σε, or to Josue 1. 5 (words of God to Josue): οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψω σε οὐδὲ ὑπερόψομαί σε. There is also a very similar sentence amongst the words of David to Salomon recorded by the Chronicler (I Paralip. 28. 20): οὐκ ἀνήσει σε καὶ οὐ μὴ σε ἐγκαταλίπη. The first of the Deuteronomic texts has been given above according to Codex B. In the Codex Alexandrinus there is a simple οὐ instead of the first οὔτε and an οὐδ' οὐ, as in our Epistle, instead of the second. The οὐδ' οὐ in this place is characteristic of the Alexandrinus, and has been maintained in the three texts which the combination of ἀνημι and ἐγκαταλείπω make most similar to our citation (Deut. 31. 6, 31. 8, and I Paralip. 28. 20). Since this phenomenon stands in contradistinction to Codex B and others, one may reasonably suppose that the influence of the citation in *Hebrews* has been at work on the scribe of the Alexandrinus. I say scribe (not scribes) in the present instance, because the same hand seems to have written Deuteronomy 31 and I Paralipomenon 28 of the celebrated Codex.

XXXII

An act of confidence is proposed to correspond with this motive of trust. It is voiced in a verse of Psalm 117 and introduced thus:

ὥστε θαρροῦντας ἡμᾶς εἰπεῖν·

- a) Κύριος ἐμοὶ βοηθός, οὐ φοβηθήσομαι·
- b) τί ποιήσει μοι ἄνθρωπος;

The Hebrew original should certainly be read: "The Lord is for me; I will not fear: what can man do to me?" The sentence is divided after this manner in our citation, but Manuscripts of the Septuagint have a καί after the interpretative word βοηθός, and thus suggest that the last clause should not be taken as an independent question. Codex A stands for the insertion of καί both in its Septuagint text and in the text of *Hebrews*, whereas the original hand of the Sinaiticus omitted καί in both places, but was afterwards altered by a corrector. How Vaticanus read we do not know, because the leaves that held the Psalm text and these last chapters of the Epistle are gone. At least we are certain that in this instance our author did not follow the same type of Greek text as that from which the Codex Alexandrinus was derived.

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